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**Windows on opportunities: An exploration in program
development for Black adolescent fathers**

Smith, Linda Anderson, D.S.W.

City University of New York, 1989

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WINDOWS ON OPPORTUNITIES: AN EXPLORATION IN PROGRAM
DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK ADOLESCENT FATHERS

by

LINDA ANDERSON SMITH

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Social Welfare in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Social Welfare, The City
University of New York.

1989

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the disertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

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Abstract

WINDOWS ON OPPORTUNITIES

by

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Adviser: Irwin Epstein

In spite of the declining rate of adolescent pregnancy in the Black community, a disproportionate number of Black adolescents continue to become parents. With a few notable exceptions, both public social welfare institutions and the voluntary sector have excluded Black adolescent fathers from programs for pregnant and parenting teens.

This is an exploratory research project. The primary purposes of this project were (1) to increase knowledge of the life circumstances of Black adolescent fathers and (2) to use that knowledge to assist in the process of developing a social service program for this population. Methodological triangulation and data triangulation were used to obtain a multi-layered perspective of fathers and programs that serve them. Data sources included a core group of nine low S.E.S., Black unwed adolescent fathers, seven fathers who were seen sporadically, adolescent mothers, policy-makers, community members, service providers, and the family and friends of fathers participating in the study.

The major program intervention of the project was to introduce participating fathers to unfamiliar vocational options. This was based on the theory that there is a

correlation between lack of awareness of life options and adolescent parenthood. In addition, a fathers' discussion group was formed at the request of participants in the study.

The program development phase of the study was evaluated according to the effort, effectiveness and efficiency of each phase of program development. Data obtained through ethnographic techniques were analyzed for recurring themes and trends.

Some of the major conclusions drawn from the study were that adolescent fatherhood increases socio-economic vulnerability and this increased vulnerability must be recognized on a national policy level; that part of the difficulty in engaging Black adolescent fathers stems from ambivalence and hostility on the part of service providers and the Black as well as white communities; that programs for Black adolescent fathers should address the issue of alternative life options through exposure and technological training; and that fatherhood can have a profound psychological impact on young Black males which may call for supportive counseling and/or mutual aid groups.

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In Memory of My Mother

Irene Wilhelmena Anderson

For teaching me to "Hold On..."

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I. Introduction

As a social worker for many years in Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant community, the author had the occasion to work with many Black male adolescents, a number of whom were fathers. Three things stand out from this experience. First, these young males faced socio-economic barriers the present administration claims were legislated away twenty years ago. Second, the majority of these young fathers struggled to meet their obligations as fathers, sons, males, and friends, in spite of the odds against them ... and finally there was an underlying assumption on the part of social service agencies that Black adolescent males, including fathers, were impossible to reach, that they were too "cool," too hostile, and too suspicious to engage with social service agencies. The result was a lack of services for Black adolescent males in general and Black adolescent fathers in particular.

In a 1985 televised report, Bill Moyers portrayed Black adolescent fathers as callous and shallow individuals who had babies only to prove their manhood. Undoubtedly there are young Black fathers who fit this description but is this a full and accurate picture? The author's experiences in the field suggest it is not.

This project develops from a felt need to realize the following goals: to increase our knowledge of the life circumstances of Black adolescent fathers, to discover ways in which social service agencies may reach them and to obtain knowledge of interventions that may be successful with this population.

Research geared towards the testing of formal theories concerning a population about which relatively little is known would be premature. Consequently this is an exploratory study, one designed to yield the right questions as well as suggest answers.

The project takes as its framework Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein's differential model of social program development and evaluation.¹

This model identifies three stages of program development: program initiation, program contact, and program implementation. The program initiation stage is the planning and resource gathering stage of development. In the program contact stage, the program seeks to connect with the target-population. This stage is also concerned with removing obstacles to the effective delivery of service. Program implementation consists of direct service to the target population and other methods of meeting over all programmatic goals.² This project recognizes that adolescents are inherently difficult to engage. This is especially true of Black adolescent fathers. Historically there has been an adversarial relationship with agencies who have made contact only to seek child support. But does difficult mean impossible? Because of the importance of this issue, it is explored fully. Methods of contact range from

¹Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin, Irwin Epstein Differential Social Program Evaluation (Itasca Illinois: Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1978).

²Ibid., p. 7.

seeking referrals from family planning agencies to outreach techniques, such as attending teenage dances at the local YWCA.

The program implementation phase consists of two major activities. One activity is participant-observation of fathers involved in the project. Participant-observation and the attendant ethnographic interview were used to gain a picture of the Black adolescent fathers' world as he sees it. Participant-observation can yield information about the "culture" of Black adolescent fathers. Culture may be defined as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior."³ Thus, there is the potential to gain insight into issues such as the barriers to engaging with agencies and about the characteristics of the natural support systems that Black males most often turn to for help.⁴ The other major programmatic effort consists of vocational workshops for participating fathers. The workshops are aimed at creating a window into the conventional opportunity structure. The underlying hypothesis is that a lack of life options, both real and perceived, is related to early paternity among Black males. The impact of workshops on the participant's relationship

³James P. Spradley Participant Observation (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1980) p. 6.

⁴Lawrence G. Gary and Bogart R. Leashore "Black Men in White America: Critical Issues" in Color in a White Society ed. Barbara W. White (Silver Springs Md: NASW, Inc., 1984) p. 46.

with the social service agency sponsoring the project is also explored.

The goals of this project correspond to the phases of program development. They may be summarized as follows:

| <u>Stages of Program Development</u> | <u>Goals</u> |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Initiation | 1. To explore socio-political, economic and other obstacles to the creation of services for Black adolescent fathers. |
| 2. Contact | 2. To define those elements that will assist social service agencies in engaging with Black adolescent fathers. |
| 3. Implementation | 3. To gain knowledge of the program content and techniques that would be most helpful to Black adolescent fathers. To broaden the knowledge base of the culture of Black adolescent fathers. |

It cannot be denied that adolescents in this society are ill-prepared economically, socially and psychologically for parenthood. However, this project is based on the assumption that early parenthood need not ruin the life of an adolescent or his offspring. Black families come in many forms. There are extended families, families created through fictive kinship, two-parent families and families headed by adolescent parents. None are dysfunctional by definition. And although the social sciences have focused on the failings of Black men, the fact remains that Black men have played

significant and positive roles with their families. Black adolescent fathers can be supported so that they may contribute to the well-being of their families. While not condoning adolescent fatherhood, particularly in light of the severe socio-economic penalties for Black adolescents, this project recognizes the pull of the parenting experience. The parenting experience can be ego-enhancing, it confers status and it fills a void that ought to be filled by activities connected with school, work, and planning for the future. The project is an effort to fill this void. Adolescent-parenting programs that only deliver the message that early parenthood is bad may be ineffective. This is not to say the moral issue should be avoided, but to reduce adolescent parenthood to solely a moral issue is to return to the days when poverty was seen as a defect in character. Like poverty, adolescent parenthood, particularly in the Black community, is an economic issue. Strategies aimed at increasing knowledge of and access to educational and vocational opportunities seem essential.

Adolescent parenthood is an issue of great concern in the Black community. Although the birth rate for unmarried Black adolescents is decreasing,⁵ in 1983 adolescent mothers accounted for nearly 25% of all births.⁶ However, the

⁵Marian Wright Edelman, Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) p. 24.

⁶U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Health The United States, 1985 (Hyattsville, Md: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1985) p. 23.

programmatic response has been limited in scope - reactive, rather than preventive - and has routinely excluded the partners and families of young mothers. There are many reasons behind the neglect of teenage fathers. Primarily, early parenthood presents more obvious psycho-social and biological risks to mother and child. Yet, in the Black community the majority of teenage mothers are single and carry major responsibility for child-rearing. These facts make the potentially supportive role of the Black male even more important. The unique history of the Black male in this country has also affected the service response. One legacy of slavery, and the continued socio-political restrictions in its aftermath, has been the diminished authority of Black men in the traditional role of supporting and protecting the family.⁷ This lack of opportunity has been interpreted by the larger society as a lack of interest. Thus, the image of callous "hit and run" Black father has served to justify the focus on adolescent mothers in service delivery programs. The inclusion of Black adolescent fathers in teen parenting programs recognizes that the well being of the Black family is connected to the involvement and well being of the Black male.

⁷Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America, (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984), p. 58.

II. The Problem

A High Risk Cohort

The well-being of the Black male is threatened in several areas. He is a vulnerable member of a high risk cohort, particularly during his youth.

The young Black male is less likely to be employed than his white counterpart, and if he is, it is most likely in a low wage, low status occupation.⁸ In 1986, only 21% of Black male adolescents were employed.⁹ Even in sections of the country with relatively low unemployment, Black males are disproportionately unemployed. The county of North Carolina in which this project was conducted has an unemployment rate of 3%. In 1985, approximately 2.8% of the total Black male population was unemployed as compared to 1.7% of the white male population.¹⁰ Figures from the 1980 North Carolina Census show a significant gap in the salary levels of the Black male and his white counterpart. In the same county of North Carolina, Black males over the age of 15 earned a mean salary of \$6919; while white males over 15 earned a mean salary of \$13,067.¹¹ On a national level, the median hourly wage of a white male is \$7.69. A Black male's median hourly

⁸Lawrence E. Gary and Bogart R. Leashore "Black Men In White America," p. 116.

⁹Marian Wright Edelman, op. cit. p. 57.

¹⁰Figures based on the 1980 Census obtained from the North Carolina Office of Labor Market Information, Raleigh, North Carolina.

¹¹Figures based on the 1980 Census obtained from the North Carolina Office of Budget and Management, Raleigh, North Carolina.

wage is \$6.25.¹² Thus, a Black male faces limited opportunities in terms of earnings and employment. Early fatherhood further limits these opportunities.

Black males have a shorter life expectancy than white males. In 1983, Black males in the United States had a life expectancy at birth of 65.4 years; the white male life expectancy at birth was 71.7 years.¹³ Statistics on the causes of death paint an ominous picture of the lives of Black men. The Black male is more likely to die from a stroke than a Black female or a white person of either sex.¹⁴ Black males have higher mortality rates than white males for many types of cancer and are more likely to die from heart disease than white males.¹⁵ While certain diseases are more prevalent among Blacks, the data reflects the failure of the health care system to adequately service Black males. In 1983, the Black male death rate from homicide, including legal murder through executions and law enforcement for all ages was 53.8 per 100,000.¹⁶ Younger Black males have a higher risk of dying violently. In the same year, the homicide and legal intervention rate for Black males ages 15-24 was 66.8 per 100,000; for young males ages 35-44 years the

¹²U.S. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987. (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1985) p. 405.

¹³Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁴U.S. Department of Health and Human Services op. cit. p. 11.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 60.

rate jumps to 102.0 per 100,000.¹⁷ Homicide is the leading cause of death for young Black males. In comparison, the 1983 homicide and legal intervention death rate for white males of all ages was 8.4 per 100,000; for white males ages 15-24 it was 11.5 per 100,000 and for white males ages 25-34 it was 14.9 per 100,000.¹⁸ If a young Black male is not killed, he may well die by his own hand. The suicide rate for young Black males has risen steadily over the past thirty years. In 1950 the suicide rate for Black males in the 15-24 year old age group was 4.9 per 100,000. In 1983 it was 11.5 suicides per 100,000 for the same age group.¹⁹

Adding to this grim picture are statistics on substance abuse. The figures were obtained from the Drug Abuse Warning Network (Dawn). The system is comprised primarily of hospital emergency rooms in metropolitan areas. These figures do not include the many episodes of drug use that go undetected by hospitals, schools, substance abuse or law enforcement agencies. However, these statistics do yield some knowledge of the extent of drug abuse among the urban Black male population.

In 1984, Dawn system emergency rooms reported 17,504 drug abuse episodes among Black males. Of those episodes, 8.8% occurred in the 10-19 year old age groups; 37.6%

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 46.

occurred in the 20-29 year old age group.²⁰ The statistics confirm that substance abusers are getting younger in age; 17 of these episodes were with Black male drug users ages 6-9.²¹

There is also some evidence that substance abuse is connected to the rising suicide rate among Black males. The second greatest motive for drug use for Black males ages 10-19 was suicide.²²

There is increasing awareness of Black on Black crime, particularly homicide, as a complex problem. In 1984, 55.4% of arrests for murder and non-negligent homicides in American cities, were of Black males.²³ In addition, the well documented association between restricted economic opportunities and criminal activity, as well as a biased criminal justice system help account for the over-representation of Black males in correctional facilities.

Much has been made of the declining Black drop-out rate. But does the drop-out rate give an accurate picture of the educational achievement of young Blacks? A review of national selected reading proficiency levels provide additional information. In 1983-84, 65.8% of Black 17 year olds were reading on an intermediate level; while 88.9% of

²⁰U.S. Department of Health and Human Services National Institute on Drug Abuse Statistical Series Annual Data, series 1, No. 4, 1984, p. 11.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 19.

²³Federal Bureau of Investigation Crime in the United States, 1986 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1986) p. 166.

white 17 year olds were able to read at this level. There is a greater contrast at a higher level of proficiency. Of white 17 year olds, 45.1% were adept readers while only 15.5% of Black 17 year olds had attained this level of achievement.²⁴ While Blacks may be graduating at higher rates than in previous years; they may be graduating without the basic skills attained by their white counterparts.

So far evidence has been presented showing that Black males face unusual obstacles in almost every area of life. This preponderance of stressful life events has a devastating effect on the emotional health of young Black males. In 1980 there was a disproportionately high rate of non-white 18-24 year old male admissions to state and county psychiatric facilities across the country.²⁵ Most of these admissions were on an involuntary basis.²⁶ Once admitted a young non-white male was more likely than a white male to be diagnosed as schizophrenic. Only 6.4% of white admissions to these facilities under 18 were diagnosed as schizophrenic, compared to close to 1/3 of non-white admissions.²⁷

This is the background against which young Black males become fathers. In the face of these facts, it is easy to

²⁴Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1987 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1987) p. 88.

²⁵National Institute of Mental Health, Division of Biometry and Applied Sciences Mental Health Statistical Note, No. 177 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1986) p. 2.

²⁶Ibid., p. 4.

²⁷Ibid., p. 6.

understand why some Black adolescent fathers lose their initial enthusiasm for the parenting role.

The Costs of Adolescent Parenthood

The problem of Black adolescent fathers should not be separated from the general problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. Teenage pregnancy has reached epidemic proportions in both the white and Black community. Currently one out of every ten adolescent girls becomes pregnant and over half a million of these adolescents have their babies.²⁸ Although the birth rate for white adolescents has increased while the Black adolescent birth rate has decreased, Black teens still account for a disproportionate share of all births.²⁹

Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood are costly. In 1983, the poverty rate for young Black female headed families was 85.2%.³⁰ The economic consequences of early parenthood for young mothers, fathers, and their offspring are severe. Teenage fathers of all races enter the labor force at an earlier age than their peers who delay parenthood.³¹ They tend to work in low status occupations and earn less money during their lifetimes.³² This is compounded for Black adolescent fathers by the lack of job opportunities for Black

²⁸Marian Wright Edelman, op. cit. p. 52.

²⁹Ibid., p. 57.

³⁰Ibid., p. 3.

³¹Frank Frustenberg, Jr., Unplanned Parenthood (New York: The Free Press, 1976) p. 79.

³²Ibid.

teenagers. The employability of teenage mothers is hindered by lack of adequate child-care, as well as their own inexperience. Parenthood interrupts schooling for both teenage mothers and fathers, further stunting future employability.

When adolescent parents marry, the union frequently ends in divorce or separation.³³ Adolescent mothers tend to have larger families, and to have children spaced at closer intervals than those mothers who delay pregnancy. Short birth intervals have been linked with higher rates of still births, prematurity, neo-natal deaths, and deaths in later infancy.³⁴ There is a higher incidence of prematurity and of low birth weight infants in the Black community;³⁵ and while the maternal mortality rate has declined for all groups, it remains three times higher for non-white mothers than for whites.³⁶ One explanation of these statistics is the fact that Black adolescent mothers are less likely to receive sufficient prenatal care and, therefore, more likely to suffer toxemia, anemia, poor diets, and prolonged labor.³⁷ The mean age of first sexual experience is decreasing for males and females; as a result, the number of pregnancies by

³³Marion Mecklenburg and Patricia G. Thompson "The Adolescent Family Life Program as a Preventive Measure," Public Health Reports 98, No.1 (January, 1983) p. 25.

³⁴Ibid., p. 27.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., p. 28.

³⁷Ibid.

adolescents in the 13-15 year old age group is increasing steadily.³⁸ Hendricks reported a mean age of 12.8 years for the first time sexual intercourse of the Black adolescent fathers in his study.³⁹ Research also suggests that the Black male adolescent's attitude towards contraceptive use is ambivalent at best.⁴⁰ For example, in one study of high school-aged males, contraceptive use was viewed as primarily the female's responsibility, yet use of a condom was seen as a sign of respect for one's partner.⁴¹ Still another study reported that over one-half of Black male subjects under age 28 agreed that birth control programs are a plot to eliminate Blacks.⁴² The bottom line is that less than one in five adolescents (male and female, Black and white) uses birth control.⁴³ Clearly, the majority of teenage pregnancies are unplanned.⁴⁴

³⁸U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Adolescent Pregnancy and Childbearing: Findings From Research, Catherine Chilman (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1980) p. 179.

³⁹Leo Hendricks "Black Unwed Adolescent Fathers" Black Men ed. Lawrence Gary, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), p. 180.

⁴⁰Leonor Boulin Johnson, Robert Staples "Family Planning and the Young Minority Male: A Pilot Project" Family Coordinator 28, October, 1979, p. 536.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²W. Dardy and C. Turner, "Family Planning, Race Consciousness, and the Fear of Genocide" American Journal of Public Health 62 July, 1972 pp. 1454-1459.

⁴³The Allan Guttmacher Institute Teenage Pregnancy: The Problem That Hasn't Gone Away, (New York: The Allan Guttmacher Institute, 1981), p. 21.

⁴⁴Ibid., p.67.

Psychological Cost of Adolescent Parenthood

The psychological consequences of teenage parenthood for mother, father, and infant must also be examined. Even older, more mature parents, surrounded by social and economic supports, experience the birth of their first child as a crisis. It is a far more difficult experience for the adolescent parent.

While the idea of parenthood may be appealing, actual parenting is full of conflict for the adolescent. Underneath the surface bravura, adolescents are likely to experience highly ambivalent feelings towards their infants, and to be doubtful of their parenting skills. Because of the fragility of the core self, and fear of a regressive pull, adolescent parents are often uncomfortable with a nurturing stance. The anxiety aroused by nurturing combined with a lack of knowledge and a desire for greater freedom causes many adolescent parents to push their infants towards maturity. When child-care demands conflict with the normal social life of adolescence, this thrust to maturity is compounded. One study of teenage parents, found that both adolescent mothers and fathers held unrealistic expectations of their infants.⁴⁵ These subjects expected most developmental milestones to be achieved during the first 10 months of life. A majority of both fathers and mothers expected toilet training at 24 weeks. The fathers expected obedience training at 26 weeks,

⁴⁵Ross Parke, Thomas Power and Theresa Fisher "The Adolescent Father's Impact on the Mother and Child," Journal of Social Issues, (January 1980) pp. 92-93.

and recognition of wrong-doing at 40 weeks.⁴⁶ The frustration stemming from these unreasonable expectations caused the parents in this sample to rely on frequent physical disciplining of their very young children.⁴⁷ The importance of a nurturing caretaker, one responsive to cues, has been well documented. The absence of this kind of figure is associated with impairment in self-esteem, ability to trust, cognitive development and assertiveness.⁴⁸

Although they may deny it, adolescents are often painfully aware of their inadequacies, once they become parents. The demands of parenthood, the confused feelings involved, and the socio-economic penalties make depression a common occurrence among teenage parents. The suicide rate for adolescent mothers is ten times the national average.⁴⁹ At least one study indicates that adolescent fathers undergo depression and emotional turmoil as a result of parenthood.⁵⁰ The reluctance of adolescents to seek adult assistance, in spite of a crisis, has already been noted.

The Black adolescent father has unique problems and patterns in the area of help-seeking. Hendricks studied the

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Frank Furstenberg Jr., op.cit., p. 199.

⁴⁹New York State Temporary Commission to Revise the Social Services Law. New York States' Response to the Issue of Adolescent Pregnancy Study Report No. 10 (March, 1983) p. 18.

⁵⁰J.D. Parka "Fathers of Children Conceived Out of Wedlock: Pregnancy High School, Psychological Test Result" Developmental Psychology (4) (April, 1971) p.218.

help-seeking behavior of 95 unwed Black adolescent fathers.⁵¹ The majority of fathers indicated they would seek help for a problem from a family member or friend. Only two of the fathers indicated they would first turn to a social service agency for help.⁵² However, when asked what services they'd like to see offered by an agency for teenage parents, the subjects gave a rich range of responses. Many of these responses centered on a need for guidance on how to be a good father. Others focused on concrete needs such as a job training and health care.⁵³ Altogether, the responses suggest a need for assistance in managing fatherhood.

Ironically, the families to whom many of these young fathers and other teen parents turn are able to provide less assistance than in earlier decades. Forced marriages and placement of infants are still not the norm in the Black community. However, maternal grandmothers, the traditional adjunct caretakers, seem to be assuming less responsibility for their grandchildren. A typical case seen by this writer in direct practice, is that of a woman in her thirties whose daughter has had a child at age fifteen. These young grandmothers have often just finished the most active phase of child-rearing and are ready to pursue their own goals.

⁵¹Leo Hendricks, Cleopatra Howard and Patricia Ceasar, "Help-Seeking Behavior Among Selected Populations of Black Unmarried Adolescent Fathers: Implications for Human Service Agencies," American Journal of Public Health 71, (July, 1981) pp. 733-735.

⁵²Ibid., p.734.

⁵³Ibid., p.735.

The financial constraints on many Black families, may cause other extended family members to be reluctant to take on further responsibilities.

The Black family has not escaped the disruptive influences affecting all American families during the last forty years. Divorce and separation are common. Almost half of all Black households are headed by single women.⁵⁴ As a consequence, many adolescent fathers have been raised without a steady paternal figure to model. In the past, extended family members or fictive kin would serve as substitute role models. This may not occur as often at present.

Perhaps, well-meaning social service agencies have underestimated the burden of child-rearing on Black adolescents, by overestimating the role of the extended family.

Cognitive And Moral Maturity

In the face of dwindling familial support and great economic, psychological, social, and physiological difficulties, why do so many adolescents continue to become parents?

One answer is offered by the state of the cognitive and moral development of the adolescent. To the adolescent mind, the drawbacks of early parenthood may not be obvious. A feeling of invincibility and timelessness belong to youth. But timelessness has its consequences. "The adolescent is locked into the present. His view of the future is

⁵⁴"Disintegration of Black Families Threatens Gains of Decades" The New York Times, November 30, 1983 p. 1.

constricted; he may grasp the effect of today on tomorrow, but not on the day after tomorrow ..."⁵⁵ If the ability to consider the consequences of one's actions is limited, then the chance for logical decision making is impaired. Several recent studies report that when the female did not immediately become pregnant, both male and female adolescents assumed she would not become pregnant at all.⁵⁶ Adolescent short-sightedness is a partial explanation of this phenomenon. It is this short-sightedness that also helps explain the failure of so many sexually active adolescents to use birth control, even when it is readily available.

Kohlberg's work on moral maturity may add to our understanding of the causes of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. Kohlberg writes of the formal operations stage of moral development as beginning at age 12.⁵⁷ The beginning of the formal operations stage may be summarized as "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." The highest level of formal operations is stated as "conformity to conscience and universal logical principles, with orientation to mutual respect and trust."⁵⁸ Kohlberg's paradigm describes adolescent capacity for moral maturity, rather than actual

⁵⁵Catherine Chilman, op.cit., p. 176.

⁵⁶Lenor Boulin Johnson and Robert Staples, op.cit., pp. 535-543.

⁵⁷The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, The Acquisition and Development of Values: Perspectives on Childhood, (Washington, DC National Institute of Child Health, 1979), p.16.

⁵⁸Ibid.

functioning. When Winnicott refers to the return during adolescence "... of the fierce morality on the basis of the real and the false that belongs to infancy ...⁵⁹ he seems closer to describing adolescent feelings. For the adolescent, there are a few gray areas, there is only right and wrong. What is right is at times determined by what Kohlberg termed the beginning stage of moral maturity, "the good is what I want and what I like."⁶⁰ Cognitively and in terms of moral maturity, it is an adolescent's inclination to have sex without full consideration of the consequences.

The cause of a social phenomenon cannot be understood without examining forces outside of the individual. Kohlberg proposed that societies move through stages of moral development. One can hypothesize that a special relationship exists between the dominant moral stage of a society and the behavior of its adolescent members.

The most productive elements of the 60's and 70's can, at least in part, be described by Kohlberg's sixth stage of moral maturity, with its emphasis on individual conscience, respect, and trust.⁶¹ Another side of the era was manifest in the "if it feels good, do it" morality evoked in Kohlberg's beginning stage of moral development.⁶² On the

⁵⁹Madeline Davis and David Wallbridge, eds., op.cit., p. 82.

⁶⁰The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, op.cit., p. 16.

⁶¹Ibid., p.21.

⁶²Ibid., p.16.

one hand this era produced an open exploration of human sexuality. These were the ethics of the sexual revolution. One result was greater freedom. Sex was not inevitably linked to marriage, procreation and romantic love. The sexual needs of women were explored in a healthy manner. Sexual differences, such as homosexuality, were more openly accepted. On the other hand, sexual exploration at earlier ages became a human right. And sex was oversold, through the media. The social pressure on the adolescent to have sexual intercourse became considerable. It is not surprising that by 1972, nearly half of all teenagers in the nation, were non-virgins before age nineteen.⁶³

Of course, moral maturity and cognitive development are not the only factors contributing to adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. The adolescent's level of physical maturity sets the stage for sex. At puberty, the release of testosterone in the male, and estrogen in the female, creates secondary sexual characteristics, and develops the sex drive and orgasmic capacity. Confusion about gender identity, and the need for nurturance and belonging are major psychological forces pushing the adolescent towards sexual activity.

In the mind of some adolescents, parenthood goes further than sexual activity in differentiating gender roles. Again most adolescent fathers, Black or white, do not plan to impregnate their partners; most adolescent mothers do not

⁶³Sheila Klebnow "Developmental Readiness and Dependency in Adolescent Sex" Sexuality and Psychoanalysis, ed. Edward Adelson (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1975) p. 31.

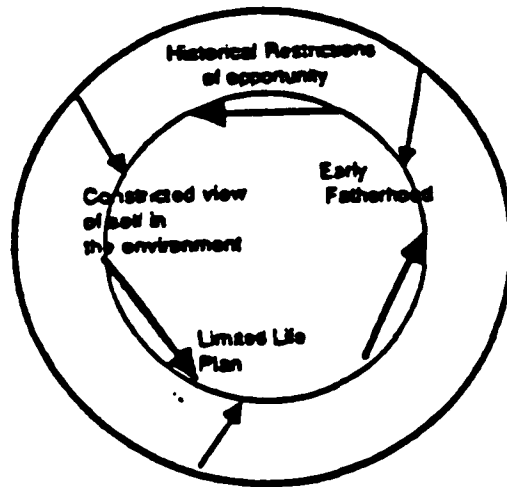
plan their pregnancies. However, fatherhood may still symbolize maleness and motherhood femaleness.

Burgeoning sexuality, the need for affection and for social acceptance, the state of cognitive development and moral maturity all impel the adolescent towards sexual experimentation. Given this scenario, the need for guidance from families and society is clear.

Black Adolescent Fathers

Factors such as cognitive development and moral maturity pertain to adolescents of both sexes and all ethnic backgrounds. But what of the Black adolescent father? Are there special factors relating to early parenthood in his case? The sad litany created by the social indicators on young Black men to father with the developmental facts of adolescence provide some answers to this difficult question. The reality is that Black adolescent males are too often the subjects of hostility or neglect in our society. Three factors may be identified as relating to this lack of concern for the vulnerable status of young Black males: 1) A historical restriction of opportunity; 2) Constricted view of

self-in the environment; and 3) The subsequent development of limited life plans. The relationship between these factors may be illustrated as follows:



Clearly these factors have affected the lives of Black females as well as Black males. But because masculinity is defined by many in this society as the ability to succeed in the market place, this interplay of factors has a more destructive effect in the lives of Black males.

A historical restriction of opportunities is the moving force of this analysis. The restriction of opportunities takes many forms. It is the failure of school systems to recognize the learning styles of Black children. It is a job market that hires Black males as window dressing, or, on a last hired, first fired basis.

A primary task of adolescence is the move towards independent functioning, towards testing one's impact on the

larger world. The historical restriction of opportunity in the major institutions of this society has meant that Black adolescent males must find alternative means of moving towards adulthood. Sometimes this is achieved positively through mutual support. An example would be the success of groups such as Each One Teach One. And sometimes the end result is a perception of oneself as unable to manipulate the environment by traditional means. In this constricted view of self in the environment by traditional means. In this constricted view of self in the environment, material success through vocational and educational means seem out of reach. This is not a pathological reaction. Nor, does it necessarily indicate low self-esteem. The self is primarily seen as constricted by environmental forces, not by a lack of inner resources. In its worse form this factor is associated with harmful activities such as drug dealing or robbery. At best it signifies early entrance into "street economy" activities such as the numbers game, where there is a chance for success in the eyes of the community.

The limited future orientation of the adolescent has already been noted. When self-perception becomes constricted because of social injustice, dreams are deferred. Cognitive theorists tell us that human behavior is profoundly affected the anticipation of future events. Too often the Black male adolescent is impelled to construct a limited vision of his future. In this limited life plan, fatherhood at any age may be viewed as one of the few viable and legal options. Thus

while fatherhood is not sought after by the majority of Black adolescents, neither is it strenuously avoided.

This analysis is far from complete. There is a lack of large scale studies on Black adolescent fathers. We do not know, for example, how many fathers exist, however, we do know that adolescent fatherhood is not, of itself deviant. We do know primarily through the works of Hendricks, that some Black adolescent fathers are caring and supportive partners.⁶⁴ We also know the socio-economic penalty for adolescent fatherhood is great; and in the case of Black adolescents, fatherhood cannot be separated from institutional racism and the vulnerable status of Black males.

⁶⁴Leo E. Hendricks "Suggestions For Reaching Unmarried Black Adolescent Fathers" Child Welfare 62 (March/April, 1983) pp. 141-146.

III. Review of the Literature

Importance of Fatherhood

A basic assumption of this proposal is the significance of the paternal role. This section will begin by focusing on theories and facts concerning the importance of fatherhood.

During the last two decades as more women joined the work force, the father's interactive role (as opposed to that of financial provider) gained the attention of researchers. Mahler, Pine and Bergman among others, asserted the importance of fathers in helping infants move from the mother/child dyad, as a socialized being into a larger world.⁶⁵ A 1980 study of 5-6 month old infants suggested that the infants with more interactive fathers had better developed cognitive and motor skills.⁶⁶ An experimental study of 300 infants, ages 6 to 24 months, concluded that infants whose fathers were involved in caretaking tasks such as bathing and feeding were better able to handle stress.⁶⁷

Parke, Power and Fisher, in a review of the literature on father-child interaction, noted that play is of special importance in the relationship between fathers and their children; and that fathers tend to spend more time in play

⁶⁵Margaret Mahler, The Psychological Birth of The Human Infant, (New York: Basic Books, 1975) p. 46.

⁶⁶Fred Pederson, et.al. "Parent-Infant and Husband-Wife Interactions Observed at Five Months," in Fathers Infant Relationships, ed. F. Pederson, (New York: Praeger, Inc., 1980).

⁶⁷Michael Kotelchuk, "The Infant's Relationship to the Father" The Role of the Father in Child Development ed. Martin Lamb, (New York: Wiley, Inc., 1977), pp. 329-344.

activities with their children than mothers.⁶⁸ For example, Furstenberg reported that nearly two-thirds of the adolescent fathers in his study spent time playing with their children every day, while the majority of the other live-in fathers interacted with their children at least several times a week. In light of recent studies on divorce which have shown that divorced fathers perform a recreational role for their children, non-resident teenage fathers main interaction with their infants and children is likely to be play as well.⁶⁹ Differences between maternal and paternal style of play have also been noted. Fathers tend to play with their infants in a more physical and aggressive manner than mothers.⁷⁰ Play is a highly significant activity in human development. It is an instructional tool, a tensional outlet, and a mechanism for socialization. It is an essential role available to the adolescent father, independent of his financial status. Because the Black adolescent male has few economic resources, this potential contribution to his offspring has even more significance. Agencies should include information on this aspect of fathering as part of their programs; perhaps even instructing Black adolescent fathers on what constitutes stimulating and appropriate play.

⁶⁸Ross Parke, Thomas Power, Theresa Fisher, "The Adolescent Father's Impact on the Mother and Child" op.cit., p. 96.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 94.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 94-95.

While the presence of a nurturing interactive father can have a profoundly positive affect on a child, the absence of a father can be equally detrimental. One researcher noted that a history of paternal deprivation featured prominently in the background of male suicides.⁷¹ Carter conducted a multivariate analysis of the effects of father absence on the Black child. The study's subjects were 148 parochial school children, ages 8-14, 90% of whom were Black. Among the findings were an association in the older Black male child between father absence and difficulty in relating to both authority figures and strangers. For females, father absence was linked with difficulty in the development of an internal locus of control. An internal locus of control orientation has been related to less anxiety, resistance to manipulation, and higher levels of achievement.⁷² These findings again delineate the importance to the child of supportive interaction with both parents.

Not only is fathering an important factor in child development, there is evidence that fatherhood is at least initially an event of significance to adolescent males.

Fathers and the Parenting Experience

There have been few studies exploring the attitudes of Black adolescent fathers towards the parenting experience.

⁷¹Ibid., citing M. E. Lamb "Father-Infant and Mother-Infant Interactions in the First Year of Life" Child Development (48), 1977, pp. 167-181.

⁷²Donald Carter, "Father Absence and the Black Child: A multivariate Analysis," The Journal of Negro Education, February 1989, pp. 134-142.

The findings of the existing studies conflict to some degree with the popular stereotypes of Black adolescent fathers as irresponsible and unfeeling. Hendricks conducted a cross-sectional exploratory study of the service needs and parenting attitudes of 95 unwed, Black adolescent fathers. When asked to describe their problems as young fathers, 55% said their problems included the duty of providing for a child and not being able to spend as much time with the child as desirable.⁷³ The subject's views of their relationship with the mothers of their children were also surprising. A clear majority, (60%), described their relationship as love both before and after the pregnancy.⁷⁴ When asked about their feelings about their children, 98% expressed concern for their children's future.⁷⁵ Hendricks study used a small selected sample, so caution must be used in generalizing from this data. However, a recent longitudinal comparative study of Black adolescent fathers and non-parenting peers yielded results similar to Hendricks study. Rivara, Sweeney and Henderson conducted a three year study of the impact of the birth of a child on the lives of low S.E.S. Black adolescent

⁷³Leo Hendricks and Theresa Montgomery, "A Limited Population of Unmarried Adolescent Fathers: A Preliminary Report of Their Views on Fatherhood and The Relationship with the Mothers of Their Children" Adolescence, Spring, 1983, Vol. XVIII, pp. 204-205.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 207.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 208-209.

fathers. The study also focused on the fathers relationships with the mothers of their children.⁷⁶

The study consisted of a selected sample of 100 Black adolescent fathers under the age of 20. The fathers were identified through young women attending a prenatal clinic of a city hospital. The control groups were obtained through selecting individuals seeking medical attention at clinic in the same hospital. Measures were taken before the birth of the child, at 9 months postpartum and at 18 months postpartum.⁷⁷

The majority of fathers in this study made at least some effort to be responsible fathers. Of the fathers, 95% contributed financially to the care of their child.⁷⁸ However, their economic resources were minimal. At the 18 month interview, only 19% of the fathers were able to contribute more than \$50 per week for the support of their child.⁷⁹ The majority of fathers compensated in a number of ways for what they were unable to contribute monetarily. All of the fathers described playing with their children. They also performed other tasks such as feeding their children, changing diapers, babysitting, and taking their children for

⁷⁶Frederick P. Rivara, Patrick J. Sweeney and Brady F. Henderson, "Black Teenage Fathers: What Happens When the Child is Born," Pediatrics, Vol. 78, (no.1), July 1986, pp. 151-158.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 152.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 155.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 157.

recreational outings.⁸⁰ An overwhelming majority of fathers maintained at least minimal contact with their children but the amount of time spent with their children was likely to decrease over time.⁸¹ At the 9 month interview, 2/3rd's of the fathers felt they would see their child more often within the next nine months. In reality, only 25% of fathers reported increased contact with their children.⁸² This was assumed to be connected to the fact that contact with the mother of the child decreased over time. At the prenatal interview, 51% of fathers reported living with their mates or seeing them daily; at the 18 month interview only 22% of fathers reported cohabitation or daily contact.⁸³ The reasons most frequently given by these subjects for not living with their children were: 1) The children were too young or 2) they were unable to support the child financially. The concern about the young age of a child is confusing, since these subjects had less contact as their children grew older. Perhaps this may be interpreted as a lack of clarity or apprehensiveness about the paternal role during a child's early years. The decrease in contact however, suggests that parenting may become more stressful instead of less stressful as the child grows older. This pattern of relatively intense involvement followed a sharp

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 155.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 156.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

decrease in contact has been confirmed by other studies. In Furstenberg's work, Unplanned Parenthood, 50% of teen mothers in the sample reported continued contact with the fathers of their children throughout the first years of the child's life.⁸⁴ As early longitudinal study of adolescent parents, found a pattern of close father involvement with mother and child during the first and second year after birth. Beyond the second post-natal year, the number of active fathers dropped sharply.⁸⁵ Earls and Seigel, reviewing the literature on adolescent fathers, cite the same pattern of early involvement, tapering off beyond the second post-natal year.⁸⁶ These findings suggest the following: 1) at least initially adolescent fathers, Black and white, make an attempt to fulfill their responsibilities; 2) without early social and economic support adolescent fathers are likely to forego the parenting role; 3) during this initial critical phase, fathers may be open to interventions aimed at the delaying of future paternity. The bottom line is that programs interested in engaging adolescent fathers should do so prenatally or at the soonest possible interval.

The Rivara, Sweeney and Henderson study contained several significant findings in addition to the findings concerning patterns of contact. The fathers were similar

⁸⁴Frank Furstenberg, Jr., op. cit. p. 40.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Felton Earls and Ben Seigel "Precocious Fathers" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, (no.50), July, 1980, p. 470.

to those in Hendricks study, in terms of identifying problem areas in their lives. Stressors were lack of finances, unemployment, difficulty in finding time to see the child and problems in the relationship with the mother of the child.⁸⁷ A six item depression/anxiety scale was administered to fathers and the comparison group. There were no greater signs of depression or anxiety in fathers than in their non-father peers. This finding is surprising considering the greater stress typically experienced by the fathers. Services most needed by these fathers were job training, counseling, and education in child care.⁸⁸ It is clear that strategies aimed at improving the outcome of teenage pregnancy, by including fathers must have these services. The project proposed here, would meet the identified need for job counseling by exposing participants to a variety of career and educational options. In fact, the experientially based workshop format has the potential for meeting most of the identified needs, except perhaps the need for job training.

Relationships Between Adolescent Fathers and Mothers

The discussion so far has yielded little information on the quality of the relationship between Black adolescent fathers and the mothers of their children. A 1983 study by

⁸⁷Rivara, Sweeney, and Henderson, op. cit. pp. 156-157.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 157.

Shirley Vining Brown helps fill the gap.⁸⁹ Brown conducted an exploratory study of 33 Black low income couples, focusing on their attitudes toward their relationship as well as their attitudes toward parenting.⁹⁰ Attitudes towards male exploitation of females were used as indicators of the couples' view towards the opposite sex. Nearly all of the couples disagreed with the idea that it's okay for males to say "I love you" in order to have sex with a girl.⁹¹ A majority (82%) of the males disagreed with a statement blaming pregnancy on the female because of failure to use birth control.⁹² Both findings refute the "hit and run" image of Black adolescent fathers. A majority of couples disagreed with the idea that getting a girl pregnant proves manhood. Interestingly, more females (46%) than males (9%) agreed with the idea.⁹³ Somehow the machismo connection between manhood and impregnation was taken more seriously by the females. A majority of couples (n=25), described their current relationship as love; however, 79% of the couples wanted to get married.⁹⁴ While the relationships between Black adolescent fathers and their mates may not be

⁸⁹Shirley Vining Brown, "The Commitment and Concerns of Black Adolescent Parents" Social Work Research and Abstracts, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter, 1983, pp. 28-34.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 28.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 29.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 31.

permanent, there is some indication that they are not "one night stands" and that they entail mutual concern.

Teenage mothers maybe the primary "gate-keepers" to hard to reach adolescent fathers. Perhaps once assured of a social programs good intentions towards adolescent fathers, mothers could facilitate the engagement process. Because the focus of this project is on increasing awareness of life opportunities and affecting the level of aspirations, of adolescent fathers, teenage mothers were not included as subjects. However, in developing model projects for adolescent fathers, it is clear that some contact should be made with their mates. When male/female relationships are complicated by racism and youth, a wholistic approach is needed.

Profile of Some Black Adolescent Fathers

Few of the handful of published recent studies on Black adolescent fathers have used a probability sample. It is unlikely that the background data gathered on the subjects of these studies presents a true picture of all Black adolescent fathers. However, the data may be useful in profiling Black adolescent fathers who engage with social service agencies. The studies by Hendricks and Rivara, provided the fullest the socio-demographic descriptions. Of the 95 fathers in Hendricks study, 54% were 17 years of age or younger when they first became fathers.⁹⁵ The fathers in the Rivara study

⁹⁵Leo Hendricks and Theresa Montgomery, op. cit. p. 203.

also had a mean age of 17.5 years.⁹⁶ Many of the fathers in both studies were from female headed households.⁹⁷⁹⁸ Schooling seems to be a problematic area for these subjects. Rivara, et. al reports that at the 18 month interview, only 28% of fathers were still in school as compared to 52% of their non-father peers.⁹⁹ Hendricks found that 50% of the fathers in his study had completed less than 12 years of schooling.¹⁰⁰ Schooling of course predicts employment prospects. The control group in the Rivara study already had higher expectations for education and type of career than the fathers. In addition, the control group already had jobs of greater status with brighter futures than the fathers.¹⁰¹ This project hopes that by broadening life options, more positive attitudes towards school will develop. Without a goal to lend inspiration, school may seem a useless exercise to this population. The fathers in Hendricks study also had a high rate of unemployment and expressed concern about their financial prospects.¹⁰² These studies confirm earlier research in the conclusion that the socio-economic cost of early parenthood is high for fathers as well as mothers.

⁹⁶Rivara Sweeney and Henderson, op. cit. p. 152.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Leo Hendricks and Theresa Montgomery, op. cit. p. 203.

⁹⁹Rivara, Sweeney, and Hendricks, p. 153.

¹⁰⁰Hendricks and Montgomery, op. cit. p. 203.

¹⁰¹Rivara, Sweeney, and Henderson, p. 157.

¹⁰²Leo Hendricks and Theresa Montgomery, op. cit. p. 206.

Early Fatherhood as a Crisis

Marie Littlejohn, Director of Social Work of Maternal Infant Care Services in New York City, in a conference on Creativity in Agencies, recalled many instances of frightened and overwhelmed adolescent fathers demanding to be present during their girlfriends prenatal examinations.¹⁰³ Mary Ann Salerno, a supervising social worker at New York Hospital, confirmed this phenomenon.¹⁰⁴ A friend of this writer, told the following story concerning her experience in a maternity ward: "I was shocked at the number of teenagers in the ward with me. I was even more shocked that their boyfriends came to visit every day. The thing is, the boyfriends didn't know what to do, so they would sit in the waiting room and watch cartoons."¹⁰⁵

The feeling of being overwhelmed, the fear and the immobilization described in these vignettes are all signs of crisis. First-time fatherhood creates a personal crisis for many teenage fathers beyond the normal turmoil of adolescence.

A crisis may be defined as resulting from a gap between the demands of a role and the skills and resources to meet this demand. Caplan, a major writer on crisis theory, defines a crisis as follows: "a disturbance in the organisms

¹⁰³Clinical Creativity: An Antidote to Agency Doldrums: An Institute for Clinicians and Administrators, New York: Hunter College School of Social Work, May 12, 1986.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Interview with Beverly Eaton, MSW, Assistant Director, New Hope Guild East New York Clinic, May 17, 1986.

equilibrium that is characterized by disorganization and ineffectuality; individuals are unable to solve crisis problems by calling upon their usual repertoire of coping skills."¹⁰⁶ The concept of fatherhood as a crisis also supports the need for early intervention on the part of agencies. A crisis is time-limited. Most writers describe a crucial six-week period after the precipitating event, during which intervention should be made. Because the Black adolescent father is difficult to engage, or not targeted for service, early engagement rarely occurs in the field. This proposal hopes to reach new fathers as soon as possible, and will include expectant fathers as part of its target population. Crisis resolution consists of four major tasks: "(1) physical survival, (2) expression of feelings, (3) cognitive mastery, and (4) behavioral/interpersonal adjustment."¹⁰⁷ These tasks correspond to the service needs of Black adolescent fathers, identified in the literature. Specifically, these needs center around jobs, education, counseling on coping with fatherhood, and learning about child development.¹⁰⁸ A telephone survey conducted for this

¹⁰⁶Samuel Dixon and Roberta Sands, Social Casework, Vol. 64, No. 4, 1983, citing Gerald Caplan, Principles of Preventive Psychiatry, (New York: Basic Books, 1964) p. 12.

¹⁰⁷Karl A. Slakieu, Crisis Intervention a Handbook For Practice and Research, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1984), p. 77.

¹⁰⁸Leo Hendricks, Cleopatra Howard and Patricia Ceasar, "Help-Seeking Behavior Among Selected Populations of Black Unmarried Adolescent Fathers: Implications for Human Service Agencies," American Journal of Public Health, Vol. 71, No. 7, July 1981, pp. 733-735.

proposal, of workers in adolescent pregnancy and parenting programs, in New York City and Raleigh and Durham, N.C., confirmed that Black adolescent fathers typically seek help in these areas. Those agencies offering any kind of vocational assistance, found the fathers easier to engage. Thus, the vocational orientation of the workshops proposed here, target a known area of need. The view of fatherhood as a crisis supports the use of a management strategy as the basis of "cure." Crisis intervention seeks to clarify the paternal role and what aspects of it are manageable for this population. It is hoped that understanding of the socio-economic and psychological complexities of fatherhood is a factor in the motivation to delay future paternity.

The Learning Style of Black Youth

Crisis theory suggests a general frame of reference for the project. Theories concerning the behavioral and learning styles of Black youth give more specific support to the choice of intervention.

John Ogbu describes the lifestyles and processes of adaptation which result from restricted socio-economic opportunities.¹⁰⁹ Ogbu contends that Black Americans or any social group, attempt to raise their children to function competently in the predominant circumstances of that group. He argues that these instrumental competencies may be

¹⁰⁹John Ogbu, "A Cultural Ecology of Competence Among Inner-City Blacks" in Margaret Spencer, ed. Beginnings: The Social and Affective Development of Black Children, (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates, 1984), pp. 50-57.

different than those demanded by the mainstream of society. He also notes that Black "Folk Theories" of success include strategies and modes outside of the typical educational-vocational track. Individuals who have made it outside of conventional means are admired.¹¹⁰ It can be argued that the Black adolescent male is particularly prone to have heroes outside of the mainstream because there are so few heroes for him to idolize within the mainstream. The issue of instrumental competencies is an important one. The school failure of young Black males is related to the disparity between the rule set and competencies with which they are most comfortable, and those demanded by the school. Social service agencies often resemble schools (the appointment hour, rules of the program, unequal power relationship between worker and client) in structure and content. Agency failure to connect with Black adolescent fathers may also be based, in part, on the lack of recognition of their different instrumental competencies. However, there is a danger in over-reliance on one set of competencies. Ogbu describes this danger in the following passage: "One gains the impression from ethnographic study of inner-city Blacks that many people, especially the males, consider it inappropriate to behave like white people in school and the community, although one should know how to deal with white people - how to manipulate whites in such a way as to retain one's safety and identity. Specifically, some children, particularly

¹¹⁰Ibid.

older ones, will need help in separating behaviors and skills which facilitate school success, and later socio-economic success, from behaviors and skills that imply assimilation into white middle-class culture and a threat, therefore, to their identity."¹¹¹ Again, if other means of shaping masculine identity and gaining status were open to the Black adolescent male, their sexual responsibility would be positively affected. Agencies must be creative in their approach to the Black adolescent male because of these important socio-cultural differences. A social service counseling response carries with it a stigma of deviance or madness. It is usually a long term, sometimes amorphous approach, with goals evolving from the content of sessions. It tries the patience of the adolescent with his need to see immediate results.

A workshop design has been defined as a "pattern of learning experiences for accomplishing a given set of objectives."¹¹² This more structured approach would be aimed directly at increasing the adolescent fathers' awareness of other survival strategies, and enabling them to manipulate a wider environment effectively. Furthermore, this design offers immediate results. This approach is described fully in the section on Methodology.

The literature which describes in detail the difference in instrumental competencies between Black American culture

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 66-67.

¹¹²Ronald L. Barrozzi, "Family Life Education Workshop Design," Social Casework, December, 1982, p. 615.

and the mainstream, also supports a more active stance on the part of social service agencies. Specifically, several researchers (Cohen, 1971, Miller-Jones, 1983, Brice-Heath, 1982)¹¹³ have examined the various information processing styles among different cultures and classes. Low-income Black Americans seem to favor "implicit-inductive logical modalities."¹¹⁴ In this style, the child or learner is exposed to a rich array of experiences from which he discovers structure and extracts rules.¹¹⁵ Schools stress a deductive information processing style, in which a student must learn to generalize from an explicit statement of a rule. The one-to-one directive therapy often used with adolescents, frequently relies on deductive learning. The client is expected to generalize from rules learned in the therapeutic relationship to other relationships and in other contexts. Many family planning programs use a deductive approach. Cohen terms the inductive mode as a relational-conceptual style, and the deductive mode as an analytic-

¹¹³Rosalie Cohen, "The Influence of Conceptual Rule-Sets on Measures of Learning Ability," in Race and Intelligence, C. Brace, G. Gamble, and J. Bonds, eds., Anthropological Studies No. 8, 1971, (American Anthropological Association, pp. 41-57; Shirley Brice Heath, "What No Bedtime Story Means: Narrative Skills of Home and School." Language and Society No. II, Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 49-75; and Dalton Miller Jones, "Cognitive Consequences of Adaptive Social Behavior in Black Children." The Fifth Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology. (Ithaca, New York: African Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, May, 1981), pp. 1-16.

¹¹⁴Dalton Miller Jones, "Cognitive Consequences of Adaptive Social Behavior in Black Children," op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

conceptual style. The following table illustrates the relationship between the two:

Table 116
Characteristics of Analytic and Relational Cognitive Styles

| | Analytic Style | Relational |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| MODE OF ABSTRACTION RULES | Stimulus-centered Parts - specific Seek formal properties | Self-centered Global Seek descriptive properties |
| FIELD ARTICULATION RULES | Extract infinitely | Embed infinitely |

Field articulation refers to the ability to elicit pertinent information from the context in which it is centered. As can be seen, several simultaneous contextual interventions would be in keeping with the relational style. Thus, the concept of more than one workshop with the same underlying theme is supported. Additionally, the use of a hands on experiential approach in this project develops from the use of self as the focus of learning. Because rules are embedded in experience, participation in the project may have the effect of opening up other areas in subjects lives.

Both Cohen and Brice-Heath¹¹⁷ identify styles of family organization from which each information processing modality develops. The analytic conceptual style develops in strictly organized primary groups. The function of each family member has been well conceptualized and assigned to status roles

¹¹⁶Rosalie Cohen, "The Influence of Conceptual Rule-Sets on Measures of Learning Ability," op.cit., p. 49.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

within the group. The relational conceptual style has been associated with groups in which essential family functions are widely shared and performed by a variety of members. This is a more loosely organized, fluid type of organization, in which members learn to deal effectively with shifts in status and roles.¹¹⁸ The latter organization style is a characteristic of Black families, in which even neighbors sometimes assume various kinship roles. This information suggests that it may be helpful for agencies to include the family, mate, and peers in whatever service is offered to Black adolescent fathers.

Because teaching (sex education, child care and development, parenting) is an important intervention in the area of teenage pregnancy and parenthood, knowledge concerning the information processing style of a given population is quite helpful. Since learning through context is the familiar mode of Black adolescents, agencies should adopt strategies offering hands-on experiences, whenever possible. Of course, the type of experiences offered should be based on clearly identified needs. This approach emphasizes giving the practical assistance that is desperately needed in the Black community. In a recent survey of the help-seeking behavior of Black Americans, of the relatively few respondents who sought social service assistance, the majority sought help for economic

¹¹⁸Ibid.

problems.¹¹⁹ Hendricks study on the needs of Black adolescent fathers suggested that they offer concrete assistance such as tutoring and vocational guidance. He noted that resolving these practical problems opened the door to working on less visible, but important problems.¹²⁰ Practical assistance can also be experientially based; for example, field trips to job sites instead of receiving a manual on job opportunities. The workshop interventions proposed here are as experientially based as resources allowed.

The culturally sensitive approach that most social service agencies advocate means not only the absence of racist policies, or the hiring of Black workers, but the use of strategies which incorporate knowledge of the unique characteristics of a group.

An important policy statement is made in choosing experientially based, aggressive strategies. Because the problem of Black adolescent fatherhood is inextricably tied to the perilous socio-economic condition of the Black male, any approach that is solely inner-directed, ignoring the role of systems, becomes a case of blaming the victim. Yet this researchers experience in the field suggests that adolescent fathers are as emotionally needy as their female

¹¹⁹Harold W. Neighbors and Robert J. Taylor, "The Use of Social Service Agencies by Black Americans," Social Service Review, June, 1985, p. 266.

¹²⁰Leo Hendricks, "Suggestions for Reaching Unmarried Black Adolescent Fathers," Child Welfare 62(2), March/April 1983, p. 145.

counterparts. Thus, the importance of client/worker relationships should not be over looked. The problem is one of striking the balance between meeting emotional needs and socio-economic needs.

IV. Review of Policy and Programs

Perhaps more than in other areas of social welfare, the values and attitudes of the time, rather than rational planning have dictated the policy concerning adolescent pregnancy and parenting. Throughout the last three decades, policies directed towards adolescent males have been influenced by the highly charged, ambivalent, sometimes hostile attitude of society towards the sexuality of teenaged boys, particularly Black teenaged boys.

The societal viewpoint of Black males has been conditioned by three basic beliefs: "...Black men were only a step above the animals - possessing awesome physical powers, but lacking in intellectual ability. As such, their proper role in white society was as laborers, and not as the managers of labor. Second, the Black male represented a potential political threat to the entire system of slavery. And third, but by no means last, the Black male symbolized a lusty sexual potency which threatened white women. ...Finally, Black males disciplined for various crimes against white supremacy - such as escaping from the plantation or murdering their masters - were often punished in a sexual manner. On this point, the historical record is clear. In the colonial era, castration of Black males was required by legislatures of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Black men were castrated simply for striking a white man, or for attempting

to learn to read and write."¹²¹ White parents greatest fear was that their daughters would become intimately involved with Black males. To complicate matters even further, the economic vulnerability of young Black males has caused some of them to embrace the super-stud macho myth. If not allowed to assert masculinity through success in the marketplace, then why not embrace the image of masculinity through sexual poweress.

When Black adolescents become fathers in this atmosphere, they may be viewed by society as expressing their own stereotypical hyper-sexuality at no personal cost to themselves. At worse, they are viewed as animalistic exploiters of females. Either way, Black adolescent fathers have been seen as undeserving of public support and empathy. The "unworthiness" of Black adolescent fathers may be seen as a hidden cause of the lack of a national policy on their behalf.

This view is slowly changing, not because of a decrease in bias towards adolescent fathers, but because of the growing recognition that adolescent fatherhood is associated with an increase in dependency. Thus in the conservative 1980's, with a re-emphasis on the social control function of social work, there has been some interest in the development of male involvement programs. It is an assumption of this project that society's need to control dependency is not

¹²¹Manning Marable, "The Black Male: Searching Beyond Stereotypes" in Robert Staples, ed. The Black Family: Essays and Studies, 3rd edition, (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1986), p. 65.

necessarily at odds with the needs of the Black adolescent father.

In the 50's, adolescent pregnancy was defined as a female problem. Agency goals were to spare both the white adolescent and her family embarrassment by concealing the pregnancy and arranging for adoption. Abortion was dangerous and illegal. The other acceptable option for a pregnant teen was early marriage. The rights and potentially supportive role of adolescent fathers were not yet issues. There was policy directed at the financial responsibility of the male partner. Until quite recently, social welfare agencies have either pursued fathers for child support or attempted to prevent fathers from receiving public funds earmarked for mothers and children. Seeking child support from adolescent fathers was, and is reasonable. It becomes problematic when efforts to gain funds from a population with limited financial resources discourages adolescent fathers from offering other forms of support.

During the 60's, theories connecting the "cycle of poverty" to adolescent pregnancy and concern over the population explosion, helped redefine the issue as a socio-economic one. The high risk status of Black adolescents began to be recognized. Unplanned pregnancy was thought to be rooted in lack of knowledge about sex, and lack of access to contraceptives. The solution, therefore, was family planning. Family planning is an unambiguous technique that is relatively inexpensive and gives easily measureable results. Because it seemed to be such a direct solution,

there was a vocal and effective family planning lobby. The family planning programs have presented one solution to the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. But family planning has not been a panacea for the entangled problem of adolescent parenthood. The fact that it was viewed as such is an example of top-down planning.¹²² Top-down planning occurs when a solution is fitted to a problem without regard for the myriad motives and needs of those served. It is an approach that emphasizes procedures, the quantification of service and form, rather than content. In relying on family planning as the solution of choice, the view from the bottom was not fully considered. Specifically, the adolescent male, and cultural factors affecting the minority view of birth control were not fully considered. Contraceptive use was viewed as a female responsibility, as was safe sex and the prevention of venereal disease. By the 1970's, the feminist movement helped create another option for the pregnant adolescent. In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled for a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy. Legislation passed in the mid-seventies gave "mature" minors access to contraceptive services, and abortions without parental consent.¹²³ The emphasis here shifts from the female's sexual duty to prevent unwanted pregnancy to her right to control her body. Additionally, male and female adolescents gained greater

¹²²John Talbott, "The Patient: First or Last?" Hospital and Community Psychiatry, Vol. 35, No. 4, April 1984, pp. 342-343.

¹²³Judith Areen, Family Law: Cases and Materials, (Mineola, New York: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1985), pp. 801-818.

sexual freedom when birth control and abortion were removed from parental control. However in the interim, several states have enacted parental consent laws reinforcing the sovereignty of the family in the issues of abortion and family planning. Feminism affected the issue of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood indirectly through exploration of gender roles. In the Black community race, not gender was often identified as the primary issue, resulting in less attention to gender roles. In general, there began an examination of paternity as a separate entity; at the same time attention was turned to the problem of adolescent fatherhood.

Federal Policy and Programs

In 1978, Congress created the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs (OAPP), with a goal of establishing comprehensive community services for pregnant and parenting adolescents.¹²⁴ OAPP was responsible for the creation, in 1981, of the Adolescent Family Life Program, under Title XX of the Public Health Service Act. The core services of AFL are family planning, prenatal and post-natal care, sex education, vocational services, and adoption counseling. Counseling sex-education, parent training, and vocational services are technically offered to the male partners and extended family members of the adolescent female. However, adolescent fathers have not been targeted by AFL as primary

¹²⁴Dwayne Gilchrist and Steven Paul Schinke, "Teenage Pregnancy and Public Policy," Social Service Review, June, 1983, p. 310.

clients. The AFL program funds demonstration project. After these projects are evaluated they are considered for recommendation as models for state and local agencies. It is worth noting that the Federal government does not guarantee funding for any program developed from a demonstration model. Although AFL has been one of the most comprehensive federal program addressing adolescent pregnancy and parenthood, it remains underfunded. Since its inception, no more than \$15 million per fiscal year has been appropriated for AFL. Underfunding typifies the lack of a full commitment on a national level to tackle the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. This governmental hedging is more euphemistically known as a safety net approach. The use in this dissertation project of existing resources is based in part on the recognition of fiscal realities.

Another federal program of potential benefit to adolescent fathers as well as mothers is the Job Training Partnership Act. JTPA however is slanted in favor of those adolescents who may have succeeded in the marketplace without government intervention. "JTPA funneled federal funds to states, which in turn funded local private industry councils (PICS)." "PICS, composed of business, agency, and government officials, awarded contracts to job placement agencies and to local industries, which received a fee for each person that they placed with private business."¹²⁵ Thus the program

¹²⁵Bruce S. Jansson "The Reluctant Welfare State" (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1988), p. 218.

favors those low income persons who possess the skills to exploit the marketplace. In addition "...placement agencies often were reimbursed only for successful placements. The failure of JTPA to provide training and daycare subsidies to placement agencies, businesses or trainees made it possible for many women and low-income persons to use the program."¹²⁶ The Job Corp is now also considered a JTPA program, although it is administered by the Labor Department and not by a combination of local government and private industry. The Job Corp is a residential program for disadvantaged youths age 14 through 21. The underlying idea of the Job Corps, of exposing its clients to stimulating experiences, while teaching them new skills had excellent potential. However many of the residential centers were depressing environments that conveyed a powerful message of limited opportunity, rather than of expanding horizons.

In general, states have under-utilized JTPA as an adolescent pregnancy and parenthood prevention program. In part, this is because of the short-comings of the program previously identified. Additionally, a recent survey of states reactions to federal policies and program, only six states recommended increasing job training for at-risk, pregnant and parenting adolescents.¹²⁷ While there is awareness of restriction of opportunities as a causative

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷The Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, U.S. House of Representatives 99th Congress. Teen Pregnancy: What is Being Done: A State By State Look (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1986, pp. 40-53.

factor in adolescent pregnancy and parenthood, there is still not a strong commitment to increasing socio-economic opportunities in response. At this point, it should be noted that this dissertation project is not asserting that Black adolescent fathers are "culturally-deprived;" only that they may need assistance in working the socio-political-economic system of this nation to their best advantage.

The lack of a stronger connection between the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood and existing job training programs is indicative of both a fragmentation of services and a limited vision of potential solutions. In light of this, part of the design of this dissertation project makes use of multiple resources and of connecting existing resources with each other.

Another widely used Federal program is the Family Planning Program funded under Title X of the Public Health Services Act. Most Title X dollars go to family planning clinics. There are no mandated target populations although free services must be given to low-income populations. In recent years, some states have used Family Planning funds to promote male involvement programs. The majority of states; however, continue to focus on family planning as a female responsibility.¹²⁸ In fiscal year 1985, Family Planning received 142.5 million in funds compared to 14.7 million for the Adolescent Family Life Program in the same year. This is additional evidence of the use of Family Planning as the

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 76-84.

primary solution to the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. Finally a word must be said about Title XX. The Social Services Block Grant Program gives states the option to use these funds to provide male inclusive adolescent pregnancy and parenting programs. However, there are many competing social service needs to be met with Title XX dollars. Traditionally, daycare for children has been the largest single service funded by Title XX dollars.¹²⁹ Still Title XX may be a relatively unused source of funds for programs for at risk and parenting Black adolescent males.

Programs for at Risk Unwed Adolescent Males

In spite of the lack of a cohesive national policy directed towards the role of adolescent fathers, a number of programs for at risk, and parenting unwed adolescent males have been developed at the state and local levels. An even fewer number of these programs specifically target Black adolescent males for service. In 1986, in New York State, Governor Cuomo proposed an additional 2.5 million dollars under the Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Services Act for local school districts to implement family life/sex education programs.¹³⁰ New York is one of the 39 states reporting a school based program.¹³¹ School based programs are thought to be particularly useful with adolescent males

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 344.

¹³⁰Tracey Hurling, "Prevention of Teen Pregnancy and Parenthood: Perspectives on State Policy," Speech delivered at New York State Women's Legislative Conference, March 4, 1986.

¹³¹Ibid.

because there they are a captive audience. Low income schools with large minority populations have been targeted for services. Difficulty in engaging the population has been recognized on the federal, state, and local levels.¹³²

Several recruitment strategies were attempted during the contact stage of this project. Recruiting through the public schools was the most effective strategy. This finding is discussed fully in the final section of this dissertation.

In 1983, Illinois began the "Parents Too Soon" program. Parents Too Soon provides services through contracts with more than 100 local agencies. The target population is at risk and parenting boys and girls under the age of 21. Sources of special interest to adolescent males include assistance in finishing high school, family planning, vocational training, and advocacy. The program began with funding contained in the 1983 Federal Emergency Jobs Bill.¹³³ San Francisco has a male inclusive program with similar services known as Teen Pregnancy and Parenting Program or TAPP. Both programs include efforts to increase self-sufficiency, thus supporting the thrust of this dissertation project.¹³⁴ The Center for Population Options developed a life planning curriculum for males, a workbook, and a

¹³²Center for Population Options, The Male Involvement Bulletin, Washington, D.C., (Center for Population Options, May 1986), pp. 1-8.

¹³³Joy DryFoods, A Review of Programs and Services to Foster Responsible Sexual Behavior on the Part of Adolescent Boys, (New York: A Report to the Carnegie Corporation, July, 1985), p. 40.

¹³⁴Ibid.

component on career planning that offers decision making and consciousness raising classes. At-risk adolescents and young fathers are the targeted population. This is a pilot project being tested in three cities. Preliminary findings from El Paso, Texas, show a highly positive reaction from adolescents who took the course.¹³⁵ The core idea of a life planning curriculum is similar to that of the project proposed here. The focus of both projects is on increasing educational and vocational opportunities. However, an important difference lies in the method of presentation. This project assumes that a more active presentation than the classroom/workbook method would be most effective with Black adolescents.

Planned Parenthood and a number of state health departments (Maryland and North Carolina are excellent examples) have sponsored condom distribution projects. Condoms are typically distributed in locations where adolescent males are known to congregate.¹³⁶ There are obvious problems in the follow-up and evaluation of these projects. It is difficult for distributors to monitor condom use. In Black community, such projects come up against the reputation of condoms for decreasing sexual pleasure. An example of a highly successful program in the Black community using condom distribution is Program G. Program G, sponsored by the Mecklenburg County Health Department, has a goal of teaching

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 47-52.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 68.

and monitoring sexual responsibility to males ages 15-21. In addition to condom distribution, "Program G" conducts male sexuality workshops involving family planning, V.D. prevention, physiology and anatomy, and general health maintenance. The program is staffed primarily by male sex educators and male advocates. These advocates are young men from the Black community whose input is used to determine the most effective means of recruiting clients. The advocates are also responsible for the development of traditional service delivery strategies for example, their in-put was crucial in creating community based rap sessions. This dissertation project shares the assumption that clients often offer the best solutions to their problems.¹³⁷

In 1985, The Children's Aid Society of New York City established a multi-service center in Central Harlem for at risk teens. The program is built around the theory that helping adolescents develop a sense that the future holds possibilities is one of the best preventitives for adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. The youngsters are engaged in sports activities, in weekly workshops with actors and actresses from the National Black Theater, job preparation classes whose graduates are assured summer jobs, family life and sex education classes which include the parents of the teens and health and medical services. This small scale, intensive program which began with 66 youngsters and 30

¹³⁷Mecklenburg County, Department of Health, Male's Place, Project Description, Unpublished project description, 1982.

parents, has been initially successful. None of the male participants in the program have fathered a child, and none of the female participants have become pregnant.¹³⁸ This dissertation project is built around the same idea of expanding life plans of participants. The concept of offering a variety of experiences to participant is also similar. However, there are differences. The Children's Aid Society program is a primary prevention program. Services are not offered to parenting teens. It is not male focused. And unlike this dissertation project which focuses on vocational and educational needs, The Children's Aid Society's program offers a supermarket approach. Certainly there is room for a number of strategies in coping with a complex issue like adolescent pregnancy and parenthood.

Finally, in 1983, The Ford Foundation spearheaded an effort to bring services to adolescent fathers known as the Teen Fathers Collaboration. Father programs exist in eight communities across the nation. The Teen Father Collaboration is based on the following premise:

"Important new research evidence shows that the young father - given help and know how - can make a variety of unique and far-reaching contributions to the well-being of his child and partner."¹³⁹ Under this premise, the adolescent family unit may be viewed as the primary client.

¹³⁸Children's Defense Fund, "CDF Reports, News and Issues" (December, 1986), p.6.

¹³⁹Bank Street College of Education Teen Fathers: Partners in Parenting. Brochure. (New York: Bank Street College of Education, 1984), p. 3.

In the view of this dissertation project, adolescent parenthood is both a symptom and a cause of a number of psychosocio-economic problems affecting fathers as well as mothers. While a father's ability to enhance the lives of his partner and child is important, adolescent fathers, particularly Black adolescent fathers, need service because without it they cannot fulfill the socio-economic roles that society dictates.

Among the services that the agencies in the Teen Father Collaboration have found effective are couples counseling job placement skills and services, family planning workshops.¹⁴⁰

There are differences among the Collaboration agencies on how these services are presented and which services are emphasized; however, as with the majority of program reviewed, there is recognition of the primacy of the vocational and educational needs of adolescent fathers. But to limit services at this point would be to deny the full human potential of this client population.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 8.

V. METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Study Population

This is a qualitative, exploratory study with the goal of contributing to the profession's knowledge of the culture of Black adolescent fathers. Again "culture" is used to describe the way a population defines the world. By increasing our knowledge of the "cognitive map" of Black adolescent fathers it is hoped that the profession will be better able to prevent adolescent parenthood and its negative consequences. Additionally, the project is intended to be model building research. Model building research has been defined as "inquiry directed toward the analysis, design, development and evaluation of innovations in the human services."¹⁴¹

An exploratory research design was chosen because of the limited knowledge concerning the worldview of Black adolescent fathers and about programs servicing them. It was also chosen because it lends itself to the development of the "right" questions and the generating of fruitful theoretical frameworks. Because this is an exploratory project, it cannot be used to make broad generalizations about Black adolescent fathers or programs servicing them. Nonetheless, the qualitative perspective was chosen in the belief that essential knowledge could be gained through a process of

¹⁴¹Edwin J. Thomas "The Validity of Design and Development and Related Concepts in Developmental Research" Contemporary Developments in Social Work Research Methodology, Social Work Research and Abstracts, Vol.21, No. 2, (Summer, 1985), p. 50.

participant observation, active listening and involvement, rather than through laboratory conditions or through responses to written questionnaires.

For years the survival of Black Americans in this country has depended upon our ability to observe and anticipate the actions of those white Americans in positions of power in our lives. For example, within the complex master/slave relationship, slaves were often privy to the most intimate details of their owners lives. It is an underlying assumption of this study that "watching white folks" is embedded in the African-American culture. On the other hand, Black Americans remain to a certain extent, intentionally invisible. A classic example of this phenomena that occurred within this project, was that of adolescent mothers refusing to identify the fathers of their children on the assumption that this knowledge would be used against them. This writer, as well as many Black colleagues, have discussed shifting into a "white people mode" at work or at school. This implies greater vigilance and a conscious adaptation of the style of the larger culture. This writer has always experienced it as pulling a shade over one's most essential self. This project assumes that this habit of concealment, of "not putting one's business in the street" is an issue to be dealt with whenever research is conducted in the Black community. In fact, it is as much an issue for Black researchers as well as white researchers, because unless you are known and trusted by the local community, your role as researcher makes you suspect as part of the white

power structure. Ultimately, however, it is easier for Black researchers with a similar background to overcome this adaptive hypervigilance.

For Black as well as white researchers alike, qualitative methods emphasize presenting people on their own terms, describing them in depth and detail.¹⁴² Qualitative methods offer a greater opportunity of lifting the shade, of removing the mask. Additionally, Black American researchers face the dilemma created by the fact that any negative findings concerning Black Americans have often been used to perpetuate a pathological view of Afro-American attitudes and behaviors. The rich descriptive data yielded through qualitative methods, makes this less likely to happen.

Sample

Because the literature and practice wisdom indicate that Black adolescent males are a difficult population to reach, a non-probability convenience sample was used. The population consisted of nine Black unwed adolescent fathers. The mean age of the fathers was 15.5 years. Seven of the fathers were in high school throughout the project, one father was in and out of a GED program and one father dropped out of high school towards the end of the project. All of the fathers lived in a low S.E.S. neighborhood in a medium size southern city. Only one father's family was supported by SSI, the rest of the fathers came from families in which the head of the household worked. Other demographic data collected on

¹⁴²Michael Quinn Patton Qualitative Evaluation Methods. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), pp. 17-48.

the sample from a field diary, observations and a structured questionnaire, include extent of contact with offspring, composition of family of origin, and attitudes towards contraceptive use. The interview schedule, which can be found in the appendix was taken in part from an instrument developed by Leo Hendricks at the Urban Institute of Howard University. The data collected from these sources is described in detail in the chapters on program contact and implementation.

Methodology and Data Collection

As stated in the introduction, the Differential Program Evaluation Model of Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein is the framework for the interventions of this dissertation project.¹⁴³ This model views program development as occurring in three identifiable stages: program initiation, centering around planning and resource gathering activities; program contact, centering around the recruitment and engagement of the target population; and program implementation, centering around the interventions and strategies chosen to meet programmatic goals. Each stage is then evaluated according to its efficiency, effort and effectiveness. Program effort concerns the "type and quantity of program activities or inputs; program effectiveness deals with ..."the achievement of the goals of the current stage of program development" and program

¹⁴³Tripodi, Fellini and Epstein, op cit.

efficiency provides ..."information about program effectiveness relative to program effort."¹⁴⁴

Research has confirmed the power of experiential learning.¹⁴⁵ Replicating the process of developing a program according to the differential social program evaluation model, offered a unique opportunity to add to the profession's understanding of Black adolescent fathers and strategies that might prevent early paternity and its negative consequences.

Each stage of program development was characterized by data triangulation and methodological triangulation. "The logic of data triangulation is based on the premise that ... no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors.... Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed."¹⁴⁶ The primary source of data for this project was the sample population of unwed Black adolescent fathers. In addition to this sample population, observations and field notes were gathered on an additional seven Black unwed adolescent fathers, who declined to participate in the project to a further extent. The data collected on this subgroup is described in the chapter on program contact. Other sources of data were twenty direct service workers from existing programs servicing Black adolescent fathers. Four

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁴⁵Dalton Miller Jones op cit.

¹⁴⁶Michael Patton, op.cit. citing, Norman K. Denzin "The Research Act" (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978), p. 28.

of the service providers worked in programs that potentially serve Black adolescent fathers in the city in which this project was conducted. These workers participated in taped ethnographic interviews. Sixteen direct service workers were a selected sample of respondents in a telephone survey. Their agencies and names were suggested by large institutions involved in the area of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood, such as the Children's Defense Fund or by other social workers. Family members of the sample population, adolescent mothers, church members, members of the University community, guidance counselors from local high schools, and identified "gatekeepers" of the target population were also sources of data.

Methodological mixes consisted of ethnographic techniques such as participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, structured questionnaire with multiple-choice questions, a telephone survey, informal interviews, two open-ended questionnaires, and a weekly discussion group with the sample population. Samples of these instruments may be found in the appendices.

Over a four month period, the sample population was observed in the classroom, in their homes, at the "Y," at two teen dances, at fast food restaurants, in the researchers office at the University, at the unemployment office and during the activities of the program implementation phase of development. Participant-observation was also used as a strategy to gain information about a local teen pregnancy prevention program. In fact, the researcher became a part of

the Committee on Administration of this agency. This served to provide data on the planning process and on the making of administrative decisions in a program that sought to service Black adolescent fathers. This program will be referred to as Program A.

The sub-group of partially participant fathers were seen sporadically over a two month period. This group was also observed in natural settings such as a teen "nightclub," a community center in a public housing project, or in other neighborhood "hangouts." Whenever the researcher engaged in participant observation, informants were told of the researcher's role and purpose, i.e., to learn as much as possible about Black adolescent fathers and to learn how to develop effective social programs to assist this population.

As well as listening, observing and the recording information, all participants in the project were interviewed as well. Different interviewing techniques were used with different groups of participants at various times. The most frequently used interviewing technique was the ethnographic interview based upon the work of James Spradley.¹⁴⁷ Rather than developing interview schedules where each informant would be asked the exact same set of questions, interview guides were used. These guides consisted of question domains; for example, questions concerning staff attitudes toward unwed Black adolescent fathers, or the attitudes of Black adolescent fathers towards

¹⁴⁷James Spradley, The Ethnographic Interview (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979).

social programs. A question within a domain may vary depending on the response of an informant. Using a guide instead of an interview schedule gives the researcher an opportunity to follow a "hot trail," that is, an unexpected area opened up by an informant. Ethnographic interviewing is based on the premise that "complex meaning systems organize human behavior" and that these systems make up a culture.¹⁴⁸ It also avoids what Spradley terms "naive realism." Naive realism is the "...almost universal belief...that all people define the real world of objects, events and living creatures in pretty much the same way."¹⁴⁹ It should further be noted that members of any group are likely to share only certain aspects of a culture. One goal of this project is to discover if certain themes, or patterns emerge in the world view of Black adolescent fathers that would be helpful in program development. Ethnographic interviewing presents a way of empowering the participants of research. It is not the testing of researchers hypotheses that is of primary importance, it is gaining understanding of the informant's world view and acting upon it that is the heart of ethnographic research. Furthermore, when ethnographic research is used by a social worker, it is not solely for the sake of understanding, but to use knowledge in professional practice for the good of the most vulnerable in society.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 6-7.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

Typology of Questions

James Spradley identifies three basic types of questions used during ethnographic interviewing:¹⁵⁰ descriptive questions, structural questions and contrast questions. Descriptive questions are directed toward obtaining an informants description of "space, time events, people, activities, objects, attitudes, cognition and other dimensions of culture."¹⁵¹ Spradley goes on to identify five kinds of descriptive questions; however, only three of these subtypes were used in the interview guides for this study. The types of descriptive questions used were "Grand Tour," "Mini Tour" and "Native Language" questions. Grand Tour questions were used for the purpose of orientation, to gain an overview of how things usually are. An example of a Grand Tour question used in the project is "could you describe the social service systems response to Black adolescent fathers in this area?" Mini Tour questions are aimed at obtaining information about smaller units of experience. An example would be "Could you describe for me how the female social workers in this agency respond to Black adolescent fathers?" Other methods of asking descriptive questions include asking for examples of an event, attitude, relationship, etc.; or asking for an interesting experience. For example, fathers in the project were asked to tell about interesting experiences they have had with their offspring.

¹⁵⁰James P. Spradley, op. cit., pp. 87-89.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

Structural questions are used in conjunction with descriptive questions. The goal of a structural question is to obtain information about domains - about how informants have organized their knowledge.¹⁵² An example would be, "what are all the different things you did to recruit Black adolescent fathers into your program?" Contrast questions were used to clarify meanings by highlighting differences in experiences, or semantic differences. An example of a contrast question used in the project was "could you describe any differences in working with Black adolescent males who are fathers and those who are not?" Finally, native language questions were used. In order to understand native language terms, it was necessary to ask for an example of how the term was used rather than its meaning. Context often changes meaning. A familiar example would be the use the word "had" in Black English. "They were really throwing down at that party, it was had!" In this context, "had" refers to how good or enjoyable the party was. On the other hand, in the statement "cops were busting heads left and right, it was a had scene" had would translate as terrible, or awful.

Because the researcher's family is from the South, it was assumed that the researcher and participants spoke the same language. This was not the case. In addition, there were many terms used by the adolescent participants in the study that needed translation. For example, having a relationship with a "female" was different than having a

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 60.

relationship with one's "woman." A "female" is purely a sexual partner, with whom one has a casual relationship. When the fathers in the study spoke of their partner as their "woman," it implied strong ties of affection and a more serious long standing relationship. In the chapter on Evaluation, the price of failure to translate simple terms is discussed.

Reliability and Validity

Establishing reliability and validity are always problematic in qualitative research. For the purposes of this project, reliability was construed that similar data will be yielded under similar conditions. For example, questions in the interview guide under the domain of contraceptive use would evoke responses about contraceptive use. Validity, refers to asking the intended question, or observing the intended behavior. For example, it was felt that observing the sample population at teen dances would yield information about socialization with their mates. Only two fathers ever brought the mothers of their children to dances during the project; therefore, this was not a valid strategy for the intended purpose.

Triangulation of data and methods was used to establish convergent validity. If similar findings or perspectives emerge from multiple data sources collected in multiple ways, than at least the assumption of face validity can be made. In addition, the interview guides were administered to two colleagues. As a result, several changes in terminology were made to ensure content validity. During the contact and

implementation phases of the project, the director of Program A was often present as a co-observer. During the discussion group intervention, a high school guidance counselor acted as co-observer. Field notes were compared with the impressions of co-observers after each activity. Observer agreement was used as an indicator of reliability.

Evaluation of Data

Qualitative research, particularly research using ethnographic techniques, produces rich contextual data; reams of it. Because the project design was neither entirely anthropological or developmental, but contained elements of both, organizing the data was even more difficult. The data was handled through the following process: First, data was grouped according to its source. Then data was organized according to the methodology by which it was obtained. Finally, the corresponding stage of program development was matched with data sources and methodology. Once the data were organized in this fashion, the search for themes, patterns, trends, experiences, feelings, attitudes, etc. began. The development of systematic categories hinged on the emergence of "recurring regularities" in the data.¹⁵³ "Categories should then be judged by two criteria: "internal homogeneity" and "external heterogeneity." The first criterion concerns the extent to which the data that belong in a certain category hold together ...in a meaningful way.... The

¹⁵³Michael Patton, op. cit., p. 311.

second criterion concerns the extent to which differences among categories are bold and clear.¹⁵⁴

The final step in the data evaluation process was to review the emerging patterns of each phase of program development according to criteria of effort, efficiency and effectiveness. The primary strategy for evaluating the effort, efficiency and effectiveness of each phase of program development was the case study. "The case study strategy has as its purpose the detailed description of a social program as it unfolds in its process of development. It employs both qualitative and quantitative data in an effort to develop hypotheses and new ideas for explaining the progress or lack of progress in program development."¹⁵⁵ The evaluation process for this project is illustrated in Table 2.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin, and Irwin Epstein, op. cit., p. 84.

Table 2.Stages of Data Evaluation

| <u>Stage of Program Development</u> | <u>Data Sources</u> | <u>Methodology</u> |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| Initiation | Literature, gate-keepers, NCSU faculty & staff service providers, etc. Funding sources, Program "A" Director | Review of Literature Ethnographic interviews, Telephone survey |
| Contact | Local social service programs, churches, community centers, County Public School System, 16 unwed Black adolescent fathers, High School Guidance Counselors, cosmetology school, Program "A" adolescent Director, mothers, families | Participant-observation radio announcements, flyers, letters, Ethnographic interviews, taped interviews, structured interview schedule |
| Implementation | 9 Black unwed adolescent fathers, Program "A" Director, Social science Computer lab (Life choice software) High School guidance counselors' families and partners of sample population. | Participant-observation discussion group (taped) Vocational experiences at computer lab, TV studio, school veterinary medicine. Open-ended interviews. Ethnographic interviews. Home visits. |

There is no doubt that naturalistic inquiry using triangulation of data sources and methodology is unwieldy even in a project of such small scope. However, since professional practice is built on process and is transformed by context, it seemed reasonable to use research methods that focus on these elements.

VI. RESULTS

An Ethnographic Survey of Agencies

Information gathering is a primary task of the initiation phase of program development. The kind of information obtained through the previous review of written material on policy and programs concerning adolescent fathers is quite broad. Significant data concerning the human element is often missing.

As stated previously, cultural knowledge is viewed as essential to program development. Organizational culture addresses beliefs about how work should be organized, who has decision making authority and how it is exercised. Organizational culture has a profound affect on programmatic objectives and how they are carried out.

Charles B. Handy, in Understanding Organizations¹⁵⁶ asserts that organizations, as well as people, possess cultures and that a particular organizational culture compliments certain kinds of tasks. Handy defines organizational culture in the following manner: "In organizations there are deep-set beliefs about the way work should be organized, the way authority should be exercised, people rewarded, people controlled. What the degrees of formalization required? How much planning and how far ahead? What combination of obedience and initiative is looked for in subordinates? Do work hours matter, or dress, or personal eccentricities? What about expense accounts and

¹⁵⁶Charles B. Handy Understanding Organizations (New York: Penguin Books, 1981).

secretaries, stock options and incentives? Do committees control or individuals? Are there rules and procedures or only results? These are all parts of the culture of an organization."¹⁵⁷ Handy goes on to identify a typology of organizational cultures; the power, role, task and person cultures.

The power culture, which may be pictured as a web, depends on a focal point of power, with "rays of power and influence" radiating from that focal point. Rules and regulations are secondary to the influence and decisions of key individuals. Workers who succeed in the power culture are risk-takers, politically oriented and innovative.¹⁵⁸ In the history of social welfare organizations, the settlement houses are brought to mind. One cannot conceive of Hull House without Jane Adams or Henry Street without Lillian Wald. Indeed the settlement house movement faded without the driving force of these charismatic individuals.

The role culture is pictured by Handy as a "greek temple, ruled by Apollo the god of reason." A role culture is more commonly known as a bureaucracy. Rules and regulations are the guiding force of the role culture. The role takes precedence over the individual who fills it. Power rests at the top of the temple and flows down along its pillars. Role cultures are known for their efficiency. Predictability, reliability and security are highly

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 178-179.

valued.¹⁵⁹ The most common criticism of role cultures is that procedures often take on a life of their own, separate from their original objectives. An example of a regulation with a paradoxical result, would be the "clear and present danger" regulations of our mental health system. Originally intended to prevent the unjust or unnecessary hospitalization of patients the implementation of the law has resulted in the denial of treatment to some of the patients it sought to protect.

The task culture may be best pictured as a net, with power and influence converging at the intersections of the net. The task culture calls for 'team' players, capable of utilizing personal talents and other resources to get the job done. Currently, Japanese corporations are representative of the task culture. In social welfare, a task culture would probably evolve in those institutions using an eco-systems framework. In ecological-systems work, organizational energy is directed towards some imbalance in the interaction of a set of systems.

A task culture is characterized by creativity, adaptability, worker autonomy (within the team) and sensitivity to the demands of the environment. The price of freedom in a task culture, is often a loss of efficiency and of managerial control. In a climate where the allocation of

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 180.

resources is a primary concern, flexible, adventuresome task cultures may not flourish.¹⁶⁰

The fourth culture identified by Handy is the person culture. In this culture, the needs of the individual are paramount. In fact, the organization exists only for the convenience of the individuals within it. Professional group practices would be examples of person cultures. College professors are often allowed the illusion of working in a person culture. Handy pictures this culture as a "galaxy of individual stars." Power and influence are based on expertise. The person culture often evolves into a task, or role culture once the organization has served the purposes of its originators.¹⁶¹

Clearly, there is a connection between the culture of an organization and its ability to meet its objectives. Using Handy's typology as a framework, a telephone survey was conducted of eight agencies working with Black adolescent fathers. In line with the ethnographic approach of this study, Handy's typology of organizational cultures was not imposed upon informants. The survey sought to discover the concepts that informants used to classify their experiences. Once the cultural experience was described in the informants own terms, and effort was made to discover any correlation between actual experiences and Handy's typology.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 182.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 184.

The primary objective of the survey was to discover the relationship between the culture of an organization and its ability to work with Black adolescent fathers. The process of selecting agencies and informants has already been described in the Methodology section of this project. As described previously, the interviews were not conducted around a strict schedule. Instead, each informant was questioned about the same general issues; organizational characteristics, etc.), the activities during each phase of program development, programmatic strengths and weaknesses, an exploration of the informants ideas about working with Black adolescent fathers, and information about the fathers themselves. In addition to interviewing, informants who are working with pregnant, parenting and at-risk teens at present, four experts in the field were also interviewed. The purpose of these interviews was to tap into the practice wisdom of those who had been dealing with the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood over a number of years. These experts had seen a number of programs and approaches come and go and added depth to the perspective around the issue. A sample interview schedule may be found in the appendix. Respondents were informed that the interview was part of a dissertation project. Agency names are not used to insure confidentiality.

"Agency B"

If viewed on an organizational chart, "Agency B" would be part of a bureaucracy, with Planned Parenthood at the apex of the structure and "Agency B" as one of its pillars.

Bureaucratic culture is usually characterized by rules and procedures being passed from the top of the organization to the bottom. Flexibility, innovation and worker autonomy are not typical of bureaucratic culture. "Agency B" functions as a multi-service center for the adolescents of its catchment area; although effort, efficiency and effectiveness of program implementation is directed towards family planning. Tasks associated with the initiation phase of program development such as staff recruitment, obtaining financial and technological resources and setting the stage for the following phases of program development were handled centrally by Planned Parenthood. It was during this phase of program development that the organizational culture was the most bureaucratic. In order to obtain funding from sources such as Title XX, procedures and accountability must be emphasized.

Three informants were interviewed from "Agency B" (two male involvement workers and one female administrator). The informants saw Planned Parenthood as providing the *raison d'etre* for "Agency B", but agreed that the program had a high degree of autonomy in terms of program implementation and contact. The informants agreed that "Agency B" would not be as successful without a certain degree of worker autonomy and flexibility. "Agency B" has an overall administrator, but there are Supervisors for each of the programs components. The first male involvement worker interviewed stated that he was working with approximately 30% of the male partners of the adolescent females in the Family Planning Component.

Efforts were made to see these males before the births of their children. The informant identified himself as the supervisor of the Learning Center. He noted that the majority of the males involved in his component were Hispanic, the rest were Black. There was no fee for service. Among the activities of the Learning Center were GED preparation, academic tutoring, teaching job - readiness skills, job placement and some recreational outlets. Rap groups were also held where responsible sex, contraceptive methods, sexually transmitted diseases, male/female relationships and parenting issues were discussed. The first informant, a Black male, felt that his personality, or rather the personality of any one in his position would have a profound impact on the success or failure of a male involvement program. He described the adolescent fathers involved in the program as hypersensitive to being judged negatively, or to being handed "hype." Examples of "hype" given by the informant were statements like "If you just apply yourself, you can succeed in this country" or "I know what it must feel like to be a father at your age." The adolescent males involved in the program have usually assessed certain aspects of their life situation fairly accurately. The informant felt that his ability to communicate honestly with participants, the fact that he could "speak their language" and that he shared some background characteristics with them helped him bring young males into the program and keep them there. Although he did not state it in this way, the informant seemed to be

referring to sharing the culture of the target population. The emphasis on personal characteristics, rather than role is uncharacteristic of a bureaucracy, but was iterated by respondents in bureaucratic cultures throughout the survey. This use of the individual is more characteristic of what Handy describes as a "task culture 3."

In addition, the male involvement workers at "Agency B" and other agencies in the survey were allowed to work fairly independently. This, too, is a characteristic of a task culture in an organization rather than of a bureaucracy. The second informant who described himself as a Male Involvement Coordinator focused on the contact stage of program development. He found recruitment through word of mouth to be both effective and efficient. Word of mouth included adolescent clients telling other adolescents about the agency, speaking about the program to community groups or just passing the time with adolescent males in the local playground. This informant made no special effort to seek out adolescent fathers, but knew of several who used the agency on a regular basis. He described the fathers as having an "attitude." In his eyes, they considered themselves as more mature and more serious and in general, suspicious than other adolescent males in the program. Among the services described by this informant were job referral, and educational services. Karate was a very popular activity as were dances. Lamaze classes were surprisingly well attended by adolescent fathers. Both male informants felt the presence of too many females on staff or as clients turned

male clients off. They felt that a masculine atmosphere (sports posters and magazines, pool tables, etc.) was very important. The informants including the administrator, stated that there was an effort to incorporate fathers in existing activities of "Agency B." Each of the informants saw adolescent fathers as difficult to engage. They could not identify significant differences between Black adolescent fathers and Hispanic adolescent fathers. Both groups of fathers suspected they were being pursued for child support, or expected to be met with hostility for impregnating a girl. The administrator voiced the opinion that there was not a great deal of community support for services for Black and Hispanic adolescent fathers. Fathers were seen as "bad boys" needing containment, rather than as a disadvantaged population in need of help.

"Agency C"

An administrator was used as an informant in this case, because she had a history of direct contact with pregnant and parenting adolescents and because she had broad knowledge of programs for this population in her area. "Agency C" was funded primarily by the N.Y. State Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Act. "Agency C" is a consortium project of several agencies in the Bronx. At the time of the interview, a Bronx Hospital was identified as the central administrative agency. The informant stated that there were 57 service areas in the programs of the consortium, including GED tutoring, job training, alternative housing, family planning, and counseling. At the time of the interview, there were no

specific services for teen fathers. One program in the consortium, reported minimal participation of Black adolescent fathers, but was hoping to increase the participation of that population. The informant identified the consortium as being essentially bureaucratic. She found this to be problematic because crucial decisions were sometimes made by those removed from the target population. She also felt "red tape" often interfered with service provision. She felt that both male and female adolescents associated the precedence of rules and regulations with institutions such as Public Assistance. When this happened they were likely to see the agency involved as less than helpful. The informant was enthusiastic about this dissertation project because she felt that a lack of conceptualizations concerning program development for minority adolescent fathers was a basic problem. She also stated that the profession does not know how to train workers to work with minority adolescent fathers. She felt that male involvement workers were being hired on the basis of personal charisma and street knowledge. The informant felt that these characteristics were desirable, but not sufficient. The informant suspected that many staff members, male and female were hostile to the idea of working with adolescent fathers whom they blame for the problems of adolescent mothers. The informant suggested that this dissertation project focus on issues such as how is outreach to be done, what program content is most important to have available, what should be the primary goals of a male involvement? Should the goals

include preventing repeat pregnancies, getting fathers to meet their paternal responsibilities or should fatherhood be viewed as one more problem in a disadvantaged population.

"Agency D"

"Agency D's" main office is in lower Manhattan. Two male involvement workers and one female administrator were interviewed. Although "Agency D" was created to meet the needs of adolescent mothers and their infants, the agency has made male involvement a significant goal. "Agency D" has its own central administration which reports in turn to the Medical and Health Research Association of New York City. "Agency D" is one of the many projects of this Association. "Agency D" has ten clinics located in disadvantaged neighborhoods all over the city. This information was provided by the agency's director of social work. Each of the informants at "Agency D" were enthusiastic about the dissertation project and expressed a commitment to continuing developing services for fathers. "Agency D" had already established a male involvement program, not solely for fathers. The administrative informant noted that each of the clinic's had "personalities" of their own and that the personality of the clinic was a major factor in determining the success or failure of particular services. She noted that one clinic in a low S.E.S. Black neighborhood had a supervisor that allowed for a high degree of worker autonomy, while providing a tightly structured, demanding program for the adolescent clients. For example, as part of their contract for service, in this clinic, adolescent mothers to

he, were required to bring in their male partners. A high percentage of mothers complied and were cooperative in getting the adolescent males to remain with the program. This gives support to the theory that one of the most efficient ways to reach adolescent fathers is through their partners. At the time of this interview, there were seven male involvement workers. These workers focused on the contact and implementation phases of program development. Male involvement workers have the overall goals of helping fathers play a supportive role with their families and to prevent repeat early paternity. Other implementation activities include health education on sexuality and "thinking drills." The thinking drills help participants clarify feelings and values concerning a number of issues. A sample thinking drill may be found in the appendix. Workers have freedom to innovate within the very broad objectives of the program. One male involvement worker stated that obtaining the trust of adolescent fathers was the key to success and that this could only be achieved through hiring strong Black male role models. He stated that many of the female staff members were hostile to males. He defined this as a case of blaming the victim. At the same time, he stated that fathers need to have some motivation of their own in order to successfully participate in the program. He described most fathers as unmotivated. This worker then emphasized the importance of helping fathers meet employment needs. He felt this was best accomplished through networking

with community agencies and businesses. He also felt that fathers prefer to be approached through couple counseling. One got a sense of frustration, of ambivalence and of grasping at straws from this worker. This was in spite of the fact that he too, knew the streets and seemed to understand the culture of the client population. Interestingly, when male involvement was contacted a second time, this worker was no longer with the program. The implication is that there are skills needed in addition to cultural knowledge in order to work well with adolescent fathers. This dissertation project seeks to identify some of those skills. The male involvement program was initially rejected by Title X federal funding. This was in 1984. According to two of the informants, some of the obstacles to the creation of a male involvement program was the agency's own fuzziness about the purpose of involving fathers. This theme re-occured throughout the survey. Most agencies agree that involving adolescent fathers in adolescent pregnancy and parenting programs is a good idea; but find it difficult to state clearly the objectives of paternal involvement. Agencies are merely reflecting society's confusion about adolescent fathers, particularly Black adolescent fathers. What is the message that we want to convey to these young males, is it that premarital sex is wrong? Do we want to emphasize fiscal responsibility, childcare responsibility, paternal and/or sexual responsibility. Should we be guided by a consensual model of practice, where interventions are mutually benefical to Black adolescent fathers and society;

or is it necessary to follow a conflictual model of practice, focusing on containing the damage and cost to society of adolescent fatherhood? In the case of "Agency D," these issues were struggled with and an effort was made to develop a program that would clearly benefit both the participants and society.

"Agency D" conducted a survey of 400 female clients asking them how they felt about involving their male partners in the clinics. Not only did most respondents think it was a good idea, but 85%-90% said that they would support the agency's effort to recruit them. The agency did a needs assessment of the partners of the mothers attending the clinics. Surprisingly, fathers were most interested in information about parenting. Fathers were also interested in understanding pregnant women, family planning and concrete services such as job placement, or being taught job readiness skills. The success of this strategy, plus the fathers interest in and support of their female partners, once again suggests that total separation of male and female adolescents is neither necessary or desirable. A proposal was resubmitted emphasizing that in meeting the needs of fathers, you increase the chances of that father meeting his financial and emotional responsibilities. The male involvement program obtained funding from Title X and from the N.Y. State Department of Health. One aspect of the agency's philosophy is that you can't talk about financial responsibility to clients who have no money. There is a pressing need to keep them in school and help them become marketable. The emphasis

on the importance of completing school led the male involvement workers to see adolescents in the schools as well as the clinics. Seeing fathers in school also increased the efficiency of the contact phase of program development. An interesting side note is that no age limit was placed upon the fathers. Fathers were seen from age 16 - mid 40's. This was done in recognition of the fact that some adolescent mothers had older partners. One informant noted that the older fathers faced many of the same psycho-social and economic problems that as the adolescent fathers. The informant wondered whether this was coincidental or do men who impregnate teenage girls have a developmental lag in common.

The figures for male participation in all the clinics from July 1987 - December 1987 were 503 male clients, with 91 revisits. This suggests that the first contact may be the only contact and therefore it should be a significant contact. A triage model of intervention maybe useful, although the male-involvement staff did not identify it as such. The typical forty-five minute counseling session should not be a steadfast rule in working with this population. This also supports the idea of flexibility of organizational structure. Workers need the freedom and knowledge to quickly assess the area of most damage and have the resources and skills to choose appropriate interventions. The workshops held in schools had regular members, but also accepted walk-ins. This is congruent with the triage concept. A special effort was made to attract 9th graders in

view of the fact that is the age when many minority males have their first sexual experience. The male involvement program also had a condom distribution program in the schools, which the workers considered quite successful. The community objected to condom distribution on the grounds that 1) it was only practiced in Black and hispanic schools and was simply a way of controlling the minority population, and 2) other segments of the community objected on the grounds that distribution of birth control encourages pre-marital sex. In any case, the condom distribution program was terminated. Other services offered in the schools were a peer leadership group in which upperclassmen who had attended the workshops regularly were used as recruiters and group facilitators. The program was also in the process of developing a theoretical group which would give presentations around the issues of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. There were also hopes of developing a "music with a message" group. It was felt that the opportunity to learn an instrument and to "rap and scratch" would attract more males. Both male involvement workers and the administration at "Agency D" emphasized the need for innovation and hands-on experiences in order to involve Black adolescent fathers.

"Agency E"

At "Agency E" an administrative assistant and the director of the fathers program were informants. Funding was obtained through Human Resource Administration, Ford Foundation and other private agencies. Because of the reputation of this well established agency being successful

in working with adolescent mothers and other called difficult populations funding and community sanction were not difficult to obtain. One recruitment technique consisted of having HRA send mailgrams to prospective fathers, whose partners were on public assistance describing the program. The director also went through the phone book and wrote to between 500 and 700 community agencies and other institutions. The director emphasized the need for constant recruitment and networking; as far as he concerned the contact phase of program development was never over. This director was one of the least discouraged about working with Black adolescent fathers. His program could be described as a flexible bureaucracy, his agency was respected, and his program had access to more resources than many of the other programs in the survey. Although role and procedure were important, this Fathers program encouraged staff members to innovate and make use of their particular styles as workers. The informant felt that when it comes to minority males, the principle of individualization is routinely disregarded. Agencies assume there is one magic formula for working with Black adolescent fathers, when in fact this is not the case. The fathers in this program had access to all of the facilities of the agency. The program had also established a partnership with a Vocational Foundation Institute. This partnership allowed the agency to obtain jobs for fathers. The program also offered GED tutoring. An important part of the program was advocating for fathers in the court system. The informant noted that a number of walk-in clients came for help in

obtaining custody of their children or visitation rights. Therapeutic group counseling was also surprisingly popular among the fathers. An average of 18-20 fathers attended Monday counseling groups. The program also provided fathers with food, cigarettes, emergency "Pampers" money and tokens to get to and from the program. The informant stated that the female workers in his program related very well to the fathers and in fact the fathers preferred to discuss "relationship" issues with females. The program was careful to select staff that was relatively free of the negative stereotypes concerning Black adolescent fathers. The informant stated that because the program saw fathers as being concerned about their futures and about the well being of their families, fathers conformed to those expectations. This trusting positive relationship with the fathers was seen as key to the success of the program.

Another factor contributing to the programs success was the fact that activities associated with programmatic effort during each phase of development were concentrated on adolescent fathers. Other programs in the survey dispersed their efforts among high risk males, boyfriends of adolescent mothers, general male sex-education and family planning. Finally, while other agencies engagement with Black adolescent fathers may be viewed as suspect, as promoting extra-marital sex; "Agency E" has the reputation of upholding the traditional values of society. The lessons of "Agency E's" success include the importance of networking and outreach throughout all phases of program development; the

advantages of having a well-funded, highly sanctioned program; and perhaps the need to grapple with community attitudes concerning the moral implications of services for Black adolescent fathers.

"Program F"

The Program Supervisor was the informant. This program was developed from the Population Planning Division of the sponsoring hospital. Like the "Agency E," "Program F" is part of a powerful institution. The informant had no doubt that this was a crucial element in the successful initiation of the program. In addition, the use of hospital staff, space and other resources helped the program have a high ratio of effort to efficiency. For example, medical students did most of the sexual health education counseling, while staff physicians did most of the physical examinations. The informant stated that the program could be run on a budget of \$40,000. Once again, the program was not created specifically for fathers, in fact the informant did not know how many fathers were involved in the program. The informant felt it was much easier to get funding and support for a prevention program than it was to obtain funding for adolescents who have already become fathers. The informant also tended to view prevention as the most viable solution to the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. In the informant's experience, funding sources tend to write off adolescent fathers or view them for child support purposes. Among the funding sources for the clinic were Title X and the New York State Adolescent Pregnancy Act. In spite of the

wide domain of the hospital, the program contact phase was initially quite difficult. Many hours were spent networking with community groups, building trust and assuring them that the clinic would not promote promiscuity; in spite of the clinics emphasis on prevention. In addition to networking with community groups, the staff made videotapes of adolescent males in the neighborhood playing basketball, hanging out, etc. They then distributed flyers inviting the boys to see themselves on T.V. Once they came in, staff would explain services available at the clinic. Videotaping as an outreach tool was successful with younger adolescent males, while older adolescents were not as attracted by this technique. One possible explanation of the disinterest of older adolescent males is their greater investment in maintaining a "cool image."

More than any of the other administrators, or supervisors interviewed in this survey, this informant seemed to have direct involvement in almost every aspect of the clinic. In fact, he seemed to be a power source from which most activity radiated. Thus, while the clinic was clearly part of a bureaucratic structure, the organizational culture had features of a task culture, in which team work is central and a person culture, in which the organization is secondary to the individual. This may be attributed to the high degree of autonomy granted to members of the medical profession in our society. In the case of this clinic, the organizational culture benefitted the clients because of the knowledge and commitment of the director and staff. There is a question of

how successful the program would be if it were to become just another clinic in the hospitals bureaucracy - if it lost its power source, in the form of its director. The evening clinic usually attracts 12-18 adolescent males (average attendance is around 16). The clinic only collects basic identifying data and keeps medical progress notes. Traditional counseling and data collection are not part of the clinics service. The adolescent males are aware of these boundaries and the informant believed that this was part of the attraction of the clinic; its straight forward handling of sexual issues and its demphasis of intrasychic change. Thursday afternoons are set aside for younger adolescent males, primarily junior high school students. All services are free. Parental permission is not needed in order to participate in the clinic, regardless of age. Parents often accompany their adolescents to the clinic and are welcome. The intensive outreach efforts of the program initiation and program contact phases have paid off. The program is well known and well respected in the community. Outreach is no longer a daily necessity. When asked about the clinics future plans regarding Black adolescent fathers, the informant indicated that the program did not have the resources to create special services for that population. By preventing repeat paternity and encouraging responsible sex, the informant felt that the clinic was already helping adolescent fathers. Finally, the informant felt that no single organizational culture could claim greater success with male involvement programs than another; a more crucial

activity was carving out a domain - an area of expertise acknowledged by parent institutions, the community and the target population.

"Program G"

The project director was interviewed. The program was largely funded by the Health Education Division of the County Health Department. It was initiated because of the growing number of adolescent pregnancies in the area and because the outcome was a growing number of single mothers applying for public assistance. Thus control of dependency was an underlying cause of program initiation. The program was also a product of the concern of Black male workers in the health department, particularly, the informant. These workers were concerned by the high drop out rate, high rate of venereal disease and high unemployment rate of young Black males in their community. Part of the initiation phase of program development consisted of identifying those neighborhoods with the highest rates of adolescent pregnancy. The informant was determined to reach the population most in need. He also found a high correlation between drop out rates, drug use, stress, crime and infant mortality in these areas. Because of its connection to the health department, it was easier to obtain the cooperation of other institutions such as the recreation system, the criminal justice system, the school system, DSS, etc. Throughout this telephone survey, programs which have been attached to bureaucracies have been more efficient during the initiation and contact phases of development. "Program G" made more use of the media than

other programs in the survey. Public service announcements were sent to local newspapers, radio stations and television stations. Media gatekeepers were consciously courted for support. A sample media ad may be found in the appendix. The role of male family planning in preventing adolescent pregnancy was emphasized. The program was careful not to present itself as encouraging or glorifying sex for adolescents. It was also careful not to be confused as another program for pregnant or parenting adolescent females. It was to be a sexual health clinic for males, with counseling from a male perspective. Female counselors would dilute the impact of the program. The informant felt the presence of male health educators (his official title) was key to the success of the program. The program was aware of the historical resistance to condom use by young Black males. Special efforts were made to make male birth control more acceptable. The informant and his staff developed a special "condom package" of 15 assorted prophylactics, included colored condoms, ribbed condoms, non-ribbed, lubricated, non-lubricated, ticklers, etc. These packages were distributed at no cost to clients. Clients could also receive free spermicidal foam. Interestingly, this was one of the few informants in the survey to deal with the pleasureable aspect of sex, without using fear tactics, and without condoning pre-marital sex. Charlotte is the largest and probably most sophisticated city in North Carolina; therefore, there was less resistance to a condom distribution program.

Once again staff was carefully selected to include workers who knew the streets and could develop a rapport with the males. Charisma and cultural knowledge were qualities in staff members viewed as important as basic social work or health education skills.

Outreach was continued during each phase of program development. Following the recruitment model suggested by Hendricks, the health educators of "Program G" go where potential clients hang out; community centers, playgrounds, barber shops, pool halls, etc. Many staff hours are spent on getting one adolescent male to make at least one visit to a clinic site. The informant did not foresee a time when this would not be the case because of the powerful media messages and cultural forces supporting spontaneous unprotected sex. The informant also connected the need for programs such as "Program G" with the disintegration of the family; with the failure of families, Black and White to clarify values for the young. At a time when the public is assumed to support a lesser role for government in private lives, there is a willingness to allow social welfare institutions to become conveyors of morality.

The informant considered having a separate component of "Program G" for adolescent fathers, but was frankly overwhelmed by the prospect. Black adolescent fathers had so many needs that he felt all the program resources would wind up going to them. So while a number of Black adolescent fathers participated in the program, they were not actively sought out, nor were issues of fatherhood given special

attention. The informant saw prevention of adolescent fatherhood as a more important and more achievable goal. The clinics are located at several sites in high risk areas. Generally the clinics ran in the evening from 4:00 p.m.-8:00 p.m. In order to get the sports physical examination that many clients desire, they must participate in educational groups on anatomy, physiology and responsible sex. For example, clients are taught to examine their testicles for signs of sexually transmitted diseases. All clients are given an exit interview where they have an opportunity to ask questions that may not have been covered during counseling-education sessions. During the implementation phase of program development it was noted that the most sexually active adolescent males were not being reached - the so called "hard rocks" or "bad boys," were not coming in voluntarily. In an effort to reach this population "Program G" hired five male advocates ("Blitzkriegers"). These young men were recruited from high risk areas. Their input was used to develop practical and innovative outreach methods and to deliver community based services such as rap groups around issues of sexuality. They were also required to hand out educational material and give out condom coupons. The advocates were trained by "Program G," paid, and hired for a limited period of time. This peer involvement in program implementation was successful.

"Program G" was characterized by innovation, and by attempting to get a message across through a variety of strategies. The message was not just say no; rather, it was

be aware of your sexual options and their consequences. An irresponsible sex life was associated with many negative consequences. Interestingly, many of the most effective educational strategies were experiential in nature. The clarity of programmatic goals (prevention of early fatherhood and prevention of sexually transmitted diseases) and the fact that the goals were limited in number also contribute to the success of "Program G." Health educators and other staff members had an unusual degree of freedom to make programmatic changes, as long as they adhered to the basic goals. For example, if a staff member was a musician he or she would be free to use that talent to recruit and keep clients. The concentration on effort during program initiation and contact, resulted in a high degree of efficiency and effectiveness during program implementation. As with other programs in this survey, the organizational culture changed with the phase of program development. A high degree of flexibility and the use of personal characteristics of staff members were features of the contact and implementation phases of program development.

A sample of outreach and educational materials of "Program G" may be found in the appendix.

University Youth Program

Interviewed, were the program developer, a counselor and the program director. This project went through a difficult program initiation phase. When the project was first conceived, its primary goal seemed to prevent early paternity through sex education. Clients were to be identified by the

public school system; those junior high school and high school males with poor grades, poor attendance and other behaviors associated with early parenthood. Implementation was to take place through peer counseling and "creative drama" concerning the consequences of unplanned parenthood. The project had received limited funding from private foundations. The program developer was discouraged by the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the community and funding sources of the project. He was however determined to "get something off the ground." It is worth noting that there was a nebulous quality to the plans for this project. The program developer was directing it, but was hoping to hire a full-time director. He was looking for a street wise, strong Black male to direct the program, but did not connect these qualities with the ability to create drama about sex education. When interviewed several months later, the project's funding had run out. The developer had written another proposal. The goals of the new program were clear and measureable. They were also connected to the control of dependency. The programs mission statement now included preventing early fatherhood, by providing males ages 10-17 with marketable skills, enhancing their self-esteem, helping in the development of good work habits, and providing sex education. Because young Black males are not a cohort that generally arouse empathy in funding sources, appeal to social control issues were once again more effective than appeals to humanitarianism. During the program contact phase, names were solicited from the public housing authority. Getting

clients where they lived was found to be more effective than getting them in school. By going to the housing developments the program was able to reach high risk clients; those young males who lived in areas with high drug use, and whom as early as ten years of age rarely attending school. The project included adolescent fathers, but again the emphasis was on prevention. When last interviewed there were only three fathers in the project. These fathers were a year or two older than most clients and "did not work well with the group." According to the informant, the new project director, the fathers in the project had a "what can you do for me attitude." He found it difficult to instill discipline in the fathers, and although he did not state this directly, the informant implied that it was too late to help those adolescents who had already become fathers. The second time around funding was still obtained through private foundations, but the amount of funding available was greater and the funding was available for a longer period of time. However, at the time of the last interview, the project was still being run on a very small scale, staffed by two counselors and a director. The director of the program was described by another informant as a strong Black male role model who related well to the target population. His strength was in program implementation as well as program contact. For example, he used his knowledge of Karate as a method of changing cognitions concerning future options through mastery of a new skill. He began teaching Karate at a recreation center in one of the housing projects. When the Karate

classes were moved to the University, there was a change in the behavior of the participants. The informant stated that the adolescents were impressed by the college environment and that they tried to mold their behavior to fit the setting. Specifically, they were more disciplined and easier to control in the University setting; this happened in spite of the fact that none of them thought it was cool to respect school or learning. The core of program implementation was a work project. The adolescents were taught basic skills in masonry, painting, carpentry, etc. and did repairs or cleaning for the housing authority. They were paid \$3.35 an hour. During breaks, or lunch informal counseling went on. For example, one day while working the subject and the work crew found from 10-15 drug needles around a housing project. This led to a discussion on drug use, rather than simply labeling it as bad. Sexual counseling was conducted in the same manner, with the addition of formal counseling sessions. The focus was on the consequences of irresponsible sexual activity. The subject's objective was to teach participants goal-setting, honor and mental discipline; to "stop them from thinking with their dicks." In summary, this project met the difficulty during the program initiation stage, seemingly because programmatic goals were not presented in a way that would appeal to funding sources. Effort is still being placed in obtaining secure funding. One wonders if the projects association with a university is a help or a hindrance. The university had given some support to the project, but the system dictated that its resources be

allocated for projects with the possibility of a greater return in terms of prestige or attracting additional grants. Other funding resources viewed the university as the primary funder for the project, thus leaving the Youth Enterprise Project in a "catch 22" situation. When a local youth program sought funding for a similar male involvement program it ran into the same resistance from funding sources. Program implementation, in the case of male involvement in the Black community seems to have been more difficult for 1) those organizations thought to have their own funding sources; and 2) for projects that do not present goals clearly related to increasing the self-sufficiency of the target population. Among the reasons for the growth in the number of projects targetted at Black adolescent mothers, is the disproportionate representation of these mothers on Public Assistance. Unlike the hospital connected program, the Youth Project gained few resources from being attached to a large well known institution. The university is a traditionally Black school and race may be a hidden issue behind the lack of allocation of funds. Being attached to the university was probably most helpful during the contact phase of program development. The Housing Authority's high degree of cooperation may have stemmed from the fact that the project originated from a sanctioned, well established institution. Fathers were just one segment of the target population, making the task easier than it has been for programs specifically targetting Black adolescent fathers.

As with most of the projects surveyed, a good deal of time and effort went into program implementation. This phase of program development is in a state of evolution because of the relative lack of knowledge in the field concerning Black adolescent fathers. Thus while we can create and justify programs theoretically, for this population, we keep tripping over hidden values and assumptions. This lack of knowledge and clarity and the visceral feelings evoked in some segments of society towards young Black males, contributed to the felt need underlying this dissertation project.

The Family Program

The Program Director was interviewed. The Family Program is a pregnant and parenting adolescents program under the auspices of a national Black organization. The informant did not have much information on the initiation phase of program development, and the author was unable to track down this information from other sources. Funding came from Special Services for Children and the State Adolescent Pregnancy Act. The primary target population during the program initiation phase was pregnant adolescents, or parenting minority adolescent females. A secondary target population was those males who were involved with the females in the program. The males were not necessarily the fathers of the female clients children. The informant stated that the female clients often identified older males as the fathers of their children and then went on to maintain relationships with males in their age group. As noted, informants from other agencies in this survey reported a

similar experience. Additionally, more than one informant in this survey voiced the suspicion that older males were sometimes identified as fathers for economic reasons. Adolescent mothers were seen as viewing their older male sexual partners as more able and willing to meet child support payments. Interestingly, these older males rarely denied paternity, making the reality of the situation even more difficult to ascertain.

In any case, The Family Program is an offshoot of an educational program for pregnant and parenting teens; so in a sense it had already established a track record. The informant, the project director, used contacts from the educational program for referrals. He emphasized the elusiveness of the target population, particularly the adolescent fathers. It was one thing to get them to come to the program but getting both males and females to follow through on the program was difficult. The Family Program was located in central Harlem at the time of the interview. The informant pointed out that the "demographics" of the area were terrible; that his program and his target population faced unusual obstacles. The infant mortality rate, the rate of violent crimes, and the rate of drug use were disproportionately high. As director of The Family Program, the informant felt the solution to these social ills was economic. He stated that the programs mission was to help clients understand the connection between education and reaching economic goals. Very few of the participants in the program were aware of the variety of educational and

vocational options open to them. The program kept information on scholarships and grants for two year colleges. The possibility of financial advancement and a rewarding career through earning an Associate degree was emphasized. When asked if this strategy did not impose the same limitations on participants aspirations as society, he stated that The Family Program would help any participant to achieve any goal. The projects emphasis on associate degrees was based on an understanding of the adolescent need to see quick results and on the demand in the marketplace for the technical skills that are often taught in community colleges. Participants are offered intensive individual and group counseling in which the emotional, cognitive, behavioral and structural obstacles to reaching educational and economic goals are dealt with. The toughest issue to discuss with the adolescent mothers, was parenting. According to the informant, many young mothers in the program viewed parenting as something that came naturally; that didn't need to be taught. Teaching parenting was viewed by both the males and females in this program as belonging to white middle class culture and in no way would prepare their children to deal with the streets of Harlem. The director noted that the program tried to instill the idea that having a baby does not make one an expert on parenthood.

Unlike the other programs in this survey, The Family Program did not make sexuality and family planning a primary issue. The informant saw a sexual abstinence message as a turn-off to most adolescents, particularly adolescent males.

Contraceptive use was discussed routinely, but again this was not at the core of program implementation. The focus of the program was an effort to ameliorate the negative impact of early pregnancy and parenthood on the chance of leading a rewarding, independent life. Value clarification around issues of sexual intimacy was secondary to value clarification concerning the work ethic and success in the marketplace. The informant viewed the adolescent fathers in the program as just another part of the high risk adolescent cohort of Central Harlem. However, he did view them as more difficult to reach, but he did not view them as needing specialized services. They needed to be taught to cope with the potentially harsh reality of their futures like anyone else in the program. The informant doubted the ability of white workers, particularly white females to work successfully with this population.

The Community Program

The informant was the Head Counselor of the program. The Community Program is an alternative high school and training program for parenting and pregnant adolescents. The informant described it as a grass roots organization formed by a coalition of concerned residents of Bed-Stuy, in the 1960's. The informant indicated that the system no longer views grass roots organizations as fashionable, even though it claims to be against big government. The informant felt this was particularly true of African-American community based organizations. On the other hand, being a grass roots organization was seen as an advantage in terms of reaching

the target population. The agency had a reputation for being accessible and for producing results, among the youth of the community. The fact that The Community Sponsors Program was not part of the establishment i.e., a well known institution, and its Bed-Stuy location, created some difficulties during program initiation activities. Specifically, the informant viewed the program as underfunded, as lacking in other material resources (they had only recently received badly needed chairs) and as needing strong ties with social welfare organizations, the business community and other institutions in order to meet their clients many needs. The informant was aware of the Teen Father Collaboration and pointed to the relative ease with which technological training and obtained for its participants. He felt that this was because of the Collaborations connection to the Ford Foundation. He also felt that a program situated at Bank Street College of Education would attract clients who would be more "desireable" in the eyes of the system. He also noted that there was a long waiting list for Ford Foundation sponsored programs for pregnant and parenting teens. He described the participants in his program as being very impatient, hence he was rarely able to make use of resources like the Ford Foundation. Another example of difficulty with program initiation activities was an attempt to create a liason with a major television network in order to obtain traineeships for the adolescent fathers in the program. The television network had announced that such training was available as part of their public service activities. In spite of

persistant efforts on the part of the informant, only two traineeships materialized. According to the informant, the networks made it clear that his client population was not suitable for the highly technical on the job training they were offering. The network was looking for "perfect people to train." The informant admitted that many of the adolescent males in the program were well versed in street life. They had not done well in school, some had criminal records, and some used drugs. But the informant felt his clients were rejected as soon as the network heard they were referred by an agency located in Bed-Stuy. The informant noted that "the more you need, the less likely you are to receive." In other words, most organizations want clients with whom there is the greatest possibility of successful interventions; and that definitely eliminates "bad boys" from Bed-Stuy. The Community Program is part of a Teen Pregnancy Network. Through participation in this coalition, "The Community Program" has been able to lobby, advocate, exchange information and gain moral support.

The informant reported fewer problems with contacting adolescent fathers than other programs in the survey. He recognized; however, that the program identifying itself as a training program for young mothers was a turn-off to males. In fact, the name of the program had been a conflictual issue within the agency, with some staff members noting that the agency was conceived to serve both males and females. The informant gained access to adolescent fathers primarily through adolescent mothers in the program. He noted that

this was not an easy process. Initially, it was optional for mothers to identify the fathers of their children. Most mothers refused, suspecting the agency of wanting to report the father to "welfare." Other mothers simply gave wrong telephone numbers or stated that they didn't know the fathers identity. Mothers who had close supportive relationships with their mates usually identified them. At the time of the last interview, giving identifying data concerning the fathers of their children was required of all mothers in the program. The fact that the program is fairly well known in the community has meant that they have recruited more walk-in clients than is usual with this population. The NYC Board of Education, one of the programs funding sources and the Teen Pregnancy Network referred many adolescent fathers. The informant did not spend the majority of his time on aggressive outreach activities. According to the informant, his problem did not lay in recruiting Black adolescent fathers, it was keeping them involved in the program.

While many of the females in the program attended regular academic classes and worked towards getting their high school diplomas, the fathers were drop-outs who attended the program for vocational training and job placement. He described the fathers in the program as discouraged, as feeling cheated, as mistrustful and as having unrealistic expectations about the opportunities in the marketplace for Black male high school drop-outs. The informant pointed to the construction industry as typifying his difficulties with this aspect of program implementation. The informant visited

various construction sites and spoke to builders. He noted that they were hiring unskilled white adolescent male drop-outs and tried to get some of his clients hired. The Black adolescents would be considered for "muscle jobs" which paid less, but were not considered for training in areas requiring higher skill levels. Builders were open about their perception of Black adolescent males as unreliable and less intelligent. Rejection in the marketplace was seen as more harmful to adolescent fathers, who were often under greater pressure to get their own apartments, pay child support and in general become self-sufficient. The informant also pointed out that because of these pressures, adolescent fathers will come to him expecting to be placed in a job starting at \$400 - \$500 a week. Even those fathers willing to participate in hands-on job training often drop out before training is completed. The informant cited the crack industry as his biggest competitor. According to the informant both fathers and non-fathers deal crack because of the enormous profit involved. Some of the fathers who turn to drug dealing occasionally express concern about the moral implications. They would not like anyone to sell crack to their offspring, nor would they like their children to think of them as criminals if they got "busted." But essentially the issue was seen as an economic one and as no more corrupt than insider-trading on Wall street.

The informant also noted that many of his clients were disillusioned with training programs. Some of them had been to JTPA and other vocational training programs. According to

the informant, the fathers wanted training in specific areas, such as computer technology, electronics, use of media equipment, etc. In many vocational training programs, the fathers had taken entrance exams, which were used to steer them towards other training in which they had no interest. For example, several fathers went to a certain program in hopes of training in data processing, but were offered training in dry cleaning. The fathers also perceive this as a reflection of society's view of them as lacking intelligence or the ability to learn. The informant states that The Community Program would like to offer more technological training to its clients on-site, but currently lacks the resources to do so.

The Community Program is a small program. The Board of Education provides the program with three teachers. There are two counselors and a program director on staff. The size of the program affects the goals that can be realistically achieved. Again, its primary objective is to provide high school education for pregnant and parenting adolescents. Part of the curriculum entails sex education, budgeting, child care services and courses on parenting. Job counseling and placement have already been mentioned as vital aspects of the program. Two out of the three teachers were described as giving extra time, attention and including additional subject matter in their courses. The informant felt that altruism on the part of staff members was one of the primary reasons they stayed at the agency. He too felt that staff members had to be streetwise and that they also had to demand a certain

amount of respect. In other words, he viewed it as an error to demonstrate empathy by emulating, the behavior, language or dress code of the fathers. He felt it was important for the fathers to be aware of differences in the way staff members conducted themselves and to model the staff members behavior.

Although he did not describe it in these terms, the informant saw the staff of The Community Program as suffering from role over-load. Counselors did individual and group counseling, intake, job placement, vocational training, life skills group, couples counseling, along with copious paper work. A high degree of autonomy enabled the counselors to play these numerous roles without burning out. The informant also viewed the high degree of autonomy as one of the major rewards of the job.

By the informants description, the original culture of The Community Program does not fall into a single category. Because the agency is funded by a combination of city, state, and board of education programs, it must respond to bureaucratic emphasis on rules, procedures and documentation. The informant had just received an eight page form to be filled out on each client, that was so complicated that it came with a lengthy instruction pamphlet. The program tries hard not to let bureaucracy interfere with direct services. Clients have to deal with as little red tape as possible in order to get through the program. Staff cooperates around common tasks. Staff also has the freedom to innovate around program content. In this way, the organizational culture

resembles a task culture. The informant felt that adolescent mothers could deal with bureaucracy much better than adolescent fathers. He pointed out that many of the mothers were on Public Assistance or came from families that had been on Public Assistance. That background taught them to negotiate a bureaucratic system and had taught them patience as well. Adolescent fathers on the other hand saw being made to wait for service, or filling out form after form as yet another insult to their manhood.

In spite of its problems, there was a family feeling at The Community Program. While most youngsters finished the program in six months to a year, there were some youngsters that clearly did not want to leave. The program served as an anchor in their lives. Fortunately, The Community Program had the flexibility to maintain contact with these hanger-on adolescents until they could be helped to take another step towards independence.

While the informant admitted there were many Black adolescent fathers in the program who maintained stable relationships with their mates and offsprings, he was discouraged by the number of fathers in the program who became totally disinterested after the birth of their child. The only difference he could identify between involved fathers and uninvolved fathers was that the involved fathers were more accepting of traditional values concerning family life.

A final piece of practice wisdom added by the informant was that early fatherhood makes a significant difference in

the lives of Black adolescent males. While it creates more socio-economic obstacles, it occasionally creates a crisis that will prompt the father to take a serious look at the direction his life is headed; a sort of "scared straight" effect. Even when fatherhood did not result in introspection, the fathers in the program viewed themselves as different from the non-fathers. Some viewed themselves as more masculine because they had made a baby, others viewed themselves as more mature because of the responsibility they were facing. Ideally, the informant would like to create a separate component for the fathers in the program, but in light of a recent funding cut this was unlikely to happen.

Many social work administrators have discovered that a job applicants reference will reveal much more in a telephone call, than they would ever reveal in a letter of recommendation. The objective of the telephone survey was to gain a sense of the "real deal" concerning programs with Black adolescent fathers as part of their client population. Even though a limited number of programs were included in the survey, the willingness of practitioners to discuss issues extensively produced material that would probably not have been obtained through written questionnaires. The themes emerging from the telephone survey will be discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation. Briefly however, some of the significant issues highlighted by the survey were as follows: Two basic program models were identified; 1. the supermarket model in which everything from sex education to recreation and vocational training was offered by a single

agency. ("Agency C" is a prototype of this model) and 2. a sex education/famil, planning preventive model; (The "Program F" is representative of this model). The supermarket model programs faced difficulties created by trying to reach a plethora of goals. The family planning model programs faced difficulties created by their narrow definition and solution to the problem. Another issue reflected in the telephone survey is a lack of clarity concerning what characteristics staff members should possess. In some ways it resembles the argument in the field over whether the emphasis of social work practice should be on intuition and art or knowledge and science. In the adolescent father programs the issue seemed to be defined as personality/charisma/street-smarts vs. traditional practice knowledge/skills/values. Finally, most programs in the survey found the contact phase of program development required the most energy and effort. Considering the recent research by Lawrence Gary and Marian Wright Edelman on the number of Black males that are literally missing from the census, it is not surprising that recruiting Black adolescent fathers is a problem.¹⁶²

Other Program Initiation Activities

Other activities engaged in during this phase of the project included resource gathering, networking, locating and seeking the support of possible gatekeepers and trying to

¹⁶²Marian Wright Edelman Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 1987, pp. 11-13, and Lawrence Gary presentation at the Black Summit, University of South Carolina School of Social Work, March, 1989.

become oriented to a new location and subculture (Southern, white, conservative). The diary record indicates that several weeks were spent seeking resources and support in preparation for contact and implementation from the University at which the author is employed. Faculty and staff were interviewed for suggestions about who to contact in order to reach the target population. Primarily the University was viewed as an excellent resource for implementation, since implementation was to consist of exposing Black adolescent fathers to technological/educational experiences that would impact upon their perception of their futures. Black faculty members in positions of power were contacted first, in an effort to gain use of the resources in their department. For example, the head of the School of Design was contacted by phone and by letter with a request to allow the target population to be introduced to some of the new technology in graphics and design. A response was never received from this faculty member. As a whole, Black faculty members were no more responsive to formal requests than white faculty members. The exceptions were a faculty member at the School of Veterinary Medicine, an Associate Professor of Social Work and a staff member at the Career Placement and Guidance Center. Each of these individuals knew the author personally. While they also received memorandums and phone calls, face to face contact seemed to make a difference. Other cooperative faculty and staff were the Director of the Social Science Computer lab, an Associate Head of the Department of

Sociology and a Film and Media Instructor. Agreements were made to allow the target population time on the computers, hands-on experience with media equipment, participation in career planning workshops and experience and a workshop on careers in veterinary medicine. These agreements were essentially informal. It was felt that seeking the approval of higher level administrators was unnecessary and would be extremely time consuming.

The local adolescent pregnancy and parenting program, "Program A" was interested in involving adolescent fathers. Before the author moved to the area, this program had agreed to assist with this dissertation project, with the understanding that part of program implementation would include an effort to incorporate the target population with the local program. The program consisted of recreational activities, sex education and family planning groups, peer counseling, and adult mentors for pregnant and parenting teens. Concrete services such as tutoring and assistance in obtaining employment were also available. The program had already hired a male involvement worker, but with two or three exceptions he had recruited latency age males. The staff of "Program A" participated in program initiation by identifying potential gatekeepers, allowing the use of their facility for interviews and groups and even providing transportation if necessary. At the time of this dissertation project the entire staff was Black.

Summary of Interviews With Gatekeepers

Staff members from three social service programs for pregnant and parenting teens were interviewed in person in order to obtain information about funding sources in the area and to prepare for program contact. Mrs. E., a social worker employed at a Teen Medical Center, is the wife of a minister of one of the most influential Black churches in the area. She is also a native Southerner, who is active on the Boards of several community organizations. The interview with Mrs. E. focused on acculturation and orientation to the community in general and on community attitudes towards services for adolescent pregnancy and parenting teens. Mrs. E. had lived for extended periods in N.Y.C. and Richmond and was sensitive to the kinds of erroneous assumptions that a newcomer to the community might make.

According to Mrs. E., in spite of the area's relatively high rate of adolescent pregnancy, and its high infant mortality rate, (in 1984, 16.5% of babies were born to teenage mothers; in the same year the Black infant mortality rate was 18.8%)¹⁶³ also associated with teen pregnancy, services for pregnant and parenting teens was not a high priority of the state, county or city government. The successful programs in existence, including the program at which she was employed, were the products of the determination of individuals or small volunteer coalitions. Mrs. E. felt that the community valued appearances; if

¹⁶³Children's Defense Fund Key Facts About Children In North Carolina Data Report, September, 1987.

things look alright than they are alright. She felt there was a reluctance to recognize the extent of the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenting. Additionally, she reminded the author that the community was the home town of a well known, powerful conservative Senator. In the conservative point of view, services for pregnant or precocious parents amounted to rewarding them for immoral behavior.

Mrs. E. predicted that program contact would be very difficult. While her agency saw many adolescent males, they did not routinely ask if they were fathers. Family nurse practitioners had the most contact with adolescent males. These contacts were often brief, centering around sports physicals, condom distribution, self-examination instruction or sex education. She doubted if her agency would be able to help make contact with Black adolescent fathers, even though over 40% of the agency's clients were Black. Mrs. E. felt the project would have difficulty in locating the target population, in obtaining sanction from the community and that funding could be obtained only if the project could be held up for two or three years while waiting for that process to take place. Part of the reason for these obstacles were attributed to the character of the community. Mrs. F. described the community as "peculiar." For example, she noted that the Civil Rights Movement didn't have the same impact in this city as it did in Greensboro or Birmingham. Participants in the sit-ins in these other cities were attacked, arrested and stood trial. This process forced

these communities to struggle openly with desegregation. In this community, civil rights workers were arrested (as politely as possible for the time) and sent to jail. However the courts responded by opening up the jails and setting the protestors free without trials. This sent several messages to the community; the first message was that nothing of great significance had occurred; secondly was the passive-aggressive message that we don't have to change except on our own terms; and finally by avoiding trials, the judicial system avoided responsibility for dealing with the issue of desegregation. Mrs. E. perceived the "pleasant racism" of the community as continuing to affect the young by giving them a false sense of security and by making truncated opportunities seem less pernicious than they are. Mrs. E. was the first of many to refer to the Black community of this city as more complacent than usual and to identify this as an obstacle to the development of any social program.

Mrs. E. felt that legislation or the intervention of the social welfare system was not the answer to the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. She felt strongly that it was the responsibility of the family; but she recognized that families were not prepared to openly discuss values concerning sex, intimacy and marriage. Families were failing to facilitate the passage of their adolescents into adulthood. Mrs. E. did not feel that parents of adolescent fathers would be helpful in getting the project off the ground. Mrs. E. referred the researcher to Planned Parenthood, a family planning and abortion clinic and

suggested several active members of the community to contact for assistance with start-up activities. Neither agency felt they had enough contact with Black adolescent fathers to be helpful. The community members were contacted by phone and mainly reiterated the wisdom of using informal as opposed to formal resource systems in order to get anything accomplished.

The next in-person taped interview was with Mrs. D., Director of "Program A." Mrs. D. had already agreed to donate her labor and the resources of her agency to this project; in fact, during some phases of the project she functioned as a second observer/investigator. Part of the reason for the interview with Mrs. D. was to clarify the purpose of the dissertation project and to map out strategy.

Mrs. D. had strongly negative feelings about research in the Black community. She perceived it as a rip-off, with researchers coming in, obtaining information, applying negative distortions to that information and producing nothing of value for the subjects of the research. Her cooperation with the dissertation project was based on the understanding that an effort would be made at some point to develop a funded program for adolescent fathers in the area.

Mrs. D. had been trying to recruit fathers for her program for some time, with little success. There were three fathers using the program on a regular basis. The lack of success with involving fathers was attributed to several factors; the fathers deep mistrust of the social service system, again over the issue of child support. Rather than

bragging about being fathers, many adolescents were embarrassed by their inability to fulfill the provider role. The program itself could offer them little help in fulfilling that role; and finally, it was difficult to identify the fathers. Mrs. D. noted that they were frequently unnamed on birth certificates and adolescent mothers in the program often claimed not to know who fathered their child. Mrs. D. felt this was mainly because of the possibility of jeopardizing AFDC or Food Stamp subsidies. Essentially, Mrs. D. saw the females at "Program A" as having stable relationships with their mates and as protecting them from the Courts and D.S.S.

Mrs. D. felt that a male worker would have an easier time initiating contact with adolescent fathers, but she felt female workers who were empathetic would not have any more problems with program implementation than a male. She pointed to her success in involving Black adolescent males in "Program A's" peer counseling program. However, in order to facilitate recruitment for the dissertation project, she was requesting an increase in the hours of male involvement worker and would speak to him about targetting adolescents rather than younger males.

Mrs. D. also characterized the community as conservative and "complacent" and suggested that the possibility of conducting the project in more active local communities be considered.

Mrs. D. agreed to act as a second observer during program contact and implementation. Ethnographic

interviewing techniques were discussed as well as participant-observation. Mrs. D. felt that exposure to vocational/educational opportunities might be helpful to fathers; but that the true solution to the problem of adolescent fathers was purely economic. She felt that ideally the dissertation project should obtain jobs for participants or at least connect them with technological training programs. It was agreed that this was a more feasible goal for fathers from the project that chose to stay involved with "Program A."

Interview with the Staff of "County Teens and Babies"

County "Teens and Babies" provides sex education, counseling, family planning and health care for pregnant and parenting adolescents. Present during the interview was the program director, a Black female physician and two white female social workers. The goal of the interview was to gain assistance around program contact issues; to add to the knowledge of service providers perceptions of Black adolescent fathers and their opinion of what if anything should be done in the way of service provision.

The staff had contact with a few Black adolescent fathers. Ninety-five percent of the program's clients were unwed Black adolescent mothers. The staff estimated that two percent of the remaining Black female clients were married as compared to fifty percent of the small percentage of white clients. The staff felt that the legislature and the community identified adolescent pregnancy as a Black issue

and one that was connected to negative stereotypes concerning "welfare cheats" and the "hyper-sexuality" of Blacks. They felt that there on programs was "tolerated," rather than "supported." The staff felt it would be unrealistic to expect sanction or support for a dissertation project concerning Black adolescent fathers.

The female participants in "Teens and Babies" rarely identified the fathers of their children, unless the father was an older man. A sizeable group of female clients under the age of sixteen identified the fathers of their children as men over the age of thirty. One staff member felt this amounted to statutory rape. Although willing, the "Teens and Babies" did not think they would be able to recruit fathers for the project.

Another obstacle to program contact and implementation identified by the staff was the attitude of the adolescent fathers. Two of the staff members felt the fathers were irresponsible and did not experience fatherhood as a problem. They felt that in order to have any impact on males, they had to be reached long before adolescence. The staff did not discuss structural causes of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood; they focused on causes such as a lack of information concerning sex and a need for value clarification. Both male and female clients were described as "unresponsive, unmotivated and immature."

When asked to describe their fantasy program, the staff pointed out that they were seeing more throw-away kids and that there were no group-homes in the area for adolescents

with children. Venereal disease was a major problem among clients and the staff wished they had more sources to direct toward prevention of venereal disease. The fantasy program did not include services directed at males. In fact, the staff suggested that the dissertation project should be directed towards getting adolescent fathers to be more supportive of their mates and children.

The staff of County "Teens and Babies" felt that neither race or sex of workers would determine the success of a program. The two white female social workers felt that as skilled workers they had been able to be productive working cross-culturally. They felt the Black female program director had the additional advantage of acting as a role model. But again, the staff agreed that biggest obstacle to getting the dissertation project off the ground would be the lack of interest of the adolescent fathers. They felt that the fathers would only be motivated by money and that funding be sought to pay them for participation.

Informal Interviews

Unstructured interviews were held with a cross-section of informants; mothers of adolescent fathers, adolescent mothers, church members, members of the University community and neighbors. The mothers and mates of adolescent fathers were supportive of the project, although they felt that a program that would help fathers meet their immediate economic needs was badly needed. The University community was verbally supportive of the project and suggested pertinent literature and potential funding sources. The church members

felt that a strong sexual abstinence message should be included in the project and the majority of neighbors voiced many of the negative stereotypes concerning Black adolescent fathers referred to in the Review of the Literature. One additional piece of information gathered during these informal interviews was a warning not to come across like a "know it all Yankee." The informants felt that being a newcomer to the South and a New Yorker, would be an obstacle during all phases of program development. New Yorkers were mistrusted and disliked because they were perceived as disdainful of the Southern way of doing things.

Summary

Several important themes emerged from these interviews that affected decisions made, concerning the contact phase of development. Primarily, the informants supported the objective of increasing our knowledge of Black unwed adolescent fathers and using that knowledge for program development. Services that seemed to engage the target population offered a wide range of educational, vocational, sex education, family planning and recreational services. While single objective programs, seemed more manageable, the survey clearly identified Black adolescent fathers as a population with many unmet needs; therefore, offering more than one service during program contact seemed to make the most sense.

Funding was a concern of the informants of the survey, but with one exception, it was not an overriding concern. More importantly, the state, local or federal government or

major charitable institutions were the primary funding sources of the programs in the survey. Further inquiry revealed that obtaining funding from these sources was a lengthy process, with funds more likely to be allocated to an agency or research group rather than an individual dissertation project. Funding was sought from a University fund to encourage research by new faculty. Unfortunately, funding dissertation projects were not a priority, on the grounds that faculty members who had completed their doctorates should be rewarded first. As a result, it was assumed that the project would remain unfunded, so that networking and the cooperation of "Program A" became essential.

Another issue that emerged during the telephone survey was the use of female staff, particularly during program contact. Only one agency supported the use of female workers during all phases of program development. Interestingly, this was the most successful program in terms of the number of fathers recruited and using the program on a regular basis. Additionally, the majority of informants supporting the use of male staff members, were themselves male involvement workers. Their support of the use of male workers was partially based on an assumption that female workers were hostile towards adolescent fathers. Recruiting fathers sometimes involved going places such as pool halls, "numbers holes," basketball courts, barber shops, where a male worker might be safer, more comfortable and more accepted. Because of the ethnographic thrust of the study,

lack of participation in any phase of program development would deprive the research of a rich source of information. A compromise was struck by deciding to accompany the male involvement worker of "Program A" to traditionally male hangouts. The male involvement worker was to make the initial contact, and establish a relationship rapport so that an introduction to the researcher would be accepted. The male involvement worker would also have an interview guide, but whenever possible, the researcher would be the primary interviewer. Finally, since the researcher had extensive experience with Black adolescent males, it was hoped that some of the problems noted by the service providers would be avoided.

In terms of strategies for contacting this target population, the survey revealed the extensive use of formal and informal referral systems; nor did any agency rely on any one method (outreach, agency referrals, etc.) to make contact. It was decided to use multiple methods and strategies for contact during the project.

Lastly, the influence of the personality of the worker making contact with the target population was cited several times during the survey. In fact, fathers were portrayed as connecting initially to a worker, more than to a program and its objectives. Based on this information and because the in-put of participants would help determine the implementation of goals, it was decided to present the objectives of the project in the broadest possible terms. It was also decided to emphasize relationship building skills,

such as empathy, active listening and immediate problem solving, during the contact phase of the project.

The Contact Phase of Program Development

This section of the results chapter describes efforts to contact the target population. The target population consisted of Black unwed fathers ages twelve through twenty one. Although a convenience sample was sought, most recruiting efforts took place in low S.E.S. and working class areas of the city. This was based on the assumption that fatherhood would have a greater impact on adolescent males with fewer economic resources.

The Review of the Literature and interview with service providers clearly identified contact as the most difficult and lengthy phase of program development. These sources indicate that it is difficult to identify Black adolescent fathers and once identified, to engage them. In fact, researcher has shown that Black males in general do not readily seek help from social service programs.¹⁶⁴ "Program A" also saw the dissertation project as a means of intensifying its efforts to recruit adolescent fathers. As previously mentioned, "Program A" had a male involvement worker, but most of his energies were directed at recruiting younger males (ages 9-12) for a recreational and educational group known as the Wise Guys. "Program A's" program director and the researcher discussed the expansion of his role with the worker Mr. H., as formulated during program initiation.

¹⁶⁴Harold W. Neighbors and Robert J. Taylor, op. cit., p. 265.

Mr. H. worked part-time for "Program A." It was felt that his full time job as a high school drop-out prevention counselor would be of assistance in contacting adolescent fathers. The following diary entry reveals some unexpected problems with the use of the male involvement worker:

Diary Entry 10/14 - The director of "Program A" and myself spoke to Mr. H. about the dissertation project and our conception of his role in recruiting the target population. We were seeking his ideas concerning strategies for contact, as well as making sure that he understood the project, the interview guides etc. Mr. H. was not enthusiastic. He felt that fathers did not need help. In fact, he felt it was "too late" to do anything for most teen fathers. His time could be better used concentrating on the younger guys and preventing them from becoming adolescent fathers. He definitely disliked the idea of going into "dives" in order to recruit fathers. Mrs. D., the program director reminded him that this was part of his job description. I had a sense that the conflict was not entirely about contacting teenage fathers. In any case Mr. H. pointed out that his high school was 90% white so he doubted that he would find many Black adolescent fathers at his full time job. A date was set to attempt outreach at two community centers run by the Parks Department. Later Mrs. D. revealed that the staff at "Program A," at least at the branch in the Black community was underpaid. She felt that Mr. H. resented having more demands placed upon him for a salary that was barely above minimum wage.

This conversation suggested that reviewing strategies for program contact, other than the extensive use of the male involvement worker, would be in order. The strategies for program contact suggested by the literature, interviews and survey could be divided into two categories; use of formal systems and use of informal systems. Service providers had been able to make contact with the target population through both methods, so that neither method was clearly superior. Because service providers from the area in which the project

was conducted, emphasized the area's conservative values, the respect for authority, and the use of proper channels, and because of the lack of enthusiasm of the male involvement worker, it was felt that using formal systems (church, social service agencies, the school system and hospitals) should be the first choice. Before this strategy could be put in motion, another problem arose.

When actually faced with recruiting Black adolescent fathers the male involvement worker was not the only one to exhibit ambivalent feelings.

Diary entry 10/18 - The director of "Program A" calls in a panic to say there are only a handful of Black adolescent fathers in the city. She had met with another researcher who was studying teen mothers. The mothers in this study claimed that adult males from age 25-30 had fathered their children. She believes that this is why the mothers in "Program A" have been reluctant to identify fathers. An adult male would be persued more rigorously for child support and if his whereabouts were known, there would be a definite reduction in AFDC benefits. Also having a baby by an older man would brand a girl as "fast." According to Mrs. D. "fast" meant whorish. Being labeled this way would also result in less support from family and community. Two teenagers having sex and "getting caught" was understandable, but chasing behind grown men was not. I asked Mrs. D. if Black adolescents in the area always used contraception when having sex. She agreed that this was not the case. I suggested then, that some of the males must be making babies. Mrs. D. stated that things were different in the south and that she would explain further at another time. What is this about? Does "Program A" want to disassociate itself from the project, is this a genuine belief, or does the difficulty in reaching Black adolescent fathers make it easier to say they don't exist. There is some evidence that some teenage mothers have children by slightly older men, but to say that adolescent fathers don't exist seems an exaggeration.

The writer called the State Bureau of Statistics. At that time there were no statistics matching the age and race of fathers. I spoke to a Black female faculty member who was

born and raised in this city. Surprisingly, she gave credence to the idea that most teenage females have their children by older men. In her practice experience, she noted that many fathers were from eighteen through their early twenties. She felt that the teenage mothers saw something glamorous in having relationships with slightly older males. She emphasized the difficulty that would be encountered in trying to contact Black adolescent fathers.

Diary Entry 10/26 - Spoke to Mrs. D. at "Program A." She admits over-reacting and feeling overwhelmed. "Program A" is the most successful program sponsored by its agency in terms of the number of participants and generating income. She feels however that the program does not receive the recognition or resources that it deserves in order to "really take off." She asks if I've noted the difference in appearance of program "O" of the agency, the "white" branch. I had. Program "O" is very attractively decorated, has a pool and other facilities that would engage a wide range of clientele. Mrs. D's. facility is well kept, but shabby in comparison. Mrs. D. referred to it as being kept in the "nigger hole" and that it gave a clear message to clients about how they were valued. In general, Mrs. D. felt that neither the dissertation project, nor her own program were offering enough to attract Black adolescent fathers. It also seemed as if a salary increase was not going to come through for the male involvement worker. She felt we should not expect too much of him. After again listening to her express frustration, I asked Mrs. D. if she would like to pull out of the project. She definitely did not and defended her right to complain. Mrs. D. expressed the importance of belonging, in order to achieve anything in this community. She agreed that we should first try contacting formal institutions. She would contact the agencies she was familiar with through the Teen Pregnancy Network and I was to use the faculty and staff of the University to make contact and to begin to plan activities for implementation.

Program Contact Through Formal Systems

Time after time informants had pointed out the disadvantage of the researcher being a woman, a new-comer and a New Yorker. It seemed that these disadvantages would be compounded by overlooking the gatekeepers of formal institutions. In addition, the project's lack of financial resources supported the use of this method. Informants in the community as well as service providers had suggested that belonging was the key to cooperation from those with access to the target population. Ostensibly, the researcher belonged to the University community, so efforts to contact adolescent fathers began within the domain the researcher belonged to, with a view towards gaining access to the domain of Black adolescent fathers.

First, staff and faculty members who because of the nature of their jobs or because a history of scholarly activity in the area of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood were contacted by letter and then by follow-up phone calls. Examples of those contacted were the Minority Coordinator for the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, two faculty members who had published articles concerning adolescent mothers, the Advisor of Afro-American Male Graduate Students, a staff member of the office of Career Planning and Placement, and a Minority recruitment officer. While supportive of the project these faculty and staff members claimed not to have access to Black adolescent fathers. The one exception was Mrs. L., the staff person from the office of Career Planning and Placement. Mrs. L. was interested in

the education and preparation of Black youths before they applied to college. She had developed a list of tutorial, technological training and recreational programs that might have some leads to Black adolescent fathers. The following diary entry shed light on the formation of a partnership with Mrs. L:

Diary Entry 10/22 - "Met with Mrs. L. from Career Planning and Placement. She was enthusiastic and informative. She gave many possible leads. She has never worked with the target population. She is one of the few informants who has not stated that they are impossible to reach, or that they don't exist. She is not all pessimistic. Familiarity with the target population seems to breed either contempt or resignation."

Among the program identified by Mrs. L. were a summer project for minority students at UNC Chapel Hill, a summer program run by the school of Business Administration at Duke University, a career development program known as In-Roads in Research Triangle Park and two Saturday tutorial programs run by local Black churches. Each of these leads were followed up by telephone calls. Only two programs asked applicants whether or not they had offspring, or were married. To their knowledge, no Black adolescent father had recently participated in any of the programs or were applicants. The other programs did not compile information on marital status, or number of offspring of participants. In fact, informants at these programs stated that the target population would more likely to be found in institutions with larger, more heterogeneous populations, such as schools or hospitals.

While Mrs. L. was unable to gain access to the target population, she did provide ideas and information that proved

invaluable in planning for implementation. Her experience in career counseling gave credence to the research indicating a preference in Black youngsters for experiential learning.¹⁶⁵ (This is not to say that Black American youngsters can learn only in this way, but a hands-on-approach, with an inductive learning process, is favored). Ms. L. named several faculty members that had cooperated in providing experiential career guidance workshops. These faculty members taught in the areas of Computer Science, Design, and Media Production. In addition, I was given the name of a contact person at the local television station who had been known to give access to the studio to student groups. These contact people received memo's naming Ms. L. as the referral person. They also received follow-up telephone calls. Each of these individuals expressed interest in participation in the project. A diary entry addresses some possible causes for their positive responses.

Diary Entry 10/28 - Spoke to the informants that responded positively to plans for implementation. (None of these informants had special access to the target population). Informants were asked to describe being curious about a project for adolescent fathers, and all three informants described knowing Ms. L. personally and the researcher being recommended by her as crucial to their decisions. This experience is creating more doubt in my head about the wisdom of using the informal system. It does not even seem to be enough work in the same place, or attend the same church, etc. If you are not known personally, or can be vouched for by a known entity, then doors remain closed.

¹⁶⁵Dalton Miller-Jones, op. cit.

The problems thus far in reaching the target population had as much to do with the exploratory, powerless nature of the dissertation project as it did with Black adolescent fathers being hard to reach. The project did not possess what has been referred to as "boundary control" or claim to a "domain."¹⁶⁶ Boundary control concerns a programs ability to manage exchanges within its environment or part of it. In this case, the management would consist of the obtaining referrals from other agencies. A domain refers in part to a programs territory, its claim over present and future services.¹⁶⁷ As an unfunded research project, without connections to any particular network of agencies, the project had neither of these qualities.

Other institutions were contacted by letter, explaining the nature of the project and seeking their help in reaching Black adolescent fathers. There was a generally favorable response to the goals of the project which were stated as expanding the concept of future vocational and educational options of the target population, so that early fatherhood becomes an unattractive alternative. Supporting the goals however, had no correlation with support of program contact efforts. These institutions included several churches, (no response received), the County Board of Education, (received a telephone response describing a long list of procedures to be followed), and the social service department of the major

¹⁶⁶Hermain Resnick and Rino J. Patti, eds., Change from Within, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980, p. 60.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 60-61.

"Black" hospital in the area. Samples of letters to these institutions may be found in the appendix. All the hospitals in the area were technically integrated, but this hospital was commonly regarded as belonging to the Black community. A social worker at this hospital offered the following information:

Undated Diary Entry - Spoke to Mrs. R. in person at the Medical Center. Mrs. R. said that she knew of three other agencies that had attempted to offer services to adolescent fathers, including "Program A." She noted that change took place very slowly. She advised the worker not to be pushy. Pushy translated as aggressively going after a goal. Aggressiveness ran counter to Southern culture, particularly for a Black female. The Medical Center was making a concerted effort to have unwed adolescent mothers identify the fathers of their children without much success. (In 1985, the National Center for Health Statistics reported that 65% of the birth certificates for nonmarital births to women under 20 did not provide information about the father).¹⁶⁸ Besides economic reasons she felt that Black adolescent fathers remained unidentified because the paternal family pressured them to stay out of the picture. When asked to describe if this had always been the pattern, the informant felt that it represented a major change in the way Black families handle adolescent pregnancy. When she was growing-up, paternal families in the Black community forced their sons to acknowledge their children and often to marry the mothers. She noted that although the few white adolescent mothers in the hospital were more frequently married, white families as well were forcing fewer "shotgun" weddings.

In terms of referring fathers, she felt that the Medical Center's contact with adolescent fathers was too brief and superficial, but she would try. She strongly suggested that the researcher had been given "lousy" advice regarding the use of the formal system. She suggested that the researcher get into the community in order to make contact

¹⁶⁸Jacqueline Smollar and Theodora Ooms, eds., Young Unwed Fathers: Research Review, Policy Options: Summary Report. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, Project MAXIMUS, 1987, p. 13.

with the target population. She suggested two community centers as a beginning.

The inability of the Medical Center to identify Black fathers highlighted other disadvantages of attempting to reach this population through formal systems. These institutions are bureaucracies, as mentioned previously, with a history of adversarial relationships with Black adolescent fathers. The target population may be intentionally limiting their contact with these systems, thus these institutions do not have access to them. In addition, the organizational culture of bureaucracies make them poor referral sources in situations that are out of the ordinary. Bureaucracies function around procedures and roles. Since no procedure was in place for handling dissertation projects concerning unwed Black fathers, one would have to wait for the request to ascend the bureaucracy's pyramid, descend with a procedure or as happened in most cases, have the request discarded. The culture of these referral sources did not match the objective of the project.

Interestingly, "Program A" had little success in obtaining referrals from the formal system. According to Ms. W. this was because other agencies either did not support the idea of services for unwed fathers, or they could not or would not identify them. Even "surveys sponsored by the U.S. Census Bureau are not adequately sampling young unwed fathers either because they are designed for households rather than individuals, as with the Current Population Surveys, or because they do not ask questions pertaining to the

parenthood of unmarried individuals under 18 years of age."¹⁶⁹

The literature on Black adolescent fathers has emphasized the reluctance of this group to seek help from social service agencies. The experience of this dissertation project confirmed this claim. However, the extent to which they are invisible to the social welfare system was surprising and clearly an area that needs to be addressed. Three fathers were recruited through these contact efforts and these fathers were already participants in "Program A." Out of these three fathers, two remained involved until the completion of the dissertation project.

Contact Efforts Through Informal Networks

As previously stated, the telephone survey and the Review of the Literature supported the use of a male outreach worker. This project had a very reluctant male worker. He was underpaid, working only part-time for the project and already being required to recruit younger males for another program sponsored by "Program A." Additionally, this worker did not think the dissertation project was viable.

Diary Entry 10/10 - Had lunch with Mr. H., the male involvement worker at "Program A." Mr. H. states he has recruited males in the 12-14 year old age group for the Wise Guys program. He has never asked if any of them are fathers, but says he will attempt to do so. He states he has tried to recruit fathers through the mothers participating in "Program A," but the mothers are very reluctant to share information. Mr. H. believes that older Black male adolescent fathers are "street hardened." He believes they are into drugs, crime and having sex whenever and with whomever they can.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 22.

He feels they are just about unreachable. He does not seem to feel that outreach efforts with this population would be worth the effort. We discussed going to pool halls, barber shops and other hang-outs in an effort to make contact with fathers. Mr. H. remains unenthusiastic.

Observation: I wonder how everyone is approaching the adolescent mothers?

The literature and telephone survey informants focused on the ambivalent or hostile feelings of female workers towards adolescent fathers. Although Mr. H.'s resistance to outreach activities is based partly on job related issues such as salary and working hours, part of his resistance is based on hostility towards the target population. It may be a mistake for program developers to assume that Black males are naturally more empathetic to adolescent fathers. In any case, it was clear that minimal assistance could be expected from the male involvement worker during the program contact phase.

The other issue raised during this conversation with Mr. H. was how the project was being presented to the mates and families of adolescent fathers. There was a standard presentation for agencies and other institutions, but not for individuals. This was discussed with the director of "Program A" and its administrator. It was decided to draft a letter to the mothers in "Program A," seeking their assistance in recruiting adolescent fathers. The letter described the planned services of the dissertation project, highlighted aspects of "Program A" that may have been of interest to fathers, emphasized confidentiality and the programs lack of connection to DSS. The letter may be found

in the appendix. There was little direct response to the letter to adolescent mothers. Between 8 and 10 mothers called for more information, but the calls did not result in recruitment of additional fathers. As expected, the male involvement worker missed two meetings at adolescent male hang-outs with the researcher. The researcher chose to stay and attempt to contact the target population without assistance of a male worker. The hang-out was a pool hall, but other illegal activities were clearly going on. The researcher explained her role(s) as students, professor and social worker. Emphasis was placed on concern for the problems of young Black males, particularly adolescent fathers. The following diary entry helps clarify this experience.

Diary Entry 11/8 - I am the only female in a pool hall/drug hole in one of the so called worse streets in the Black community. I am questioning my judgment, but I do not feel terrified. Being raised in the Fort Apache Section of the South Bronx sometimes has its advantages. Most of the males ignore me. The manager (owner)?, he never make it clear, asks me what I'm doing in his place. I explain that I'm looking for unmarried Black adolescent fathers, in order to get them involved in a program that might help them and to finish my doctorate so that I wouldn't be fired by the University. I also explained that I wanted to learn as much about adolescent fathers as possible, just by talking to them. I was careful to disassociate myself from a child support agency, or "welfare." The managers reaction ranged from contempt, who is this stupid female, to amusement, you want to do what?, to confusion. He explained that people made money by other means than playing pool and that I should stay out of the way of business transactions. If I didn't get on his customers nerves, I could stay. Both the manager and the three adolescent fathers he introduced me to found it difficult to categorize me. They could not relate to the stated self-serving or altruistic motives of the project. They also found it

difficult, but interesting to relate to a female in a non-sexual way around issues that concerned them. Although we eventually developed a rapport, they remained suspicious; "come on you can tell us now, you're really from the government." These three fathers never became full participants in the project, but contributed valuable information on the world-view of a segment of African-American adolescent fathers."

This information may be found in the section on program implementation.

Three types of non-traditional outreach strategies were identified by service-provider informants in this project: 1) One in which a male role model hangs out with clients and slowly building a trusting relationship which leads to program participation; 2) An aggressive, grab them off the street corner approach, in which programmatic goals, usually short term are initiated immediately. "Program G's," Blitzkriegers exemplify this approach; and 3) A middle of the road approach with the target population in which they are also offered concrete incentives such as cash, or basketball game tickets in return for program participation. The last strategy was used most frequently in this dissertation project. A public service ad was submitted to one of the local Black radio stations, announcing the project and offering free admission to "Program A" events to single fathers ages 12-21. A copy of the birth certificate, verification by a parent, or mate were acceptable as proof of fatherhood. "Program A" began to have dances on a regular basis, and fathers responding to the radio ad began to attend the dances. Although no alcohol or drugs were allowed at the dances, some of the adolescents would come in high. A

connection was established with four adolescent fathers, although the project could not be discussed on a serious level with "high" adolescent males. These four males, along with the pool-hall males made up the seven partial participants in the project. A relationship with two adolescent fathers who were already participants in "Program A" was solidified during these dances, particularly after the researcher proved she knew how to do the "cabbage patch", a dance. One of these fathers was so enthusiastic about getting the dissertation project going, that he volunteered to help recruit other fathers. The researcher and Mrs. D. had discussed paying these two participants ten dollars for each solid referral to the project. The adolescent recruiters were given a simple statement explaining the project. It stated that it was free and confidential. They were also told not to attempt to coerce anyone into the project. Neither father recruited any other fathers. In discussing why they had failed, it became apparent that both fathers were over-extended, between work, school and child care responsibilities. Their recruitment efforts were limited at best. They admitted "just asking guys if they want to be in a program for fathers."

Mrs. D. and the researcher, distributed flyers in the community centers, bars, schools and stores announcing the project and adolescent pregnancy program. While community members would almost always politely accept the flyers, in at least two cases, shop owners subsequently admitted to throwing the flyers away. One shop owner felt that the

flyers should contain a message about sexual abstinence, in order to conform with her Christian ethics. Another shop owner, thought that the flyers were a sneaky attempt to get child support from adolescent fathers; or to cut the AFDC benefits of adolescent mothers. Many organizations in the area distributed flyers and other information in the community centers, decreasing the effectiveness of this tactic. Although this researcher made contact with several adolescent fathers in the community center, (through being present, not through the flyers), the setting did not facilitate recruitment. The young males were often involved in a sport and they were either distracted or too tired to become involved in a serious conversation about fatherhood. There was little privacy and some of the fathers seemed embarrassed to discuss a program for fathers in the presence of their non-father friends. Efforts were then directed to a shopping complex in the area that contained several beauty parlors and barber shops. The beauticians were receptive to the idea of the project. Contact was made with one adolescent couple, through a referral from a beautician who was also an MSW. The female in the couple was still pregnant and the male was very involved in the relationship. Unfortunately, the female lost the baby and the prospective father dropped out of the project.

The researcher attempted to make contact at a housing project unofficially, since official access had been denied. The pool-hall, turned out to be safer than the housing project. The researcher was approached hostilely by two

adolescent males. Fortunately, one of the adolescent mothers who knew the researcher from "Program A" intervened shouting "leave her alone, that's that crazy lady that wants to help teenage fathers." The two males laughed saying "oh yeah, that female, the one that asks about 'rubbers'," as they walked away. At this point the adolescent mother strongly suggested that this particular housing project was not the best place to make contact with fathers. The researcher questioned this mother about being known as the "crazy lady." According to this informant "word was out" on the researcher. This mother stated that the researcher was known not to "tell people's business, or mess up their money (AFDC)." When asked why the term "crazy" was used, the informant said that people couldn't figure out why anyone would want to know about teenage fathers. She responded, "Everybody knows that you like to do it when you're young and sometimes you get caught. It's just that simple. Besides nothing was going to change anyway." When questioned about "nothing changing" the informant explained that "one lady couldn't get anybody good jobs, or day care or anything." The researcher explained that the work was about enabling people to get these things for themselves, that it wasn't acceptable that the informant must work at a fast food restaurant forever. The informant felt that the researcher was "alright," but maintained that I was probably wasting my time.

The significance of this encounter was that the researcher had become known in the community or at least by adolescent parents in the community; and that the researcher

was tolerated if not accepted by them. It also highlights the importance of "belonging" in program development. This has often been stated as "it's not what you know, but who you know." During this field experience, 'belonging' hinged on who knew and accepted the researcher. This was true of service providers as well as the target population.

A breakthrough at this stage of program development came when a faculty member introduced the researcher to a Black male graduate student, who was also a guidance counselor in one of the high schools. Again this connection was possible only because the researcher was known by a well-respected faculty member. This guidance counselor had been running a group for adolescent mothers in his school and had been wanting to include adolescent fathers. He felt that the permission of his immediate supervisor was the only thing needed to give the researcher access to the fathers during school hours. Parental consent would also be needed for fathers under age eighteen. This counselor Mr. R., said that a few of the Black adolescent fathers had wanted to know why there was "no group or anything for them." It was decided that Mr. R. would tell the fathers about a short term project for adolescent dads (at this point it had been decided to use two free movie passes and free "Program A" membership as incentives). If the fathers were interested and written consent from parents was obtained he would give me their phone numbers. Mr. R. referred eight fathers. Out of those eight, six participated fully in the dissertation project.

Parental permission was easy to obtain. The general attitude was "if you think you can do something with him, fine." It took several phone conversations to recruit each father. These conversations were used to get a sense of the fathers personality, his functioning and his interests. This information was used to help develop program implementation. Notes from a typical "recruitment call" may be found in the appendix.

Out of the eight fathers called, five wanted assurance that this project was not going to be like "Job Corps," which one father summed up as a "dumping ground." The general framework of the project was presented as one in which they would be given brief, first hand experiences at different jobs in order to broaden their idea of what they could do in the future. It was made clear that the project would incorporate their suggestions. Humor was consciously used to engage fathers. Referrals for certain services were also made. One father was referred to a clinic for a free, sports physical, another was referred to a legal clinic for information on how to file for paternity. These minor interventions strengthened the researchers connection to these fathers. The fathers were also curious about the researchers personal life and the reason for her interest in adolescent fathers. What they seemed to be asking was if the worker knew anything about being a parent, and what the true attitudes were towards adolescent fathers. Self-disclosure within these parameters seemed appropriate.

At the same time the researcher connected with Mr. R., Mrs. D. from "Program A" made contact with a Black female guidance counselor at another high school. This guidance counselor had also been working with adolescent mothers and was interested in a program for adolescent fathers. Of the three fathers referred by this guidance counselor, one remained with the project.

Contact efforts had begun in October. By March two fathers had been recruited from "Program A," six from Mr. R's high school and one from the female guidance counselors high school. These nine fathers made up the core group of the project. There were seven "fringe" participant fathers who were contacted at the pool-hall and the beauty parlor complex. These fathers provided information on the experience of adolescent fatherhood, but did not participate in the project in any other way.

Because so much of program implementation centered around the high school and university being open, it was decided to stop concentrating on program contact activities in March, in spite of the small (n).

Summary of Program Contact

In many ways, relationship seemed key to the program contact phase of development. It was through relationships, not role, that contact was made with the target population. Being a social worker, a professor, a church member, a member of professional organizations and of the academic community had meaning only to the extent to which the researcher was a known and respected entity. The rapport that developed

between the researcher and the adolescent fathers, generated their interest in the project. The fact that the fathers recruited had a trusting, supportive relationship with their guidance counselors was also partially responsible for their participation in the project. This experience once again raises the issue if the need for a caring, friendly relationship permits work or whether relationship between worker and client develops through problem solving. The significance of relationship during program contact, had implications for program implementation. If relationship recruited the target population, it should also be used to keep them engaged. The cognitive and affective boundaries between researcher and participants were already more flexible than usual. In order to be effective, this lack of distance was purposively continued during implementation. The lack of distance between researcher and participants did not lead to over-dependence because the objective was to increase understanding and to empower, not to rescue.

Relationship also affected the usual assumptions about "gatekeepers," in the case of this target population. The Black community in this project seemed perplexed by this generation of Black adolescent males. Informants described them as "out of control," as "not listening," they also feared for them, recalling instances of police brutality involving young Black males. Feelings ranged from ambivalence to hostility, to protectiveness', but the most powerful feeling was that this generation of young Black males had somehow gotten beyond the communities grasp. The

lack of reliable statistics on Black adolescent fathers may be a reflection of this. The bottom line is that the community centers, the churches, the social service agencies, families and neighbors did not seem to have the same strong connection to adolescent fathers as they did to other populations in the community; and therefore, were not reliable gatekeepers.

During the telephone survey, it was suggested that the first contact with a Black adolescent father may be the only contact; so it should be as productive as possible. The role of a practitioner-researcher, using anthropological techniques is different from that of a participant-observer anthropologist. Service/action, differentiates social work practice from anthropology. However, "the ethical dimension not the theory of the action provides assurance to the worker that what can be done ought to be done."¹⁷⁰ The practitioner-researcher has an ethical imperative to recognize service needs. This does not necessarily mean doing something for a participant, but it does mean attempting to enable a participant to meet unmet needs.

One obstacle to making contact with the target population, was their cynicism concerning social service programs. This researcher handled this cynicism by acknowledging social inequities and by being careful not to promise more than could be delivered. Rather, than using a

¹⁷⁰Harold Lewis, The Intellectual Base of Social Work Practice: Tools for Thought in a Helping Profession (New York: The Haworth Press, 1982) p. 88.

hard sell, concerning what could be gained through participation in the project, we concentrated on the power of new experiences to promote growth. The more realistic view of the fathers changed the researchers expectations of program implementation. Rather than viewing implementation as successful only if it resulted in a less constricted concept of self in the environment; planting the seed of the idea of striving for a richer life (as defined by participants) would be an indication of success.

Finally, there was the issue of the use of female workers during program contact and implementation. There were definitely situations in which a male worker would have had easier access to the target population and the fathers would probably have been initially more comfortable discussing certain issues with a male. On the other hand, participants would ask questions about their girlfriends behavior, about female sexuality, about motherhood, about what women liked and expected from males and they wanted this information from a female perspective. Many of them were surprised that one could have a normal conversation with an adult female. This revelation impacted on their views of females in general; perhaps they could "just talk" in the words of one father, to their mates.

The researcher worked for many years in a mental health clinic in Bed-Stuy. Some of the children seen, came from families in which both parents were overwhelmed by concrete problems and were unable to provide the attention or nurturance the children needed. Our solution was to "mom and

pop" these children; that is provide them with both a male and a female worker. Usually the children were seen jointly, but were free to request a separate session with either worker. Perhaps Black adolescent fathers need to be "mom and popped" by a male and female recruitment team. Besides modeling a non-sexualized friendly relationship, a male/female recruitment team would be able to address a wider variety of issues, from different but hopeful complimentary points of view.

Program Implementation

As stated previously, the goals of program implementation of this project were to increase knowledge of program development with the target population and to broaden the professions knowledge base of the culture of Black adolescent fathers. These goals were pursued through three major activities; participant-observation of the target population; increasing the target populations awareness of life options through vocational workshops; and finally at the request of participants, a discussion group around the issues of adolescent fatherhood.

During the contact phase of program development, participants were informed that the Window's Project was short term, that it was a research project and that the goals of the project were (1) to help teen fathers consider their life options, (2) to discover how programs can connect with teen fathers, (3) to gather information that would be useful in developing social serviecs programs for teenage fathers. This information was also included in the consent form that

was given to teen fathers and the parents of teen fathers under the age of eighteen. Participants were also informed of the projects connection to "Program A," both during the dissertation project and after the project ended. Participants were told that the intervention of the Windows Project involved, arranging first hand exposure to jobs that they may not be aware of otherwise. Three experiences had already been planned, but fathers were informed that their suggestions for activities would be instituted whenever possible. One fathers response to this information was "see, I told you she was crazy, nice but crazy." Agreeing to incorporate the suggestions of participants was initially viewed as willingness to do anything. For example, the group jokingly suggested we visit a strip-joint so they could get some hands on experience there. We came to an agreement that the kind of career and educational options to be explored would be socially acceptable. We then defined socially acceptable as passing the mother/child test; that is it would have to be a legal career that they would not be ashamed to tell their mothers, or their offspring about. Although allowing maximum participation of the fathers in meeting the goals of the project would be less manageable than a tightly controlled program, this flexibility may be justified on several levels. A frequent response of the social welfare system to children and adolescents who deviate from the norm in some way is to provide more structure and to tighten social controls. Programs from the Job Corps, to small Special Classes for learning disabled children in public

schools are based on this principle. As noted in the Review of the Literature, Rosalie Cohens'¹⁷¹ theory concerning analytic, versus relational cognitive styles, a relational cognitive style was associated with African-American culture. In an unpublished paper, Asa Hilliard associated the following qualities with a relational cognitive style: "Variation, memory for essence, flexibility, uniqueness, affective and contextual meanings."¹⁷² In addition, programs that had been successful with Black adolescent fathers had often employed the flexible organizational task culture. Empowerment, a buzz word of the eighties seems related to the functional approach which "assumes that in the final analysis the direction of the recipients (participants) life is dependent upon his own conscious choices and activities. It further assumes that the recipient has an unforeseeable potential to solve his own problems although he may need help in realizing this potential."¹⁷³ A socially unacceptable act may be viewed as an exercise of will, a signal of the need for greater options. Thus a response extending latitude along different avenues may be appropriate. The guidance counselors had arranged for field trips to be held during school hours, a factor that made the idea even more

¹⁷¹Rosalie Cohen, op. cit., pp. 41-57.

¹⁷²Asa Hilliard, "The Afro-American Cultural Style," unpublished paper, 1976.

¹⁷³Harold Lewis, op. cit., p. 208.

attractive to participants. Transportation was provided by the worker and by "Program A."

During contact and implementation, participants had expressed interest in technological careers; "things with computers, or working in the media." Other areas of interest included architecture, medicine and design. Given the option of visiting industrial sites, or the university setting, all nine participants stated a preference for the university. They felt they would be "stared at by white people," or viewed as "charity cases" while visiting job sites. They had visited major companies in the area on school trips and had felt uncomfortable. They were not encouraged to ask questions, or touch anything during these trips. They had also found the trips "boring."

Of all the faculty contacted during program initiation and contact, the Social Science Computer Lab, the School of Veterinary Medicine and an instructor in Film and Media had responded positively to the request to allow fathers hands on experience in their classes. A local cable T.V. station, as well as the Public Television channel had also responded positively.

Life Options Workshops

During a six week period, participants visited the Social Science Computer Lab twice and participated in the making of a student film.

In the Computer Lab, careers in computer science were discussed informally. Participants were made familiar with the basics of 'booting up', and of word processing, but

primarily they ran a software package called Life Course Simulation. The Life Course Simulation exercise had the dual purpose of helping participants become familiar with a computer while examining their own decision-making processes. A typical task in Life Course Simulation would be to ask the user to allocate his time during a week between school, work, parents, dating, friends, and being alone. The software would go on to predict the consequences of this time schedule, including the evaluation of teachers, parents, and girlfriend of the users choices. A student handout describing Life Course Simulation may be found in the appendix.

Initially participants made many of the same decision in the game as they had in real life. They did not view it as a game and became angry when the computer would make negative predictions, such as being stuck in a low wage occupation or having a baby at an early age. Fathers continued to make decisions like, allocating most of their time to their girlfriends or jobs, or with their own friends. Initially they viewed these as reasonable decisions. In fact, several of the fathers became so annoyed that they accused the game of being rigged. One father said the computer knew they were Black. Half-hour discussions were held after each experience in order to process the event and evaluate it. After the first Life Course Simulation Lab, participants asked for another chance at the game. Two fathers gave the Computer Lab experience an overall rating of very good, seven rated it as good. They asked if the researcher was a "real social

worker" and expressed the viewpoint that the Windows Project was not a real program. They doubted the researchers professionalism because they felt that they were "teaching" the researcher and because the researcher didn't "down" them. They also felt the project was not a real program because it was not "boring," because they did not have to "fill out a lot of forms" and because their suggestions were taken into consideration.

During the second computer lab experience, there was more discussion between participants. The fathers decided the way to have positive life outcomes was to respond to the questions like "white boys." The group after this experience centered around whether or not life decisions possessed "color." For example, was it only a "white boys" decision to allocate more time to school than to work? In the viewpoint of the fathers, making the same decisions as a white counterpart, would not result in the same outcomes, because the "system" was not weighted in their favor. Another issue was personal style. They felt that Black males needed more sex and in general were more people-oriented. To change that would be a challenge to their racial identity and individuality. These responses support Ogbu's theory that certain competencies are associated with trying to be white; and Cohen and Hilliards theory concerning a relational cognitive style, as part of African-American culture. The fathers were also surprised at how easy it was to become comfortable with the computers, but they did not focus on career aspects. After the second computer lab, all nine

participants gave the experience an over all rating of very good.

The next experience was the media class. The class took place in a real television studio. The instructor was very informative about different careers in film making and media. The participants were fascinated by the equipment and each of them was given a chance to use some of the equipment during the making of a student film. This experience lasted approximately three hours. The discussion group afterwards was very lively. Several participants were attracted by the freedom and creativity involved in a media career. They were also surprised to learn that a graduate degree was not necessary. A job option that had seemed inaccessible to them was no longer viewed that way. This experience was rated excellent, although the highest rating on the questionnaire was very good.

A trip had been planned to the University's School of Veterinary Medicine, but only two fathers showed up. One father had been suspended from school for fighting and the Senior fathers were participating in pre-graduation exercises.

The next event was a tour of a Public T.V. station. No hands on experience was allowed, nor were they spoken to about careers in this area. Participants rated this experience as bad, but it was during this discussion that the issue of not having enough time to talk was raised. The fathers pointed out that the mothers at their high school had

a group and asked the researcher to see if a similar group could be held for fathers.

They wanted a forum to discuss issues such as child support, job hunting, their girlfriends, raising their offspring, etc. The fathers wanted both Mr. R. and the researcher to lead the group. Because it was so near the end of the school year it was agreed to have four, ninety minute groups if possible.

It should be noted that a theme always raised by the researcher during post-event discussion groups was the connection if any between teenage fatherhood and new job options. During the first group, this issue was brushed aside or some participants denied any connection. By the time an on-going discussion group was suggested, several participants wanted to talk about the connection between adolescent fatherhood and their educational/vocational future.

The Structured Questionnaire

Prior to the beginning of the discussion group, a structured questionnaire was administered to participants, individually by the researcher. The participants vocally viewed this part of the project as an annoyance. It was viewed as the kind of thing "social workers do at welfare." Once it became apparent that their opinions on significant issues were valuable, they became more cooperative.

The questionnaire contained sections on demographic information, on the affect of fatherhood on relationships with significant others, the affect of fatherhood on school,

career and self-concept and participants view of different life options and the role, if any, of institutional racism in their lives.

Demographic Data

Participants in the project shared many factors in their socio-economic background, but were also very much individuals. These were not "goody,goody" adolescents. Eight out of nine admitted to having minor run-ins with the law. All of them occasionally "smoked herb and drank alcohol." None of the fathers admitted to cocaine or heroin use. In their opinion these drugs "made you crazy." (The following names are not the fathers actual names). Orin was a tall powerfully built father who wore a playboy symbol earring in one ear. He was religious and had a strong sense of right and wrong. He also had a temper and tended to get into physical fights. He emerged as a leader of the group. Ralph was bright and argumentative. He was a prankster, his nick name was Freak. Freak was constantly being suspended from school. James was quiet, soft spoken and more able to speak about emotional issues than other participants. Don, the oldest father in the group, was an artist and musician. His band, an integrated funk-punk group was gaining popularity in the area. Monroe was a body builder and an expert auto mechanic. He was totally dedicated to his fiancée and child. Darron had two obsessions, sexual variety and his little girl. Bryan dreamed of leaving the south and was more vocal about what he perceived as racial incidents. Dunn, a senior was reading on a fifth grade level. He had

been passed on in school and knew it. He was the least optimistic of the participants about his career or his ability to care for his child. Maurice was handsome, with an unusual razor cut and the most stylish clothes. His source of extra-income was questionable, but because he possessed these status symbols he was highly regarded by other group members.

Participants in this study tended to be older adolescents; have had their first sexual experience with a female at an early age; and to have had an interval of at least two years between their first sexual experience and becoming a father. The lapse of years between sexual initiation and becoming a father tended to reinforce beliefs concerning the lack of need for contraceptives. Tables 6-1 through 6-5 reflect this and other selected demographic characteristics of participants in the project.

PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT THE TIME OF FIRST SEXUAL
INTERCOURSE WITH A FEMALE

TABLE 6-1

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Present Age</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 2 | 16 |
| 1 | 17 |
| 4 | 18 |
| 1 | 19 |
| 1 | 20 |
| Mean age = 18 | |

AGE AT TIME OF FIRST SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH A FEMALE

TABLE 6-1A

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Age at First Sexual Intercourse</u> |
|--|--|
| 1 | 8 |
| 3 | 12 |
| 2 | 13 |
| 2 | 14 |
| 1 | 19 |
| Mean age of first sexual experience = 13.2 years | |

AGE OF FATHERS AT TIME OF BIRTH OF THEIR CHILD

TABLE 6-2

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Age at Time of Birth of First Offspring</u> |
|--|--|
| 2 | 15 |
| 3 | 16 |
| 1 | 17 |
| 2 | 18 |
| 1 | 20 |
| Mean age of first time fatherhood = 17.2 years | |

The fathers in this project reported a number of changes in the composition of their households during their lifetimes. Five fathers reported being raised by both parents, however, during their childhoods there were periods during which one parent was not present in the household. Participants discussed these changes in their family life in depth during the discussion group.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION DURING CHILDHOOD AND
PRESENT HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

TABLE 6-3

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Childhood Household</u> | <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Present Household</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 5 | mother/ father | 2 | mother only |
| 2 | mother only | 1 | mother/ father |
| 1 | grand- mother | 1 | mother, grand- mother, child and mother of child |
| 1 | father | 1 | father/ grandmother |
| | | 2 | mother and siblings |
| | | 1 | cousin |
| | | 1 | grandmother siblings |

Another issue highlighted through the questionnaire was whether or not there was a family history of births out of wedlock and if there was any association to participants feelings concerning the morality of unwed fatherhood. The following table gives responses to the question "are there any unwed fathers or mothers in your family?"

HISTORY OF UNWED FATHERS OR MOTHERS IN PARTICIPANTS
FAMILY OF ORIGIN

TABLE 6-4

| <u>Unwed Fathers in Family of Origin</u> | <u>Unwed Mothers in Family of Origin</u> |
|--|--|
| Yes.2 | Yes.5 |
| No7 | No4 |

PARTICIPANTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS BIRTH OUT OF WEDLOCK

TABLE 6-5

| <u>Having Children Before Marriage is Wrong</u> | <u>Having Children Before Marriage is not Wrong</u> |
|--|---|
| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Number of Fathers</u> |
| 2 "It's a sin against God and the Bible." | 3 "It's okay as long as you meet your responsi- bilities to your child." |
| 2 It creates money problems and kids need both parents." | 1 "It's just one of those things." |
| | 1 "You avoid marital problems and still enjoy having a child." |
| Total = 4 | Total = 5 |

Although slightly more participants answered that it was alright to have a child out of wedlock, they were far more ambivalent about this issue in the discussion group. A surprising number of fathers cited religious objections to having children out of wedlock. Four participants own mothers were not married at the time of their births, but these were not the same four participants who felt having a child out of wedlock was wrong. In general, having children before marriage was viewed as tolerable by participants, rather than acceptable.

Additional Demographic Data

All of the fathers came from low S.E.S. families. In eight of the households the family's income came from at least one family member working. Three participants had steady part-time jobs, three worked odd-jobs irregularly and three were not working at all. One father's household was supported by Social Security. A source of tension between the participating fathers and the staff and mentors of "Program A" was the fact that the fathers and their families owned certain material possessions. The sentiment of the staff and of the volunteers was that if they could have expensive sneakers, a "box" (a giant radio/cassette player), or a compact disc they could meet child support payments. There was also the suspicion that their families were somehow cheating the system and setting a poor example in terms of values.

Some of the most interesting responses to the structured questionnaire concerned participants feelings and behavior around sexual issues; issues around their relationships to the mothers of their children and issues surrounding their ties to their offspring. The following Tables summarize some of these responses.

FREQUENCY OF GENERAL BIRTH CONTROL USE AND FREQUENCY
OF CONDOM USE AMONG NINE BLACK UNWED ADOLESCENT
FATHERS

TABLE 6-6

| <u>Reported Frequency Use of Use Birth Control (pill, foam sponge, IUD, diaphragm)</u> | | <u>Reported Frequency of Condoms</u> | |
|--|---|--|---|
| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Frequency Use of Birth Control</u> | <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Frequency Use of Condoms</u> |
| 4 | Always | 0 | Always |
| | | 3 | Sometimes |
| | | 1 | Never |
| 2 | Sometimes | 1 | Sometimes |
| | | 1 | Never |
| 3 | Never | 1 | Sometimes |
| | | 2 | Never |

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS WHO PLANNED TO HAVE THEIR CHILD
AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS WHO WOULD HAVE ANOTHER
CHILD OUT OF WEDLOCK

TABLE 6-7

| <u>Did You Plan to have your child</u> | <u>Number of Fathers Who Plan to have more children before marriage</u> |
|--|---|
| Yes.2 | Unsure.3 |
| No7 | No.6 |

There were many contradictions in the responses of fathers to the questionnaire and their responses in the group concerning contraceptive use and why they became fathers. Ambivalent feelings around these issues were apparent. The fathers feelings towards the mothers of their children were equally complex as were their feelings concerning the mothers place in their future. Table 6-8 reflects fathers feelings towards the mothers of their children, while Table 6-9

compares these feelings to fathers plans to marry their mates.

PARTICIPANT FATHERS DESCRIPTION OF THEIR FEELINGS
TOWARDS THE MOTHERS OF THEIR CHILDREN

TABLE 6-8

| <u>NUMBER OF FATHERS</u> | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Love</u> | <u>Friendship</u> | <u>Casual</u> | <u>Confused</u> |
| 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

FATHERS FEELINGS TOWARDS THEIR PARTNERS
AND MARRIAGE PLANS

TABLE 6-9

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Feelings Towards Mother of Child</u> | <u>Plans to Marry Mother of Child</u> | <u>Number of Fathers</u> |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3 | Love | Remain a bachelor for a long time | 2 |
| | | Marry after graduation | 1 |
| 3 | Friendship | Marry someday | 1 |
| | | "I'm not sure" | 1 |
| | | "No she's not for me" | 1 |
| 2 | Casual | "No, she's too lazy" | 1 |
| | | "No, she's too hard headed" | 1 |
| 1 | Confused | "The girl is a jackass" | 1 |
| | Total = 9 | | |

Fathers were much clearer in the questionnaire and in the discussion group about their feelings towards their offspring. Their feelings towards their child were not dependent on their feelings towards the childrens' mothers. Contact with offspring did not necessarily involve visiting the mother. Participant fathers often brought their child to

their own home or would take the child out to the park, shopping, etc. Table 6-10 gives participant fathers description of their feelings towards their child and the frequency of contact with child.

FATHERS DESCRIPTION OF THEIR FEELINGS TOWARDS THEIR CHILD AND THE FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH THEIR CHILD

TABLE 6-10

| <u>Fathers Description of Feelings Towards Child</u> | <u>Fathers Frequency of Visits</u> | |
|--|------------------------------------|--------|
| | Daily | Weekly |
| "Love | 3 | 3 |
| "Pride" | 1 | 0 |
| "My child is special" | 1 | 0 |
| "My baby is a part of me" | 1 | 0 |
| | Total = 9 | |

The participants in the project often struggled to give meaning to the experience of fatherhood. Table 6-11 and 6-12 contain sample statements from the questionnaire concerning the problems and the positive aspects of adolescent fatherhood.

SAMPLE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "IN YOUR OPINION,
WHAT ARE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS YOU HAVE FACED
AS A YOUNG FATHER?"

TABLE 6-11

"It messes up your sex life because all of the females think you'll get them pregnant."

"I can't waste money like I used to."

"I can't concentrate on school when I'm worried about things like a baby having a cold, or how she'll get her medicine."

"My grades have dropped because of trying to make that money."

"Sometimes the child support payments are so high that you feel like giving up."

SAMPLE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHAT ARE SOME OF THE THINGS
YOU HAVE LIKED MOST ABOUT BEING A YOUNG FATHER?"

TABLE 6-12

"Watching my baby develop is wonderful."

"Raising my little girl and teaching her different things about the world feels good, it means I'm valuable."

"I have someone else to live for and that keeps me from messing with drugs or alcohol or getting caught up in the streets."

"It makes me feel great, because someone finally looks up to me."

The final section of the questionnaire focused on the relationship if any between school performance, career plans and adolescent fatherhood. There were also several questions aimed at discovering whether participants perceived racism as playing a role in their life options.

In this small population, liking school did not result in good grades. A majority of these five fathers reported liking school somewhat. Out of these five fathers, three had

poor grades and two had average grades. On the other hand, a father attending a GED program sporadically reported liking school very much and getting good grades, when present. The guidance counselors reported that without exception, participants grades had dropped after they became fathers.

An assumption of this project is that there is an association between adolescent fathers vision of the options open to them in life and becoming an adolescent father. The questionnaire attempted to deal with this issue by asking respondents to choose an ideal career, describe what kind of work they saw themselves doing in ten years and to describe the effects of adolescent fatherhood on their career plans.

PARTICIPANT FATHERS IDEAL CAREER VS. ACTUAL FUTURE CAREER

TABLE 6-13

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>Participants Ideal Career Choice</u> | <u>Participants Career Ten Years From Now</u> | <u>Number of Fathers</u> |
|--------------------------|---|---|--------------------------|
| 3 | Pro-Athlete | Mechanic in Navy Warehouse Worker Construction Worker | 1 1 1 |
| 1 | Doctor | Sports | 1 |
| 1 | Doctor/Pro-Athlete | Don't know | 1 |
| 3 | Engineer | Mechanic Electronic engineer Auto Mechanic | 1 1 1 |
| 1 | Musician | Window washer | 1 |

Although the majority of fathers did not see themselves as reaching their ideal career goal, they tended to deny that adolescent fatherhood had affected their plans. Out of the nine participants, four responded that fatherhood had no affect on their career plans; two stated that meeting the

demands of their mate and child was "time consuming and distracting"; two respondents felt they were less likely to go to college because of pressure to marry; and one respondent stated he was inspired to try harder to succeed for the sake of his child.

The fathers were almost equally divided in responses to the question "do you feel you have the same educational and vocational opportunities as a white adolescent male. Five respondents answered "No," while four respondents agreed with the statement. In the group discussion, all of the fathers felt that white males had an advantage in school and in the marketplace. However, when asked if they felt they had experienced institutional racism in some way, an overwhelming majority of the fathers (8), responded positively, the ninth father did not answer the question. The following table describes the fathers experiences of racism.

BLACK ADOLESCENT FATHERS DESCRIPTION OF THE
EXPERIENCE OF RACISM

TABLE 6-14

| <u>Number of Fathers</u> | <u>The Experience of Racism</u> |
|------------------------------|--|
| 3 | "In the work place." "You work harder for less." "You get the dirt jobs." |
| 2 | "Drugs are brought into the Black community, creating violence and messing up lives." |
| 2 | "Prejudiced teachers and classmates." |
| 1 | "Being followed in the store by a white clerk she expects you to steal." |

The structured questionnaire also contained several questions addressing program development issues and fathers evaluation of the project. These responses are summarized in the Program Evaluation chapter.

Other Implementation Activities

Many unplanned activities took place during program implementation. These activities were justified on the grounds of meeting the goals of increasing the professions knowledge of Black unwed adolescent fathers. Additionally as a practitioner-researcher, the primary commitment is to practice. The researcher took several fathers to the Unemployment Office and guided them through that system. Fathers would occassionally drop by the researchers office on campus, usually to discuss a family problem. Fathers were also given information by the researcher on AFDC. The researcher attempted to refer fathers to "Program A" for some of these services, but they often resisted going. Participant fathers, often attended recreational activities at "Program A" such as dances or a Rap Contest. "Program A" attempted to enhance the projects goal of exposure to life options by bringing in speakers and conducting workshops. At the time the project ended, "Program A" was experiencing a staff shortage. They did not have a male involvement worker and there were few male volunteer mentors. Essentially, once the project ended, participants did not make the hope for transition to "Program A." Even without staffing problems, it would have been difficult for "Program A" to maintain contact with the fathers from the project. Three fathers began working full-time during

the summer. Three fathers graduated and entered the armed services, one father dropped out of school a few days before the project ended and two fathers maintained intermittent contact with "Program A."

The researcher also met most of the children of the fathers and several members of their families of origin. In general, the participants own mothers were angry at them for impregnating a girl and tended to denigrate them for having done so. Yet, the fathers families of origin encouraged them to meet their financial and child rearing responsibilities. In fact, the fathers families often kept items like clothing and pampers. One grandmother and two mothers of participant fathers suggested that they needed a discussion group of their own. This suggestion was discussed with "Program A" and eventually a sex-education program for parents proposal was developed.

The Non-Participant Fathers

There were seven Black unwed adolescent fathers who did not participate in any of the projects activities, but engaged with the reseacher in a limited way. These fathers were not seen as a group, although several of them knew each other. These fathers were seen at various locations and were interviewed for an average of two hours each. These fathers answered whatever questions they chose to answer and occassionally allowed the researcher to observe them interact with their girlfriends or children. They filled out no questionnaires and made sure that the researcher understood that they were doing me a favor.

A common stereotype in the profession is that recipients who voluntarily engage with a social service program are likely to be better socialized, more accessible and more responsible than their peers who reject service. "Bad Boys" may come to social service programs, but "Real Bad Boys" do not. A more complex picture emerged from this project.

The non-participant fathers were a heterogeneous group. One of these fathers came from a middle class family and was attending college full-time, while working at night. He was engaged in a custody battle with the mother of his child. He felt she was an unfit mother because she had a "drug problem." He wanted custody of the child to be given to his parents until he graduated. Another father attended business school. Two fathers were out of work, but always claimed to be looking. These two fathers may have been engaged in illegal activities in order to earn a living. The three remaining fathers worked at odd jobs. The majority (6) of non-participant fathers came from similar socio-economic backgrounds as participant fathers. These fathers maintained ties with the mothers of their children, but none of them spoke of plans for marriage. These fathers were also first time fathers, and they viewed their fatherhood as separating them from their peers who were not fathers. In the view of these fathers, paternity did not confer masculinity. Fatherhood gave them obligations and responsibilities of a mature adult. These fathers associated meeting these responsibilities with manhood and gained status in a way. Non-participant fathers tended to be older than fathers in the Project. Their ages ranged from 19-23. Five of

these fathers no longer lived with their family of origin. A significant difference between participant fathers and non-participant fathers was that the non-participants, seemed to receive less support from their families and thus felt more pressured by fatherhood. As one father stated "other homeboys are out there playing, but play time is over for us."

The greater tension over meeting their financial and child-care responsibilities was the main reason these fathers rejected involvement in the project. The project was viewed as a waste of time in a concrete way; they wanted assistance in obtaining jobs, or a reduction in child support demands. They were interested in job-training only if they would be paid adequately while being trained.

These fathers spoke of their offspring with the same affection and commitment as fathers in the project and they also saw their offspring frequently. With the exception of the two fathers in school, the non-participant fathers tended to make statements indicating they were discouraged about their futures and wondered in the long run if they would be able to continue to "do anything" for their children. For example, more than one non-participant father spoke of himself as "being out here on my own." They doubted that there were any social service programs that were of any use to young Black males. Some comments regarding this issue were: "they think we're all monsters or gangsters,"; "they think we're after white women." Another difference between participant fathers and non-participant fathers was that non-participant fathers felt that they had less control over events in their lives. For example,

all of the fathers in the project felt voting was an important right to exercise, while only three non-participant fathers felt voting was worth the effort.

Non-participant fathers were less trusting of the researcher and would withhold seemingly innocuous information. For example, five of these fathers would not reveal whether or not they had graduated from high school. They viewed the researcher as being at the fringe of the system and were determined not to be used again.

The Fathers Discussion Group

Four ninety minute groups were held at the high school that the majority of participants attended. Two fathers were unable to attend the group regularly. One of these fathers attended a different high school and transportation was sometimes a problem and the other father was working and attending a GED program. All of the groups were taped by the researcher, with the permission of participants. Mr. R., the guidance counselor acted as co-moderator of the group, but generally followed the lead of the moderator.

Generally, group discussion began with the researcher asking a descriptive question about some aspect of the fathers lives. For example, they were asked to describe their relationships with the mothers of their children, their relationship with their children, or their experiences in high school.

There were several recurrent themes during the groups: the relationship between the fathers and their offspring, the relationship between the fathers and the mothers of their

offspring, the relationship between fathers and their "in-laws," fathers view of females, fathers view of their futures, sex and birth control, and finally relationships with their families or origin.

The fathers consistently expressed loving and protective feelings towards their children. They also recognized their financial responsibility towards their children and also felt they should be the primary disciplinarians of their children. All of the fathers carried connecting-objects of their offspring; they had pictures, locketts of hair, one father had the shoe laces from his sons first shoes. In contradiction to their responses on the questionnaires, the fathers stated that they warned other young men against becoming fathers too soon. The stock phrase used was "homeboy, don't do it!" The group felt that there was too much emphasis on their monetary contribution to their children. They felt that other important contributions were not recognized. One father angrily stated that "being close to your baby and teaching her right from wrong is as important as money, but we never get credit for that." Fathers found that the State's efforts to get child support from them humiliating. They were asked questions like "is this your baby?" "Are you going to be a man and support it?" Most of the father claimed to have had informal financial arrangements with the mothers of their children before the interference of the "government." Two fathers claimed that child support deducted 17% of their earnings, a figure they found too high, because it did not take into account money spent on items such as clothes, pampers or medical care.

Another concern was that money paid for child support did not go directly to the child's needs. The fathers could not or would not accept the logic of paying a light bill as being a legitimate use of a child support money. One father claimed that the mother of his child spent all the money on beer. Several fathers felt that AFDC should monitor how child support funds were spent. In general, the group felt that being brought to court for child support created negative feelings between themselves and the mothers of their children. They also felt that child support put so much pressure on them to earn money that school became secondary. The group felt that in the long run child support drove a wedge between themselves and their families and made it less likely for them to achieve vocational or educational goals. Finally, they resented child support because it did not recognize that they were different from "those fathers out there who make babies and walk away." They also viewed themselves as more "mature" and "responsible" than their non-father peers.

The groups' feelings towards the mothers of their children and towards young women in general were very complex. One could learn much about a father's feelings towards girls depending on the term used to describe her gender. Under the domain of female gender the fathers used the following terms: a female, my woman, my lady, my girlfriend, and in one case, my fiancée. When the group spoke of the mother of their child, or any girl as "that female" it was most often in the context of a sexual object. No commitments were made to females, nor were there ties of affection. Females were for sex and assumed to

be fast. During the course of the group one father went from referring to his mate, who lived with him and his family of origin, as his "woman" to "that female." By the time she became "that female," the father had moved into his sisters home in order to separate himself from the mother of his child. The terms "my woman" and "my lady" seemed to be used interchangeably. These terms implied a close, affectionate relationship with a certain degree of commitment. Even if a father saw other females, his woman or lady came first. A fathers "woman" or "lady" were also accorded more respect. Fewer negative remarks were made about girls in these categories. A "girlfriend" seemed to be a notch below a woman or lady. A relationship with a girlfriend was more casual, but contained elements of mutual respect and affection. The term fiancée was used conventionally. Four group members frequently referred to the mothers of their children as "my woman or my lady," yet plans for marriage were vague to non-existent. The fathers claimed not to understand "females" (females was also used as the generic term). They often felt manipulated by them, or unable to interpret their behavior. One father recalled an incident in which his girlfriend seemed to faint in the middle of an argument they were having. He didn't know whether or not to be concerned, to be angry, or to throw water on her and walk away. The group often asked the researcher for a woman's point of view on their relationship with their mate and other girls. Eventually, they began to ask the researcher typical questions as "how can you tell when a female really wants to have sex?"

In general, fathers viewed themselves as having a lifelong commitment to their children, but that commitment did not necessarily extend to the mothers of their children.

The fathers in the group were not particularly knowledgeable about sex. No one in their families of origin had spoken to them about sex in any detail. Group members did not know correct anatomical terms and had faith in many sexual myths. For example, if you have sex with the female on top of the male, she will not get pregnant. One father even claimed that you could get rid of the sperm if you danced right after sex. Group members had taken sex education in school, but did not understand many of the technical terms and were to embarrassed to ask.

While the group denied feeling that contraceptive use was the females responsibility, none of them were in favor of condom use. Neither fear of sexuality transmitted diseases or of impregnating another female pushed fathers towards condom use. While some of the fathers answered that they sometimes used condoms on the questionnaire, they all denied condom use in the group. The primary objection was that condom use decreased sexual pleasure. One father felt using a condom was analagous to tying a plastic bag over his head, i.e., condom use results in 'penile suffocation'. Another father claimed to know someone who left a condom on too long, resulting in gangrene of the penis. And finally all of the fathers claimed that condoms did not come in their size. This issue alone deserved more time than the project had allowed for in group

discussion. At our last meeting at a restaurant, group members were given condoms and agreed to at least consider their use.

Several group members reported having a less than friendly relationship with their child's mothers family. In fact, four fathers stated that they were not allowed in their child's home. They could pick the child up, or the mother would bring the child to their homes. In each of these cases, the mother's family was furious over the fathers refusal to "do the right thing and marry the mother."

The majority of the fathers had negative views of marriage. The group claimed never to have seen a happy marriage. Group members spoke on how their own fathers were in and out of their lives over the years. One father spoke about his tough, truck driving father being gone most of the time and of his father spending time in jail for shooting a man. He felt his father's absence cause his mother to over-rely on him. He recalled sitting every night hoping his father's rig would pull up. Contrary to the responses on the questionnaire, five group members grew up not knowing their fathers very well. The experience of missing their own fathers made them determined, at least at this point, not to have that painful experience repeated with their own children. The literature and survey of programs cited a lack of male role models as a factor in the lives of Black adolescent fathers. These sources did not focus on the relationship between Black adolescent fathers and their mothers. All seven group members reported some disturbance in their relationship with their own mothers.

One group member poignantly spoke of his separation from three of his siblings when his mother remarried. He felt his mother was "selfish" and that she had "torn their family apart." Another father, originally from Bed-Stuy, said he used to get into trouble in order to get his mother's attention. He engaged in petty thefts and would harass people by throwing things at them, from roof tops. He also began smoking "reefer" at age ten. He was the middle child of five children and felt his single working mother "never talked or listened, just yelled." Finally, she sent him to the relatives he currently lives with and followed a few months later. He still felt his relationship with his mother was more distant than he would like, but at least there were other family members present to meet some of his emotional needs. Another father spoke of his mother's alcoholism and how he and his siblings were neglected until his maternal grandmother gained custody of them. One group member complained that his mother constantly "pressured" him "to do things her way." His feelings, his plans and his actions were always "stupid" according to his mother. Yet another group member saw his mother as helpless and as over-relying on him. This was one of the reasons he planned to enlist in the armed services after graduation. The underlying theme seemed to be a lack of communication and a history of unmet needs. One of the unexpected outcomes of the group was the fathers found that they could talk to this female researcher "like a real person, or a friend." The inability to speak freely extended to young women in general, not just their mothers. As noted earlier, by the end of the group, members

were toying with the idea of attempting to talk to their girlfriends "like real people."

Another recurring issue discussed was racism and its affect on their futures. The high school they attended was 30% black and 70% white. Group members constantly brought up small incidents that they viewed as racist. For example, on award day, no Black students ever received awards for scholarship, only athletes. Group members stated they could identify at least ten Black students with grades high enough to warrant an award for academic excellence. The student body apparently nominated teachers for awards for excellence in teaching. Group members could not remember a Black teacher ever receiving a reward. There were stories about the usual racial slurs and about White teachers and staff engaging in subtle racism. In one auto-mechanic shop, the white instructor would always wash the goggles before using them, if they had just been used by a Black student, but not if they had been used by a white student. Group members admitted that some of the vocations they had been exposed to during the project were previously thought of as "white boy jobs." They spoke of how guidance counselors steered them towards certain careers: civil service jobs, the post office etc. In light of these options, becoming an auto-mechanic or merchant marine seemed exciting. Group members expressed the feeling that the project came into their lives too late to help them change their career paths.

Finally, when asked to describe what value the group had in their lives, most members spoke of its function as an arena for mutual support. Fatherhood was a very intense experience

for these Black adolescent males and having other males to speak to that understood and shared some of the same crises was very helpful.

VII. Program Evaluation

This dissertation project had the dual objectives of increasing the professions knowledge concerning a specific population, Black adolescent fathers, and exploring the process of developing a service delivery program for this population. The evaluation strategy used by this project was the case study method. According to Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, the "case study strategy may be particularly helpful for developing programs where there is difficulty in specifying objectives and in selecting programmatic means to accomplish those objectives."¹⁷⁴ Because the profession has just begun to generate programs for adolescent fathers, this method seemed appropriate.

As stated in the Introduction of this dissertation, each stage of program development has corresponding goals. In summary, program initiation goals focused on exploring the obstacles and the supports in establishing services for Black adolescent fathers. Program contact is concerned with defining strategies for engaging Black adolescent fathers. Finally, program implementation focused on exploring what program content would be most helpful to Black adolescent fathers themselves. This chapter will evaluate how successfully these goals were met by the dissertation project and by the programs reviewed during the course of the

¹⁷⁴Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Irwin Epstein, op. cit., p. 86.

project, using the format for differential program evaluation developed by Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein.¹⁷⁵

Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein identify three basic objectives of program evaluation:

1. To provide descriptive information about the type and quantity of program activities or inputs. (Program effort).
2. To provide information about the achievement of the goals of the current stage of program development. (Program effectiveness).
3. To provide information about program effectiveness relative to program effort. (Program efficiency).

Each phase of program will be evaluated according to the criteria of effort, effectiveness and efficiency in relation to the overall objectives of the project.

Project Initiation

The significant questions about program effort for this project and other programs serving Black adolescent fathers concern the amount of energy directed towards staff recruitment and defining the skills needed by staff and the amount of effort directed towards networking and obtaining resources for the establishment of the program. Other important activities for consideration during program initiation are the effort devoted to exploring existing programs for pregnant and parenting minority teens and reviewing the literature on these programs. Lastly, program initiation is concerned with developing an "operational plan."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 38-56.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 48.

In developing programs for Black adolescent fathers there is no doubt that a great deal of effort must be directed towards obtaining the cooperation of organizations that have access to the target population and that possess resources needed to achieve programmatic goals. Each of the programs surveyed during this project owed their continued existence to linkages with other organizations. Respondents emphasized the time spent on networking, particularly during the initiation phase of program development. Perhaps the most emphatic example is that of the administrator who wrote between 500 and 700 letters seeking cooperation from other organizations. Black adolescent fathers engage with agencies due to a variety of needs. Among these needs are counseling, sex education health care, job placement and training, legal assistance and tutoring. It would be extremely difficult, even for an agency using the "supermarket" approach to adequately meet such a wide range of needs. Thus the planning for this dissertation project included activities directed at obtaining the cooperation of other organizations.

Central to the success or failure of this dissertation project was its connection to an established program for pregnant and parenting teens; specifically "Program A." While this project would never have been completed without the assistance of "Program A," the relationship was not without conflict and misunderstandings.

Before beginning the project, the researcher was led to believe that "Program A" had access to the target population and that adolescent fathers were already engaged with the

program. "Program A" also claimed to have an active male involvement worker, to assist with program contact, and implementation.

In reality, "Program A" was hoping that the research project would attract Black adolescent fathers to its program and develop innovative ways of engaging them. Additionally the part-time male involvement worker was underpaid, was not working enough hours to do his job adequately and had negative and fearful feelings about recruiting Black adolescent fathers. "Program A" felt that the primary objective of a program for Black adolescent fathers should be job placement. Activities associated with increasing knowledge concerning Black adolescent fathers and broadening their view of life options were viewed as insufficient. The researcher had provided "Program A" a description of the project, its objectives and a time frame. The agreement outlining the role of "Program A" was verbal. Such a crucial relationship should have been treated less casually. Mutual expectations should have been part of a formal, written agreement. The misunderstanding over the project's objectives, the agencies lack of access to the target population and the lack of a functioning male involvement worker greatly increased the effort put in to this aspect of program initiation and greatly decreased its efficiency.

There are occasions when informal agreements between agencies are effective. An example was this project gaining informal access to the public school system. In this

instance, an informal agreement held less risk of misunderstandings or non-fulfillment of the agreement. The school system had a wider, clearly defined sphere of activity or "domain."¹⁷⁷ Greenley and Kirk recognize two types of domains in an organization; a claimed domain and a defacto domain.

"An organization's claimed domain consists of its verbal and written pronouncements regarding the problems it deals with, the population it serves, and the services it offers. Its defacto domain consists of the problems presently or actually dealt with, the populations served and the services rendered."¹⁷⁸

Organizations that have as part of their mission service to a difficult to reach population, such as Black adolescent fathers often present their defacto domain and claim domain as being one in the same, for purposes of survival. "Program A" was not the only program encountered claiming adolescent fathers as clients, when the involvement of that population was minimal. This leads to the suggestion that efforts directed at building referral sources take into account the reality of the referral source's domain. In situations where the target population or other resources are part of a "claimed domain" formal agreements should be established,

¹⁷⁷James R. Greenley and Stuart A. Kirk, "Organizational Characteristics of Agencies and the Distribution of Services to Applicants" in Herman Resnick and Rino J. Patti eds. Change From Within (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980) p. 60.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 61.

clearly identifying what is being exchanged and the terms of the exchange. In the case of Black adolescent fathers, not only are they difficult to engage, it is difficult to identify those organizations, or individuals that have access to them. In developing programs for this population adequate time should be allowed for finding the gatekeepers. In the case of this dissertation project this process took from four to six months.

The operation of this project also hinged on being able to use the resources of the University where the researcher is employed. Letters were sent to Black faculty members, such as the Associate Dean of the School of Design explaining the nature of the project and requesting that project participants be allowed to use certain resources. The letter was followed by phone calls and attempt to meet the faculty members in person. The response to this activity was minimal. An area for future exploration is what strategies would be more successful in obtaining needed resources and why this strategy was unsuccessful.

While staff recruitment and identifying the role of staff was not a major issue for the dissertation project, it was an issue in those programs reviewed during the initiation phase. This is an area in the development of services for Black adolescent fathers that needs closer examination. In general programs did not seem to invest a great deal of effort into staff recruitment. They often stated need for Black male role models was frequently interpreted as a need for exclusively Black male staff members. The program did

not act upon this assumption found that skilled female staff members added another dimension to their programs. As previously noted, young fathers were interested in the female perspective on many issues.

Additionally programs for pregnant and parenting teens need to devote more effort to defining the skills that will help them meet their objectives. Charisma and street knowledge are self-limiting. The relational-experiential learning style associated with African-American culture entails such features as spontaneity, variation, flexibility and a high level of affective expression. Service providers may be assuming that good relationship building skills are all that are needed to work with a population with these general characteristics. Skills based on practice principles with theoretical framework may seem unnecessary. On a more prosaic level there is a trend in social service organizations to place less skilled workers in positions with the greatest amount of client contact. These positions are often characterized by role-overload and the demands of a very needy population. Additionally, the male involvement workers/counselors interviewed during the project often complained of being underpaid. A prototype of workers in this position would be that of Mental Health Technicians in the state psychiatric hospital system. And finally, the justifiable focus on the structural causes of poverty sometimes leads to a simplistic view of the poor. The richness and complexity of their humanity is reduced to the problems stemming from their socio-economic status. The

assumption is that limited knowledge and skill are involved in the delivery of concrete services, that constitute the only needs of the economically disadvantaged. This stereotype is more often applied to minority-groups of low socio-economic status.

The fathers involved in this dissertation project were fully human. While financial concerns were important, they brought in dreams to the group for interpretation, they discussed the problems and rewards of relationships, they were curious about good-child rearing and they were afraid of the violence in their own community. It takes a knowledgeable skilled worker to deal with the such issues.

The knowledge base concerning Black adolescent fathers is slowly growing and required skills should be derived from this knowledge. In planning programs for Black adolescent fathers, greater effort needs to be devoted to identifying these skills.

For example, this researchers perception of the need for more flexible boundaries between workers and Black adolescent fathers was based in part on Hendricks study in which he successfully recruited subjects from barber shops.¹⁷⁹ Too often Black adolescent fathers are included in programs as an afterthought, relying on an "Andy Hardy, -- let's put on a show guys" approach. In working with other populations, service providers can usually identify a theoretical framework around which their program is built. The same

¹⁷⁹Leo Hendricks, "Suggestions for Reaching Unmarried Black Adolescent Fathers," op. cit., p. 144.

should be the case in initiating programs for Black adolescent fathers.

A major activity during the initiation phase of this dissertation project was an extensive review of existing programs serving the target population. This was accomplished through a review of the literature, a telephone survey and in-person interviews with service providers. In reviewing program descriptions, it was difficult to gain a sense of which program development activities were effective or ineffective. Each program description claimed equal success for different strategies used during program initiation, contact and implementation. The following excerpts from two program descriptions demonstrate this problem:

Program X is a group counseling experience for adolescent Black males, in the spirit of traditional African manhood training. It is a culture-specific approach to male development that transforms Black expressiveness into positive experiences for young Black boys... Changes were noted in the participants attitudes and perceptions of sexuality.¹⁸⁰

Program Y is an educational program based on the premise that feelings of tenderness and caring are a natural response to the helplessness and total dependency of human infants... The program underscores the importance of changing boys' attitudes toward sex as a way of reducing the number of teen pregnancy. The program is low-cost and works in a variety of settings. It has been recommended...nationwide.¹⁸¹

Information about obstacles, resistance, biases or even funding problems is routinely missing. It is realized that

¹⁸⁰Children's Defense Fund, Description of Male Involvement Programs, Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund, 1987.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

these program descriptions are written with the growth and survival of the program in mind. It was hoped that interviews with service providers would produce a more accurate portrait of program development and the experience of working with Black adolescent fathers.

The telephone survey was extremely time consuming. It took a minimum of three calls to complete an interview. This was due to the fact that those who work with Black adolescent fathers do not spend a lot of their working hours at their desk. It was also due to the use of ethnographic interviewing techniques which encourages respondents to give detailed descriptive answers.

In spite of the amount of time involved, the telephone survey of agencies and in-person interview were worth the effort. Information was gained not only about the rewards and frustrations of working with Black adolescent fathers, but about the process of program development from the workers point of view. For example, the service providers own ambivalent feelings toward the fathers gave me some idea of the degree of cooperation to expect from other agencies. The fact that fathers responded to a male ambience in an agency and to programs that were specifically created for them were incorporated in the planning of the dissertation project.

Effectiveness

The telephone survey and in-person interviews were also helpful in evaluating the probable effectiveness of the dissertation project. Important evaluation questions, addressed through surveys is "to what extent do community

residents perceive the program as related to community needs? To what extent can potential participants be identified; would those persons be willing to participate in the program?"¹⁸² The formal Review of the Literature had already identified Black adolescent fathers as a difficult to reach population. The telephone survey and interviews were helpful in identifying the ambivalence and frustration of service providers dealing with Black adolescent fathers. These activities also made it clear that services for Black adolescent fathers were not a priority in most communities. Within the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood the identified victims are teen mothers and their children. Public empathy seems to be derived from perceived vulnerability to a problem or to the cost in terms of dependency. An example of the former would be the public's generosity in seeking cures for heart disease or cancer. An example of the latter would be child welfare services, where children without the resources parents would normally provide are taken care of by the state, in order to prevent dependency in adulthood. Adolescent fatherhood is not viewed as having significantly negative effects on the fathers' lives; nor is the increased economic vulnerability associated with it, widely recognized.

Although this was not objective of the project, the project was effective in getting the community to begin to consider the impact of early fatherhood on young males. In

¹⁸²Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, op. cit., p. 115.

spite of the fact that the researcher continued to be identified as that "crazy lady that wants to help teen fathers," the Black community newspaper ran an article on the project and the researcher was asked to speak about adolescent fathers before several community groups. A copy of the article may be found in the appendix. This minor success may be attributed to the use of participant-observation and the ethnographic interview as techniques during each phase of program development. The dialogue that developed from ethnographic interviewing encouraged those involved to challenge their largely negative assumptions concerning Black adolescent fathers.

The proposal of this dissertation project served as an effective guideline in terms of identifying overall objectives. However, the proposal was not regarded as written in stone. In order to achieve the project's objectives, a certain flexibility was necessary. For example, the proposal assumed a high level of cooperation from service providers in the community in directing the researcher to the target population. When it became apparent that most organizations had minimal contact with Black adolescent fathers, the proposal guidelines were put aside and a new strategy was employed. If program initiation for a difficult population is to be effective, program developers must be prepared for the unexpected.

Efficiency

The efficiency of the project was reduced because "Program A's" primary concern was increasing the

participation of adolescent fathers in its own program through the delivery of services such as job placement. Research activities were viewed as a "rip off," in which the knowledge gained rarely benefited the subjects of the research. There is a line from an old song by the J.B.'s that states "You can have Watergate, just give me some bucks and I'll be straight." Introducing fathers to a variety of life options was thought to be a waste of time. The solution to the problems of Black adolescents was money. Because of the differences in objectives, it took more time to work out strategies that the researcher and program director were comfortable with.

Factors that had not been foreseen in planning the project also reduced its efficiency. The project was initially to have taken place in the researchers own turf. This was a much larger city, with many more male involvement programs. The researcher had also been practicing social work in this city for over twelve years, and had developed a wide range of contacts and resources.

In changing jobs, the project was initiated in a community with which the researcher was totally unfamiliar. The efficiency of the project was reduced because of the time it took for the researcher to become acculturated. For example, interviews were more productive once the researcher learned to speak slower and that finishing another persons sentence was considered rude. The nuances of negotiating various systems were also unknown to the researcher. An example is the lack of response from community organizations

and individuals to letters, requesting their cooperation with the project. The letters were built around the assumption that services for the target population was an accepted and acknowledged need, when of course, this was not the case. In initiation programs for Black adolescent fathers service providers must keep in mind the powerful negative stereotypes concerning this population. Because of the feeling in the community and among service providers that programs for Black adolescent fathers reward them for irresponsible and immoral behavior, program developers should be prepared to advocate for them in order to obtain needed resources.

Program Contact

Effort

As described in the Results chapter, more effort went into program contact than any other phase of program development. The telephone survey, the Review of the Literature and the Review of Programs and Policy had made it clear that Black adolescent fathers were difficult to reach and to engage. The fact that "Program A" had minimal participation from adolescent fathers and had a part-time male involvement worker who was hostile to the target population increased the amount of time devoted to contact activities. Fourteen different strategies were used in an effort to make contact with the target population. They included handing out flyers about the project, a radio ad, speaking to community groups, interviews with other service providers in order to obtain referrals, letters to churches

and other community organizations, collaboration with university faculty, outreach to public parks, beauty parlors, pool halls and community centers, offering incentives for participation in the project (free movie passes and free admittance to "Y" recreational activities), speaking to parent groups and seeking referrals from adolescent mothers. Although some contact was made with the target population through these methods, they did not become full participants in the project. Participant-observation proved more useful as an information gathering technique, than a recruitment technique.

Both the Review of the Literature and the survey of service providers indicated that it was primarily characteristics of the target population that made program contact so difficult. This assertion was not entirely supported by the finding of this project. An often identified obstacle to engaging with Black adolescent fathers was their lack of trust. Yet it seems unreasonable to expect any potential client to trust a social worker. Trust in any relationship comes with time. In the case of Black adolescent fathers, added to a lack of trust was an assumption of hostility and uselessness on the part of service providers. However, given many service providers ambivalent feelings towards Black adolescent fathers, (which reflect the feelings of society), there is some truth to the assumptions of the target population. Contact with Black adolescent fathers remains a problem, because social welfare

organizations are less than fully committed to making contact.

For example, a medical clinic for adolescents, with many Black male clients did not routinely inquire if the males were fathers. Several programs with adolescent mothers as clients made minimal efforts to have the mothers identify the fathers of their children. Because Black adolescent fathers were invisible clients at so many social service agencies, referrals could not be relied upon as a method of contact. It was a matter of luck and personal interest that allowed the guidance counselor to identify the majority of participants in the project. It was neither encouraged or required by the school system.

The survey and the literature also suggested the use of male workers for the aggressive outreach activities of program contact. This project found that fathers could often be found in "male hang-outs." For example, there were fathers at the community centers visited, but they were usually playing basketball. A worker was needed that could speak to fathers, on the basketball court. In the pool hall where several fathers were contacted, there were few females present. The researchers gender created an initially uncomfortable situation. Overall, it would take less effort on the part of male workers to initiate contact with fathers. This does not mean that there is not a role for female workers in program contact. Once the awkwardness of initiating contact was past, fathers related quite well to

female workers. This suggests that teams of male and female outreach workers might be effective.

It took nearly a year of contact activities to recruit nine fathers. In order to reduce the effort put into this phase of program development, workers with highly developed outreach and relationship building skills are necessary. In addition, organizations with actual, rather than claimed access to the target population should be identified. Finally, contact should be viewed as an on-going activity, overlapping all phases of program development.

Effectiveness

For many adolescent pregnancy and parenting programs, male involvement does not necessarily include fathers. As one respondent to the telephone survey stated, his programs had limited resources and Black adolescent fathers seemed to have limitless needs. Given the choice between meeting a few of the needs of adolescent fathers or running a fully developed sex-education, parenthood prevention program, he chose the latter.

Because the effort involved contacting fathers resulted in such a small "n," consideration was given to expanding the project to include "at risk adolescent males." These males could also have served as a comparison group around a number of variables, such as contraceptive use and perception of the future. However, one of the problems with existing programs is that Black adolescent fathers are not viewed as desirable clients. In terms of agency productivity it does not pay to work with a group that requires extensive staff time and

agency resources, ending less than effective results. An exploratory research project, without funding sources or government agencies to answer to, could afford to focus solely on Black adolescent fathers. To extend the project to another population would have diluted the strength of its findings. The fathers in the project occasionally asked when the "mothers" or "little kids" were going to show up. They found it hard to believe that they were the only designated beneficiaries of the project. One reason the project had such a low drop out rate, (one father dropped out during the last week of the project) was because the fathers regarded the project as their own. Towards the end of the project, participants began discussing enlarging and extending the project. The fathers were aware that the project was time-limited and that the plan was to refer them to "Program A" once the project was over. The referral plan at the end of the project was not effective. Participants continued to identify "Program A" as a program for adolescent mothers. In addition, the group did not remain in-tact, both because several members were graduating and leaving town, and because many of "Program A's" services were offered on an individual basis.

The failure to connect participants with a continuing program for adolescent fathers was one of the least effective aspects of the project.

Efficiency

The description of the effort that was required for program contact makes it clear that this phase of program

development was not efficient. This is a common problem, one that was not solved by this dissertation project. The project demonstrated that traditional notions about "gatekeepers" and referral sources do not apply to this population. This experience of this project implied that efforts need to be directed on a macro-level so that institutions such as hospitals, schools, mental health agencies, medical clinics, and child welfare institutions begin to make the routine identification of Black adolescent fathers a priority. Until this occurs the contact phase of program development will continue to suffer in terms of effort, efficiency, and effectiveness.

Program Implementation

Effort

The objectives of this dissertation project were sufficiently broad in order to allow flexibility of content and strategy. The telephone survey of programs suggested that an organization with a task culture, which recognized changing needs and therefore was capable of changing goals, was well suited for the implementation of a program for Black adolescent fathers. Task cultures also promote client input. The potential for gaining significant knowledge about the target-population's perception of its own needs is encouraged in this environment. The flexible task-centered approach of the dissertation project probably required more time on the part of the researcher than a more rigidly designed project. It is an approach that requires

imagination and a willingness to deviate from plans. Flexibility and promoting maximum client self-determination cost of the project in terms of effort, but probably increased the effectiveness of project implementation.

Ironically, an unforeseen problem at the end of the implementation phase was obtaining structured evaluations of the project from participants. The original dissertation proposal called for participants to fill out the same structured questionnaire used in the beginning of the implementation phase, with the addition of questions evaluating the project. Participants in the project were vocal in their objection to filling out questionnaires. They associated questionnaires with jobs that were never obtained, with AFDC, or with public housing applications. Filling out forms, in the opinion of most participants was an exercise in futility. The fifty item questionnaire took an average of two hours to complete. During the last two group meetings, participants did discuss what they thought they had gained from the project. They also expressed disappointment that the project was ending and annoyance at the researcher over termination. The participants asked what the consequences for them would be if they didn't fill out the post-test questionnaire. It was explained that there was no punishment involved, but their responses would help in the development of other programs for Black adolescent fathers. This appeal to altruism did not work. One father laughingly began to chant "down with papers." He was joined by the rest of the group who trashed the questionnaires. An appeal to empathy

for the workers need to finish this dissertation project was more effective. A compromise was reached with the group answering a six item project evaluation questionnaire and contributing more to the discussion of the development of programs for Black adolescent fathers. The shortened post-test questionnaire may be found in the appendix.

Effectiveness

The post-test questionnaire was administered during the last discussion group. One participant had left the project and another was not present, so only six post-test questionnaires were answered.

On a scale going from "very good" to "very bad" two out of six respondents rated the projects overall effectiveness as very good; four respondents rated the project's overall effectiveness as good. When asked what changes if any, they would have made in the project, two fathers indicated they would make no changes, one respondent felt there should have been more field trips and the project itself should have been longer, two fathers would have included more field trips and would have paid participants, and one father wanted his real name used once the project was written up. Participants were also asked what they would include in a project of their own design. The responses included helping fathers get jobs, field trips, counseling when needed, a school to teach fathers how to get good jobs and care for their children, a school to teach young men about the real world, and including honest people of all ages who would like to share the experience of being a parent. Only one respondent stated

that the project encouraged him to try harder to reach his career goals. Two respondents felt that it was already too late for them to change career plans and three respondents answered that the project had no effect on their career plans. Respondents were less pessimistic about educational plans. Three answered that the project had no effect on their educational plans, one father was helped in school by having a forum to discuss his frustrations and therefore focus his attention on school work. Finally, two fathers stated that the project made it seem possible to return to school at some later point in life. The last question concerned how the project effected their feelings about being a father. Two fathers stated that it had no effect on them as fathers, the remaining fathers indicated that the project made them feel as if they could succeed at fatherhood, that it made them stronger and want to "hang in there for the long run."

Just as with the pre-test questionnaire there was a difference between participants verbal evaluation of the program and their responses to the questionnaire. During the last two discussion groups, participants identified a number of ways the project had impacted upon their lives. The project gave most participants a sense of possibilities in life. They were not convinced that these possibilities were always within their reach, but the project did succeed in giving them a larger sense of the world. After some initial awkwardness, participants began to use the project to explore the complex feelings surrounding adolescent fatherhood. They

were able to identify sources of stress they had in common and work together to find solutions. For example, a recurrent issue of discussion was scheduling. Participants were desperate to figure out a way to manage their time so that they could meet their job, school and child-care responsibilities and still have time to be a teenager. There was also more discussion of the impact of adolescent fatherhood on the futures of group members. They often spoke of what they would have been if they "hadn't messed up." On the other hand, they were encouraged by the group leaders perception that it was not "all over" for them. The group was also a forum where tender, protective feelings towards their children could be expressed without ridicule.

An unexpected feature of the group was the lack of sexual sophistication on the part of the group members. Sex-education was discussed after workshops as well as during group meetings. The fathers found the sex-education classes in school technical, boring and divorced from anything they experienced. Additionally, the fathers received minimal information about sex from their families or origin. Several of the participants mothers admitted to feeling embarrassed about discussing sex with their sons. This unexpected finding caused some of the school personnel to re-examine the strength of the fathers resistance to contraceptive use. Even facts concerning sexually transmitted diseases did not convince participants of the wisdom of contraceptive use. They felt as invulnerable to S.T.D's as they once felt about the possibility of becoming fathers. Had the project been

more extensive, more time would have been devoted to this issue. "Program A" attempted to get funding for a sex-education for parents program in an effort to follow up this need.

One area that remained unchanged by the project was the drop-out rate of participants. Although adolescent fathers are at-risk for dropping out of high school, this sample population was on track as far as graduation was concerned. The one father that did drop out had a history of a better school performance than most participants in the project. This father's leaving school was totally unexpected.

The participants in the project were at a stage where they would have honored their commitment to their children with or without the project. The project did reinforce their sense of responsibility to their children and encouraged them to more freely enjoy the pleasure that interactions with one's child can bring.

On the whole, the majority of fathers expressed the feeling that the project made them better fathers, that it gave them knowledge about careers that was usually reserved for white males, and that it encouraged them to have sex only with females who use birth control.

Efficiency

Program implementation was achieved at almost no cost in terms of money. It relied almost entirely on the use of available resources. The workshops could have been improved by renting air-conditioned buses for transportation, by providing lunches for participants, by paying workshop

leaders and by giving stipends to fathers for participation. Part of the appeal of the project was the participant's knowledge that they helped create it. While this is not an argument for the lack of funding for programs for Black adolescent fathers, it is a statement that funding does not guarantee success. It is also a suggestion that careful consideration be given to the uses of funding, not just in terms of accountability, but in terms of efficiency and effectiveness.

In the case of this project, had funding been available, it would have been used to assist fathers in meeting child care responsibilities. For example, the project would have a stock of pampers, baby food, clothing and an emergency fund for transportation and medical needs. Because the fathers contributions to the project were ego-enhancing, if stipends were used, they would also be connected to facilitating participants contributions to the project.

Program implementation could have been achieved with greater efficiency and less effort, through the use of staff members with closer ties to the community. For example, a worker with access to industries in a nearby research community might have expedited the experiential workshops. The use of volunteer mentors is another way programs for Black adolescent fathers have increased their efficiency. However, the ambivalent and sometimes negative feelings towards Black adolescent males expressed by community members in this project, are not particular to this community.

Mentor would have to be well screened and well trained. This effort might reduce any gain in program efficiency.

The overall impact of the project and its significance for program development will be discussed in the following chapter.

VIII. Summary and Implications

This chapter summarizes major themes identified during different phases of the project's development followed by the implications of the project for future research, program development, practice knowledge and policy.

The Project and the Community

A surprising and disturbing finding of this study concerns the relationship between Black unwed adolescent fathers and service providers and Black unwed adolescent fathers and the Black community. Because of the exploratory nature of this study and the small "n" it is not possible to generalize any findings of this study, but it is possible to identify what may be the significant trends and themes for further investigation.

The Review of the Literature identifies unwed Black adolescent fathers as a difficult to reach population. This difficulty is usually attributed to lack of aggressive outreach on the part of agencies and to characteristics within the fathers themselves.¹⁸³ On one hand, fathers are reported as viewing social service agencies as less than helpful, on the other hand, they are viewed in the words of one service provider as "unmotivated." Adolescent males are typically difficult to reach and engage. One would expect frustration, burnout and sometimes anger on the part of the workers. What was unexpected was the number of workers who

¹⁸³Leo Hendricks, Cleopatra Howard and Patricia Caesar, op. cit., pp. 733-735.

essentially viewed this population as undeserving. Adolescent mothers were viewed more empathetically. As the workers in one agency indicated, adolescent mothers were victimized by the adolescent fathers.

The consequences of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood are much clearer in the case of adolescent mothers. They bear the physiological risks and often end up supporting the child. There is a larger body of research on adolescent mothers, attributing early child bearing for example, to the need for a love object. Even service providers that view control of dependency as the primary role of social work can categorize unwed Black adolescent mothers as deserving, in order to decrease the number of Black female headed households on AFDC. Because the consequences of early parenthood to females are clearer and seen as more severe, there is less concern in the community and among the profession about the moral hazards of rewarding mothers for undesirable behavior. The risk of rewarding adolescent mothers is compensated for both by altruism and the need to control dependency.

The lack of research on Black adolescent fathers has resulted in a lack of clarity concerning the consequences of early parenthood to males, or the cost to society. In addition, service providers are influenced by the pervasive negative stereotypes concerning this generation of young Black males. They are the "wolf pack," they "bash" innocent people for fun, they are "crack dealers," and when they become unwed Black adolescent fathers, the moral hazard as a

result of service provision is clear while the rationale for intervening is not. Part of the ambivalence and hostility on the part of some of the service providers in this study was expressed in the way they related to the target population. For example, one worker complained that fathers expected to be handed the world for having made a baby. More than one worker expressed the feeling that engaging with adolescent fathers was an exercise in futility, because they were incapable and uninterested in changing their lives. The ambivalence on the part of the workers was a reflection of ambivalence on the part of agencies. For many of the agencies reviewed in this study, inclusion of adolescent fathers was an afterthought. Fathers were included to promote the agencies original goals of providing assistance to adolescent mothers or to strengthen the preventive component of programs. Social service agencies often extend services to significant people in the lives of a target population. But one of the complaints of the adolescent fathers in this study was that they were made to feel that a given program was for "females" and they were regarded as second class clients.

The general lack of information on Black adolescent fathers may also be in part, a reflection of the ambivalent attitude of social welfare agencies. Agencies such as the adolescent medical clinics or community centers in this study did not routinely inquire if their adolescent male clients were fathers, although the same questions was routinely asked of adolescent females. Since the days of "scientific

charity" agency accountability has included detailed record keeping on worthy clients, the unworthy were disregarded. Knowledge carries with it a responsibility to act.

Social welfare institutions are reflecting the attitude of society towards Black adolescent fathers. The families of origin of the fathers in the study and the mothers of their children were some what supportive of services for adolescent fathers, but the community as a whole was not. The Black community in this study was divided between those who regarded young black males, particularly fathers, as an "endangered species"¹⁸⁴ and those who regarded them as dangerous species; a threat to the community, and in need of control. There seemed to be a tenuous connection between this generation of Black adolescent males and the adult community. In speaking to a community group during this study, the group was asked how they would respond if they were walking down the street during the evening and a Black adolescent male with the requisite "fade" hair cut and high topped sneakers was walking behind them. Most group members admitted they would be fearful. Some members stated that this generation of males was different, that they had somehow gotten beyond the grasp of the community. This study began with the premise that unwed Black adolescent fathers are a particularly vulnerable cohort; but this premise was not shared by the community in which this study took place. Community members destroyed flyers used to recruit the target

¹⁸⁴Jewell Taylor Gibbs, eds. Young Black and Male in America: An Endangered Species, op. cit.

population. Community members characterized adolescent fathers as "no good." Community members readily volunteered to act as mentors for adolescent mothers, but not for adolescent fathers. Credit must be given to the many voluntary groups in Black communities across the country, working with Black adolescent fathers, but volunteerism is self-assumed and does not necessarily reflect sanction by the community as a whole. Such a fearful, threatened reaction was expected from the white society. But, "...whatever claim the world at large may have upon us, it inevitably takes second place behind the claims of particular others: our families, friends, colleagues, clients, compatriots and so on."¹⁸⁵ The impetus to provide service for a particular group usually stems from those who feel a specific social responsibility to that group. One of the major problems in developing services for Black adolescent fathers may be the lack of clear support for such services in the Black community. The community's perception of a "lost generation" is not entirely unfounded.

Across the nation, Black "inner city neighborhoods are increasingly becoming brutalized by youths who burglarize stores and home, vandalize schools and churches and terrorize those who are old, sick and vulnerable. In 1980, 95% of those who committed crimes against Blacks were themselves

¹⁸⁵Robert E. Goodin, Protecting the Vulnerable: A Reanalysis of Our Social Responsibilities, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 2.

Black, and the majority of these crimes were committed by youths under the age of 24."¹⁸⁶

The social indicators cited earlier in this dissertation, documenting the failure of young Black males to be incorporated in the fabric of our society gives a partial explanation of this behavior. Another factor lies in the changing character of the Black community itself. Civil rights legislation and anti-poverty programs enabled many working class Black Americans to move into the middle class, "...leaving poor Blacks behind in blighted neighborhoods without effective leadership, successful role models, or the supportive institutions and social networks that provided social stability and economic diversity."¹⁸⁷ The community in which this study was conducted was divided along class lines. There were integrated middle class neighborhoods, neighborhoods consisting of Black professionals and there was a poor Black neighborhood. The interaction between residents of these neighborhoods was limited at best. In spite of the best efforts of ministry, certain churches were viewed as being for middle class Blacks and others were viewed as being for regular folks.

The bottom line in this study was that the assumption of sanction by the Black community for developing programs for unwed Black adolescent fathers was a false one and costly in terms of effort during each phase of program development.

¹⁸⁶Jewell Taylor Gibbs, ed., op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., p. 18.

Suggestions for coping with lack of community support may be found in the implications section of this project.

The Project and Organizational Culture

One of the issues addressed in this study was the relationship between organizational culture and the development of programs for unwed Black adolescent fathers. The results of the survey of agencies, the interviews with local service providers and the experience of developing the project itself all indicate that organizational culture can promote or block the achievement of goals and objectives.

The findings of this study indicate that unwed Black adolescent fathers have many diverse needs, that those fathers who make some effort to fulfill their responsibilities as a parent must manage difficult schedules and that they have little tolerance for red-tape. The programs that were able to successfully engage fathers, even for brief periods of time, were characterized by creativity, a high degree of worker autonomy, adaptability and responsiveness to changes in the environment. These are features of a task culture. Another feature of successful programs in the survey of agencies, was their connection to a bureaucracy. Planned Parenthood and H.R.A. for example were connected to high-functioning programs in the survey. What these larger bureaucratic institutions provided was power in the form of prestige, an expansion of program domain and resources, and a decrease in the loss of managerial control that often accompanies a task culture. A connection with a bureaucracy also helps ensure that goals are not lost among

the multitude of tasks. The bureaucracies involved with these programs were wise enough to give them latitude concerning the way objectives were achieved. The emphasis on role became apparent at the upper levels of administrative hierarchy. The emphasis on procedures such as documentation was imposed on staff, not clients. Thus staff autonomy referred to the freedom to make decisions, to innovate, or to keep an unorthodox schedule. It did not refer to lack of accountability.

The dissertation project itself purposefully adapted features of the task culture, because it was suggested by the Review of Programs and of the Literature and because it became apparent that this organizational environment was comfortable for the target population. The project's willingness to respond to the changing needs of participants, its encouragement of client participation and the willingness to innovate, help account for its low drop out rate. However, what a task culture contributes in program effectiveness, it loses in effort and efficiency. This inefficiency may cause problems in finding funding for an actual program of this type. Because this was a dissertation project, it also contained features of the person culture. Certain activities, such as participant-observation of fathers, were engaged in to fulfill the need of the researcher to complete the project, as well as to add to the knowledge in the field about the target population. The fact that time was spent on activities that would be of no immediate benefit to the target population was a source of

tension between the researcher and the cooperating agency, "Program A."

While most of the agencies encountered had developed task cultures, two approaches to the implementation of goals could be identified. One was the supermarket approach in which one program offered a number of essential services to participants. An example of this type of program was the Father's Program. One advantage of this approach is the potential for a comprehensive program to offer alternatives to participants and to increase the likelihood of engaging fathers for a longer period of time. One risk is that full attention is given to no single aspect of the program, so that clients receive superficial service in many areas. The other approach is a single service approach, typified by the adolescent male sexuality clinics in the survey. The problem here is that adolescent fathers are not a specified target population. Furthermore, while knowledge is an important part of preventing adolescent pregnancy, many adolescents become parents in spite of being knowledgeable about contraceptive use. A simplified solution is offered to a complex problem.

Staff Characteristics

A recurring theme in the telephone survey, in the personal interviews with service providers and in the interviews with the fathers themselves, was the identification of desirable qualities in staff members in programs for Black adolescent fathers. The male involvement workers themselves repeatedly cited "street smarts" and

charisma as important qualities for staff members to possess. As noted earlier, "street smarts" was interpreted as being able to "speak the same language" as Black adolescent fathers. Charisma, according to several service providers referred to the unique ways in which workers related to clients: how they dressed, how they spoke to clients, whether they were authoritarian or whether they preferred to use humor. Skill was only mentioned by one administrator, who expressed concern that social programs had not identified the skills necessary to work with Black adolescent fathers and therefore were not training workers. In fact, there did seem to be an assumption among workers interviewed in this study that unwed Black adolescent fathers were such a difficult population to work with that book knowledge was useless. Workers needed the "magical" qualities of charisma and street smarts in order to reach them. Upon closer examination however, the term charisma as used by the service providers in the study is close to the concept of a workers style; and street smarts definitely has elements of skills. An emphasis on and appreciation of individual style is part of African-American culture. This may call for workers to expose more of their personalities than usual. One objection that participants in the project had to connecting with the "Program A" was the presence of a competent but reserved worker whose behavior the fathers interpreted as "trying to be white." Charisma may be equated with originality and spontaneity in the implementation of goals.

Recently an administrator of a mental health clinic in a poor neighborhood put an ad in the paper seeking an "urban guerilla therapist." Being street wise, or street smart, or even an urban guerilla is seen as a prerequisite for working with poor minority populations. Street smart entails more than knowing not to wear your gold chains to work. Street wisdom entails many elements of skill but is not usually defined this way. For example, outreach involves more than knowing where to find a target population; it involves knowing how to approach potential clients in natural settings; or how to clarify role and purpose to clients who are neither seeking service, nor being forced to seek assistance. Because poor minority clients are often viewed one-dimensionally, it is assumed that complex skills are not needed to help them. Identifying the skills needed by workers in programs serving unwed Black adolescent fathers should be incorporated into the initiation phase of the program development. During the dissertation project, the researcher related to participants in a non-judgmental manner, but did not condone destructive behavior such as lack of contraceptive use. The researcher played the roles of advocate, teacher, counselor and broker. To define all of these activities as street smarts because of their cultural context is an over-simplification.

Another issue raised by workers in the survey was whether females could successfully work with Black adolescent fathers. The issue was inevitably raised by male workers and based on the assumptions that female workers were hostile

towards Black adolescent fathers and that the fathers themselves could relate best to male models. It has already been established that male workers can be as hostile towards this target population as anyone else. It was also noted that several programs used female counselors without any particular problems. While it is true that many of the fathers encountered during the project needed strong male role models, they were also in need of female role models. Fathers had many questions about how to treat females, how to tell if a female was "for real" and what role to play with the mother of their child when there were no plans for marriage. As stated earlier, female workers are more vulnerable in the street and it is more uncomfortable for female workers to go to some of the places where contact is made with the target population. In this instance it makes sense for male workers and female workers to be paired in "recruitment teams."

Program Development

1. An element missing from interviews with service providers was discussion of the reasons for initiating programs for unwed Black adolescent fathers. In general, programmatic goals for fathers were not stated clearly, except as they related to adolescent mothers. This relates again to a question of the young Black males worthiness as a client and to the support of the community. The sentiment that emerged from the community in this project was that Black adolescent fathers owed society for making a baby they were unable to fully support and they were therefore less

entitled to service. For example, a number of condom distribution programs across the country have ended because of the objection of local communities that such programs promoted sexual activity. Agencies are left with the dilemma of establishing non-controversial programmatic goals that will not threaten the survival of the agency, but will address some of the needs of adolescent fathers. In this atmosphere, it is not surprising that many adolescent pregnancy and parenthood programs are initiated for the benefit of females. The most often stated goal in the Literature and in the programs surveyed was to help fathers meet their child-care responsibilities.

Another finding concerning the initiation phase of program development was that services for Black adolescent fathers are unusually dependent on other systems to provide resources needed to achieve goals and objectives. Resources that are assumed to be available during program initiation, often do not materialize during program implementation. The dissertation project was relying upon a larger number and wider variety of workshops than were available.

2. The project supported the assertion in the Literature and by service providers that program contact requires more effort than any other phase of program development. Fathers were probably more difficult to contact in this research project, because the researcher was in a new community. Once contacted, however, fathers were less resistant than indicated in the literature and by service providers. This does not mean that they jumped at the chance to participate

in the project, but they were curious and flattered by the researchers interest in them. Significantly, programs reviewed in this study that were initiated for fathers or that had components that clearly benefitted fathers had less difficulty in contacting the target population.

3. Of all the programs surveyed this project was the only one with a major goal of expanding participants' concept of life alternatives. On the whole, participants responded positively to workshops. There were no miraculous transformations, but a seed had been planted. While participants maintained low vocational aspirations for the immediate future, group discussions began to focus on the possibility of technological and professional careers "someday." The development of a mutual aid group by participants, supports the idea that adolescent fatherhood produces elements of a shared culture among these young Black males.

Implications for Research

The profession is just beginning to address the issue of the role of young Black males in the problem of adolescent pregnancy and parenthood. Because we still know very little about adolescent fatherhood, research using a qualitative perspective is needed. Ethnographic techniques, although time consuming, and yielding more data than a sane person ever wants to see, are well suited for research on unwed Black adolescent fathers. At this point, we still need richly descriptive information of the experience of being an adolescent father. Ethnographic techniques were also useful

in engaging the population. They had certainly filled out questionnaires before, but they had not been allowed to tell their story. Additionally, if one accepts the theory of a relational-inductive cognitive style being preferred in African-American culture, then ethnography with its emphasis on language, affect and contextual meanings fit well with the cognitive style of the target population. In this project, the use of ethnographic interviewing resulted in the expression of powerful feelings as well as facts.

In using ethnographic techniques, such as participant observation defining the boundaries between worker and client becomes difficult. The researcher had to continuously remind the fathers (and herself) that there was a purpose behind "hanging-out" with them.

The major problem with ethnographic research is that it usually involves a small (n). Because this study involves such a small population, the findings are assumed to be biased. The development of a large scale, longitudinal qualitative study of unwed Black adolescent fathers, using ethnographic techniques would help answer many of our questions about this population.

During the project, brief interviews were held with members of the fathers family of origin. Their view of the participants fatherhood, seemed related to the fathers own response to parenthood. Research on Black adolescent fathers should include more information on the father's family of origin. It should address such questions as the family's reaction to the birth of the child, family attitudes towards

unwed parenthood, the information on sex and values concerning sexual activity transmitted in the family and whether or not the family encourages the father to meet his paternal responsibilities.

In addition to exploratory/descriptive research, there is a clear need for research aimed at identifying Black adolescent fathers. At present, many communities have succeeded in identifying fathers in the twenty to twenty four year old age group.¹⁸⁸ Given the fact Black males begin having sex in early adolescence, and given their resistance to the use of contraceptives, it is unlikely that Black adolescent fathers "don't exist." A longitudinal survey such as the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans needs to be conducted on young Black males. In addition to identifying adolescent fathers, a longitudinal survey could add to our knowledge of predictors of early fatherhood. We know for example that adolescents with poor basic academic skills run the greatest risk of early parenthood,¹⁸⁹ but this disseration project and the experience of service providers suggests that there are other predictors, such as perception of life options, that have not been identified.

Another question raised by this research project is the difference between fathers who engage with programs and those

¹⁸⁸Children's Defense Fund, Declining Earnings of Young Men: Their Relation to Poverty, Teen Pregnancy, and Family Formation, (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Clearinghouse), May, 1987, p. 4.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 5.

who do not. Because Black adolescent fathers who engage with agencies tend to attempt to fulfill their paternal responsibilities, it has been suggested that agencies are not reaching less responsible fathers. The experience with the "fringe fathers" in this project suggests that the division between involved father and non-involved fathers may not be that clear. The fathers who declined to participate fully in the project had strongly negative feelings about social programs, but expressed many of the same positive feelings towards their children as participants. The issue that needs to be explored is if agencies only reach fathers who would cope with early parenthood without agency support.

Finally research needs to be directed towards the attitude of the Black community towards young Black males in general and toward Black adolescent fathers in particular. This project suggests that we may have given up on a generation of young Black males; this is something as a people that we cannot afford to do.

Implications for Practice Knowledge

Black adolescent fathers may be throw-away clients. This possibility needs to be considered by the profession. A startling number of programs claiming to serve unwed Black adolescent fathers did not, or saw one or two. Fathers have been routinely characterized as difficult to engage. While this may be true, there is some indication that agencies have not aimed their energy in this direction. At the very least there is a need for service providers to reexamine their attitudes towards this population. This could be accomplished

through in-service training, conferences and the dissemination of information concerning the effects of early parenthood on males.

The fathers in this project found adolescent fatherhood to be a complex business; one that defied their usual coping mechanisms. Unlike the fathers in other research studies, the fathers in this project found paternity to be both stressful and depressing at times. This supports the theory that adolescent fatherhood is experienced as a crisis and that crisis intervention techniques may be useful. The fathers in the discussion group were extremely supportive of each other (always helpful in a crisis) and gave each other suggestions for managing different aspects of fatherhood. They were very much aware of the expectations that was problematic. The fathers also sought help through traditional counseling. For example, at one point participants began bringing in dreams for interpretation and were able to use that kind of exchange appropriately. The point is that while concrete services are extremely important, this project indicates that unwed Black adolescent fathers would respond best to a wide range of services.

The fathers in this study were aware of and were offended by the negative reputation of Black adolescent fathers. They felt condemned by society and by social service agencies. Participants also felt that their dreams for their futures were not likely to in the foreseeable future be achieved. A typical case was that of the father who dreamed of being an engineer, but thought he would wind

up as a warehouse worker ten years from now. These feelings made it difficult to gain their trust. Service providers in the survey also raised the issue of earning the trust of this population. Because of the difficulty in obtaining resources for program implementation some agencies were placed in the position of promising more than they could deliver. This of course undermined any trust that existed on the part of clients. In working with Black adolescent fathers it is important to be clear about worker roles, agency goals and objectives and how those objectives will be implemented. The steps involved in this project's development were discussed with participants and their in-put was welcome. This promoted both trust and engagement.

The fathers in the project created a rudimentary typology of fathers. They saw themselves as serious fathers, with a strong commitment to supporting their child in whatever way possible. They distinguished themselves from non-fathers, who they regarded as callow youths, with no real knowledge of life. They also separated themselves from "old guys" in their mid-twenties who fathered children with girls in their early teens. The "old guy fathers" were viewed with disrespect. Lastly, they distinguished themselves from "baby makers," who were the stereotypical 'hit and run' fathers. The idea of a typology of unwed Black adolescent fathers has implications for practice. If there is a typology of unwed Black adolescent fathers, will agency efforts be targetted at one population over another? Are there further differences

in types of Black adolescent fathers that would affect their service need, or the policy response?

Participant fathers complained that they were no longer viewed as individuals by their family, friends or the community. They were just fathers, and people assumed that were all alike. Another issue was the fathers felt they should be given credit for contributions to their family such as baby-sitting, taking the child to the park, feeding, changing and clothing the child or just playing with the child. Essentially, they felt they were receiving the message "we don't care what you do, as long as you pay child support." Participant fathers understood and accepted their financial obligation to their children. They had difficulty accepting the fact that their financial contributions were not always spent directly on the child. One father was resentful, that the mother of his child used the money to pay the light bill. He had difficulty in acknowledging the indirect benefit to his child. Other fathers accused their mates of spending the money on beer or on clothing for themselves. The intensity of feelings around this issue suggests that it may be one of the reasons that Black adolescent fathers contact with their children diminishes over time.

The experience with the unwed Black adolescent fathers in this project suggests that while practitioners must address the structural roots of adolescent fatherhood, it is complex issue without a single solution. The concerns of

these fathers suggest that agencies offer a number of alternative means of intervention and support.

Implications for Program Development

Many of the implications for program development have been discussed in the chapter on program evaluation, so the following section will focus on changes that would be made should a project such as this ever be replicated.

During the initiation phase of program development, the Black community was viewed as a potential resource and supporter of the program. This was not the case. During program initiation a great deal of effort should be directed towards presenting the case for creating services for unwed Black adolescent fathers. This would entail confronting the stereotypes concerning Black adolescent fathers and highlighting the potential good consequences to be derived from assisting this population. The assumption of community sanction, when it did not exist created difficulties in program contact and implementation. These public relations efforts should be directed at middle class as well as low S.E.S. community groups. In addition, they should have formally been addressed to social service institutions in the community. The project had easy access to media time in this community, but made minimal use of it. Program initiation should involve more extensive use of the media to obtain support and resources and to prepare for program contact.

This project's identification of unwed Black adolescent fathers as the primary beneficiaries of program contact assisted in engaging fathers and in gaining their trust.

Issues emerged in the fathers discussion group that might not have been revealed if non-fathers were present. The experience of this project supports the initiation of programs with unwed Black adolescent fathers as the primary target population. In programs where high-risk males, and adolescent mothers were also part of the target population, few adolescent fathers were actually seen. Services went to more accessible recipients. Yet, a recurring theme among the participants in the project was family difficulties, particularly problems with their mothers and the mothers of their children. The planning during the initiation phase should include the significant others in the lives of fathers, with the goal of helping fathers cope with problems in relationships, related to paternity.

Resource gathering should be conducted less informally and there would be fewer assumptions of cooperation from certain sources. In fact, initiation would have been more efficient if the project had been funded or had resources of its own. This project's reliance on networking for many resources reflected a trend in the field. This dependency, resulted in an inability to achieve programmatic objectives. This seemed particularly true of the job training components of the program surveyed. Since this service attracted many fathers to these programs, failure to produce jobs lost fathers. Program initiation should involve a realistic assessment of what can actually be delivered.

Finally, staff training incorporating the skills of ethnic-sensitive social work practice¹⁹¹ and ensuring that staff members are familiar with the limited body of research on unwed Black adolescent fathers, should begin during initiation and continue through all phases of program development. Staff ambivalence towards this target population suggests that practice principles around which the program is based need to be identified. If service providers understand the justification for their work it may decrease their antipathy towards recipients. For example, one of the practice principles supporting the major goals of this project maybe stated as follows: "the worker should seek to enlarge on choices available to the recipient, including those proposed by the recipient and those newly developed in the course of rendering the service."¹⁹² This was translated into the objective of increasing participants awareness of choices in life as well as in the project.

There is little doubt in the mind of this researcher that if the project had been sanctioned by the community, program contact would have been facilitated. If the community could be ensured that programs for Black adolescent fathers would not interfere with benefits necessary for the survival of mother and child; and that they would not result in increased sexual activity, then assistance with program

¹⁹¹Wynetta Devore and Elfriede Schlesinger, Ethnic-Sensitive Social Work Practice, (St. Louis, Missouri: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1981).

¹⁹²Harold Lewis, "Morality and the Politics of Practice" Social Casework, July, 1972, p. 409.

contact might be obtained. Another issue raised during the program contact was whether or not it was realistic to expect long term stable relationships to result from recruitment efforts. One response would be to make the most of every contact no matter how brief. Fathers could receive information on paternal rights, parenting, jobs, child support and condom use in one contact, either verbally or through the many pamphlets available on these subjects. They could receive support for their efforts to be good fathers, or if necessary encouraged to maintain contact with their child. The immediate implementation of programmatic objectives might encourage engagement with the program in the future.

The experience of this project implies that client participation in the implementation of objectives is effective both in terms of keeping clients engaged, and identifying unknown needs. An area for exploration is the use of techniques from the "club house" model for program implementation. Club house programs emphasize building vocational skills, relearning coping skills and building self-esteem through members participation in the running of the Club House. There is some indication that Black adolescent fathers feel defeated, at least in the vocational and educational arena's. The Club House model might help revive aspirations.

Implications for Policy

The first step needed in creating policy addressing the needs of Black adolescent fathers is national recognition of

the structural causes behind the vulnerable status of young Black males. Most young Black males do not become fathers because of machismo, or other attributes of the "culture of poverty." Schools fail to teach them, or underestimate them contributing to a disproportionately high drop out rate. Employers reject them, or they are relegated to service jobs. Having a child becomes an achievement in this scenario. Despite their vulnerability they are more often identified as victimizers than victims, so national policy has either ignored Black adolescent fathers or responded punitively.

The policy debate concerning Black adolescent fathers has centered around the establishment of paternity and enforcing child support payments. While requiring child support payment to dependent children is equitable, the socio-economic status of the father must be taken into account. One participant in the project was ordered to contribute 20% of his net salary from his part-time job at a fast food franchise. While this did not amount to much in actual dollars, it was more than this father could afford, because he also needed to contribute income for his own living expenses. He responded by working two part-time jobs, but this had a disastrous effect on his school performance. At the end of the project, he was considering dropping out or walking away from the whole situation. If child support payments result in the likelihood of dependency of the father, or in another child being raised without benefit of contact with both parents, then the policy is self defeating. One possible solution would be to set a minimum affordable

child support payment for high school males in low-income households. Fathers who attend college or obtain technological training could have their child support payments reduced while in school. This would hopefully be an incentive for them to continue their education and therefore increase potential earnings. Once fathers begin working, child-support payments would reflect their incomes. A payback clause could be included to encourage fathers to work.

The connection between early fatherhood and limitations on life options needs to be addressed on a federal level. Co-op education which expands vocational alternatives through hands on experience, should begin at the junior high school level at the latest. Incentives in terms of funds or resources could be awarded to schools that successfully place Black male graduates in jobs or help them obtain college entrance. Federal job training programs such as JTPA and Job Corps need to be updated to meet the demands of the current job market.

Finally, the Adolescent Family Life Program, one of the major federal programs sponsoring male involvement, needs to identify Black adolescent fathers as a specific target population and encourage the development of programs for Black adolescent fathers that recognize their particular vulnerability.

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

Windows on Opportunities

I agree to participate in the research project entitled Windows on Opportunities. I understand that in order to maintain confidentiality, my name will not be used in any product resulting from this research project. I understand the goals of the project are: 1) to help teen fathers consider their life options, 2) to discover how social service agencies can connect with teen fathers, and 3) to develop a model program for working with teen fathers.

Thank you for participating.

Participant

Parent/Guardian

APPENDIX B

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER

UNMARRIED ADOLESCENT FATHER STUDY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL INTERVIEW
(FATHERS)

CARD 1

I.D. # _____ 01-02/

Date of Today _____ 03-06/
MO DAY

Introduction: Hello. I'm (your name). I am working with a group who is studying adolescent fathers. I would like to invite you to help by participating in this study.

We'd like very much for you to help us by answering some questions about you and your family, about problems you face as a young father and the ways you handle them, and about your sexual knowledge, attitude, and practices. You may at any time refuse to answer a question. It will take about an hour to answer these questions.

All the information you give us will be kept confidential. Your name will not be used to report any of the results to persons you may come in contact with at our agency.

If you're willing to help us with this study, I'd like you to sign this agreement to answer questions after you have read it.

If you do not wish to participate, it will not affect your ability to obtain health care.

(SHOW CONSENT FORM)

- 6c. Did your teachers usually put you down?
Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2 _____23/
- 6d. Would you say that your teachers did not
like you very much? YES - 1 NO - 2 _____24/
7. How well are you doing (or did you do) in school?
Would you say you're getting:
- 1 - Superior Grades
 - 2 - Average Grades
 - 3 - Good Grades
 - 4 - Poor Grades
- _____25/
8. Have you set any educational or vocational
goals for your future? YES - 1 NO - 2 _____26/
9. Are you working at a job to earn money at the
present time?
- 1 - Yes-full time
 - 2 - Yes-part time
 - 3 - No
- _____27/
10. On the average, how many days a week do you do
things with your friends after school or work
or in the evenings?
- 1 - One
 - 2 - Two
 - 3 - Three
 - 4 - Four
 - 5 - Five
 - 6 - Six
 - 7 - Seven
 - 8 - None (Please go to 11)
- _____28/

Now, I have a few questions about religion.

11. What is your religious preference? Would
you say:
- 1 - Baptist
 - 2 - Methodist
 - 3 - Catholic
 - 4 - Holiness
 - 5 - Jehovah Witness
 - 6 - Episcopal
 - 7 - Lutheran
 - 8 - Seventh Day Adventist
 - 9 - Islam
 - 10 - Other (Please specify)
 - 11 - None
- _____29-30/

- 12. Are you an active member of any church?
YES - 1 NO - 2 ___31/
- 13. Do you listen to religious services over the
radio or television? Would you say:
YES - 1 NO - 2 ___32/
- 14. Do you sometimes pray, either privately or with
family? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2 ___33/
- 15. Do you listen to religious music? Would you say:
YES - 1 NO - 2 ___34/
- 16. Do ideas you have learned from religion sometimes
help you understand your own life? Would you say:
YES - 1 NO - 2 ___35/
- 17. Is being a member of a church or synagogue an
important part of your life? Would you say:
YES - 1 NO - 2 ___36/

Those are all the questions I have about religion. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about some of the ways people handle their lives.

(Respondent's name), what I'm going to do now is to read to you a series of two separate statements. After I read the two statements to you, I want you to choose which statement, that is, A or B, is more characteristic of you, and answer accordingly. The task for you then, (respondent's name), is to choose which of the two statements is more like you, that is, which of the two statements is more like you, that is, which of the statements more closely describe how you act and feel. You may feel that neither statement describe exactly how you feel and act; even so, I want you to choose the one of the two statements which you think is closer to what you are like.

For example: (Read respondent statements)

Statement A: When I am happy, I let everyone know.
Statement B: When I am happy, I keep it to myself.

Choose (A) if that more closely describes what you do when you are happy. Choose (B) if that more closely describes what you do when you are happy.

Are there any questions you would like to ask before we go on? (Answer respondent's questions, then begin.)

- 18a. When I am unable to solve a problem, I accept help if others offer it, but I don't really look for it.
- b. When I am unable to solve a problem, I seek out others who can help me. 37/
- 19a. When I have to part with friends because I am going to move or make a change in my life, I hate to leave my old friends but can usually enjoy finding new friends.
- b. When I have to part with friends because I am going to move or make a change in my life, I usually get very upset over leaving my old friends and nervous when I think of making new friendships. 38/
- 20a. I usually make a real effort to keep up close friendships.
- b. I like close friendships but I usually don't put a great deal of effort into making them work. 39/
- 21a. I master new tasks when they happen to come my way, but I don't usually enjoy it all that much.
- b. I tend to look for new tasks, and enjoy the challenge of mastering them. 40/
- 22a. I look for possibilities that will help me improve my career goals.
- b. I put forth some efforts to improve my career goals if I can, but I don't go much out of my way to look for anything special. 41/
- 23a. Pressure situations in my work sometimes make me upset.
- b. When I meet pressure situations in my work, I hang loose. 42/
- 24a. I don't give much thought to planning my life in terms of what I can handle.
- b. I generally organize my life in terms of what I think I can handle. 43/
- 25a. I systematically follow a schedule of self-improvement.
- b. I find self-improvement is difficult to work at regularly. 44/

- 26a. I frequently rely on events and other people to direct my course.
- b. I generally follow my own course as a person. 45/
- 27a. I expect difficulties to pop up as I carry through on a job or assignment, so I go ahead without being particularly bothered.
- b. I expect difficulties to pop up as I carry through on a job or assignment, so I go ahead but it still bothers me quite a bit when they do. 46/
- 28a. I plan to seek out new friendships and to develop my capabilities for being a good friend.
- b. I hope to have new friendships and to develop my capabilities for being a good friend, but I probably won't work regularly at it. 47/
- 29a. In new situations, I look for the kinds of personal relationships that I want.
- b. In new situations, I usually let other people indicate what friendship possibilities they would like with me. 48/
- 30a. I value my independence; however, I often prefer to go along with others.
- b. I try to keep my independence as much as possible, even when I'm with other people. 49/
- 31a. As each new experience or phase of my life ends, I tend to move on to the next without looking back or much thought for the future.
- b. As each new experience or phase of my life ends, I try to reassess where I am and what I want out of life. 50/
- 32a. When I'm involved in something and begin to have setbacks, I may drop it unless it really matters to me to finish it.
- b. When I take on something I stick with it until it's finished. 51/
- 33a. In my relations with friends, I find that I can comfortably give and receive.
- b. I enjoy my friendships, but sometimes the giving and taking is a strain. 52/

- 34a. When I do something really difficult, I generally don't feel it's worth all the effort and don't get much satisfaction out of it.
- b. I think it's fun to do really difficult things, even though I don't always get as much satisfaction out of it. _____53/
- 35a. When I have a personal problem, I sometimes get upset before I reach a decision.
- b. When I have a personal problem, I usually work it out without getting very upset. _____54/
- 36a. Life's victories and defeats offer me a time to re-evaluate myself, but sometimes, I still worry about the success of my future efforts.
- b. Life's victories and defeats offer me a time to re-evaluate myself, and I tend to take a look at myself fairly calmly. _____55/
- 37a. I often tell friends I'll do something, but then get worried that I won't carry through on it as well as I should.
- b. I often tell friends I'll do something, and I usually carry through on it without worrying about it. _____56/
- 38a. Thinking about the work I have to do helps me to get it done without getting upset.
- b. I have to be careful not to think about all the work I have to do or I'll get worried and not get as much done. _____57/
- 39a. I figure my life will be what I make of it, but even so I generally prefer to let things come to me first.
- b. I figure my life will be what I make of it, so I generally go out to meet life and make the most of it. _____58/
- 40a. When I set out to accomplish a task and don't make it, I don't see that much is really gained by going over it again, so I usually don't.
- b. When I set out to accomplish a task, and don't make it, I take time out to re-evaluate my strengths and limitations and adjust my goals accordingly. _____59/

- 41a. It is important to me to have some say in how I do jobs and tasks.
- b. It doesn't matter much to me whether I do jobs and tasks my way or someone else's. 50/
- 42a. I generally approach work and other tasks so that I can get them done without becoming worried or getting upset in the process.
- b. In my work and other tasks I get them done but in the process I tend to get involved to the extent that I am worried or upset. 61/
- 43a. I usually plan social activities easily and without getting upset.
- b. While planning for social activities, I tend to worry that things won't go "just right." 62/
- 44a. When I take on a job or assignment, it doesn't really matter a great deal whether I carry through with it in my way.
- b. When I take on a job or assignment, I like to carry through with it in my way. 63/
- 45a. I try to get things to work out, but I'm not always very creative about it.
- b. I tend to be somewhat creative about getting things to turn out okay. 64/
- 46a. Carrying through on commitments--to myself, other people and on tasks--is part of life and I generally do it without worrying about it.
- b. Carrying through on commitments--to myself, other people and on tasks--is part of life but I tend to get up-tight about seeing them through. 65/
- 47a. When I have displeased others or myself, I figure it's up to me to try to straighten things out.
- b. When I have displeased others or myself, I don't think it matters who straightens things out. 66/
- 48a. Most situations yield possibilities for personal, but I usually settle for what comes my way.
- b. In most situations I seek out information that will help me grow as a person. 67/

- 49a. When everything is going great, I enjoy it but I don't usually go out of my way to make a big deal of it.
- b. When everything is going great, I do all I can to make the most of the occasion and really enjoy it. 68/
- 50a. I sometimes enjoy having others celebrate my successes with me.
- b. I sometimes have difficulty with others celebrating my successes with me. 69/
- 51a. I generally prefer to live my life as I go.
- b. I usually think ahead and organize my thoughts or ideas about future situations. 70/
- 52a. When I don't do as well as I expect at something, I usually turn to some other job without getting too upset.
- b. When I don't do as well as I expect at something, my disappointment makes it more difficult to figure out what else to do. 71/
- 53a. People usually make me nervous.
- b. I feel completely comfortable around people. 72/
- 54a. I'm not much for planning but I do like new tasks, new people, and new experiences when I encounter them.
- b. I enjoy new tasks, new people, new experiences, so I'm planning my life to give me those things. 73/
- 55a. I look forward to opportunities to think about "who I am" or "who I want to be."
- b. When I think about "who I am" or "who I want to be," I get mixed up inside. 74/
- 56a. As long as my life is going along all right it doesn't really matter that much whether I'm making all of the decisions.
- b. I get a real sense of satisfaction when I make my own decisions about my life. 75/

Let's stop for a minute or two. I have a lot of questions for you; so maybe you need some time to stand up and walk around. (Pause) Do you have any questions for me before we go on? (Answer briefly and continue.)

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about problems you have faced as a young father.

- 57. In your opinion, and from what you have seen yourself, what are some of the problems you have faced as a young father. (INTERVIEWER, GET A LISTING IN THE MINIMUM TIME POSSIBLE WITHOUT RUSHING THE RESPONDENT. AS SOON AS RESPONDENT PROVIDES ENOUGH OF A DESCRIPTION OF A GIVEN PROBLEM FOR YOU TO WRITE IT DOWN SAY: O.K., WHAT OTHER PROBLEMS OR DIFFICULTIES CAN YOU THINK OF?)

Problem List (probe for at least several problems):

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____

77-78/

- 58. If you had a personal problem, who or where would you go to for advice or help? (If a person, have respondent specify his relationship to that person.)

(If agency, probe respondent for type of agency.)

79-80/

59. When you ask someone for help with a personal problem, what types of problems do you discuss with them?

Problem List:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

_____ 03-04/

60. Who would you go to first with a problem? Would you say:

- 1 - Family
- 2 - Friends
- 3 - Outsiders (agencies)

_____ 05/

(Respondent's name), again, I'm going to read to you a series of two separate statements. As before, after I read the two statements to you, I want you to choose which statement, that is A or B, which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Because this concerns your personal belief, there are no right or wrong answers.

Are there any questions you would like to ask before we go on?

(Answer respondent's questions, then begin.)

61a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.

b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

_____ 06/

62a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.

b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

_____ 07/

- 63a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
- b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them. 08/
- 64a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
- b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries. 09/
- 65a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
- b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings. 10/
- 66a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
- b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities. 11/
- 67a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
- b. People who don't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others. 12/
- 68a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
- b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what one is like. 13/
- 69a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action. 14/
- 70a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
- b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless. 15/

- 71a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time. 16/
- 72a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
- b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it. 17/
- 73a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow. 18/
- 74a. There are certain people who are just no good.
- b. There is some good in everybody. 19/
- 75a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin. 20/
- 76a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it. 21/
- 77a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
- b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events. 22/
- 78a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- b. There really is so such thing as "luck." 23/

- 79a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
- b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes. _____ 24/
- 80a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- b. How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are. _____ 25/
- 81a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three. _____ 26/
- 82a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office. _____ 27/
- 83a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get. _____ 28/
- 84a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
- b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are. _____ 29/
- 85a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life. _____ 30/
- 86a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
- b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you. _____ 31/

- 87a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
- b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character. ___ 32/

- 88a. What happens to me is my own doing.
- b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking. ___ 33/

- 89a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
- b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level. ___ 34/

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your sexual knowledge, attitudes, and practices.

The following ten (10) statements that I am about to read to you are to be answered "True" or "False."

After I read each statement, tell me if you think the statement is True or False.

- 90. It's not right to use birth control?
TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 35/
- 91. It's O.K. to tell a girl that you love her so that you can have sex with her.
TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 36/
- 92. If a guy gets a girl pregnant, it's her fault, not his because she should have protected herself. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 37/
- 93. If I got a girl pregnant, I would want her to have an abortion. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 38/
- 94. Birth control is for girls only. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 39/
- 95. Getting a girl pregnant proves that you are a man. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 40/
- 96. Sex education is nothing but a waste of time. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 41/
- 97. A guy should use birth control whenever possible. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___ 42/

98. My friends and I talk about the sex that we have.
TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2

45/

99. If I got a girl pregnant, I would not want her
to have an abortion because it's wrong.
TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2

44/

Those are all the questions I have that require
a True or False answer. Now, I'd like to ask you some
general questions about your sexual behavior.

100. When you first learned about sex, what was your
main source of information? Would you say:

- 1 - Friends
- 2 - Books
- 3 - Mother
- 4 - Doctor (specialist)
- 5 - Pamphlets
- 6 - Teacher
- 7 - Father
- 8 - Films
- 9 - Other (please specify) _____

45/

101. Thinking back to the very first time you had sex
with a girl, how old were you then?

46-47/

102. Where was it that you had sex with a girl for
the very first time? Was it:

- 1 - In your home
- 2 - In the girl's home
- 3 - In a friend's home
- 4 - In a hotel or motel
- 5 - In an automobile
- 6 - Outdoors
- 7 - At school
- 8 - Somewhere else (please specify) _____

48-49/

103. How did you feel after your first sexual inter-
course with a girl? Would you say:

- 1 - Satisfaction
- 2 - Happiness or Pride
- 3 - Guilt
- 4 - Dissatisfaction
- 5 - Confusion

50/

104. When you have sexual intercourse, do you use
contraceptives or some form of protection?

- 1 - YES
- 2 - NO
- 3 - Sometimes

51/

104a. If yes, why? _____ 52-53/

104b. If no, why not? _____ 54-55/

105. The very last time that you had sex with a girl, did either of you use any kind of contraceptive or birth control method, or do anything else to cut down the risk of the girl becoming pregnant? Would you say:

- 1 - No, neither of us did
- 2 - Yes, I did
- 3 - I don't, and I don't know whether the girl did
- 4 - Yes, the girl did

56/

106. What forms of contraceptives have you used?

List those given:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

57/

Now, I have some questions concerning your knowledge of sex.

107. A douche (girl washing herself after sexual intercourse) is a good method to prevent pregnancies. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 58/

108. A male's sperm lives less than one day inside a woman. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 59/

109. Rubbers help prevent unwanted pregnancies. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 60/

110. A girl can most easily get pregnant just before her period begins. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 61/

111. Rubbers help prevent V.D. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___62/

112. During sexual intercourse, if a male takes out his penis before coming, his girl may get pregnant anyway. TRUE - 1 FALSE - 2 ___63/

Now, I have some general questions concerning you as an unwed father.

113. What was you age at the birth of your first child? ___64-65/

113a. Was this a planned pregnancy? YES - 1 NO - 2 ___66/

113b. In what ways has young fatherhood (or the birth of your first child) affected your career plans?

List ways (probe for several responses)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

___67-68/

113c. In what ways has young fatherhood (or the birth of your first child) affected your education?

List ways (probe for several responses)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

___69-70/

114. How many children do you expect to have? 71-72/
 114a. How many children do you want to have? 73-74/
115. Right before your first child was born, how ready did you feel to be a parent? Would you say:
 1 - Very Ready
 2 - Somewhat Ready
 3 - Somewhat Unready
 4 - Very Unready 75/
116. Knowing what you know now and looking back, how ready would you say you really were at that time? Would you say:
 1 - Very Ready
 2 - Somewhat Ready
 3 - Somewhat Unready
 4 - Very Unready 76/
117. As an unwed father, are you concerned about your child's future? Would you say:
 YES - 1 NO - 2 77/
118. Do you see anything wrong in having a child out of wedlock? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2 78/
119. Do you know if you were born out of wedlock?
 1 - Out of wedlock
 2 - Legitimate
 3 - In doubt 79/
120. Do you have any sisters who have had children before they were married or who became pregnant by a fellow other than their husband? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2 80/

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121. Do you have any brothers who are unwed fathers? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2 03/
- Now, I have just a few more questions concerning you an an unwed father.
122. How did you feel when the mother of your first child told you she was pregnant?

04-05/

123. Do you want to help support the baby (or child) now or when you are able to in the future?

- 1 - Now
- 2 - In the future

___06/

124. Did you want to get the mother of your first child pregnant? YES - 1 NO - 2

___07/

Now, I would like to ask you some questions regarding legal rights of young fathers.

125. Has your paternity (or fatherhood) been legally decided? Would you say:

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No
- 3 - Not sure

___08/

126. Are you aware of the use of blood tests in determining who is the father of a child? YES - 1 NO - 2

___09/

126a. Are you aware that a probability of fatherhood could be accurately calculated as a result of a blood test (often up to 99% accuracy). YES - 1 NO - 2

___10/

127. If you wanted to know about your rights as a father and the rights of your child, where would you go to find out? Would you go to a:

- 1 - Judge
- 2 - Social service worker
- 3 - Lawyer
- 4 - Public Aid Office (or a social service agency)
- 5 - Other (please specify)

6 - Don't know

___11-12/

128. Do you believe your rights and those of your child, though you are unmarried, should be the same as those of a married father and his child? Would you say:

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No
- 3 - Don't know

___13/

129. Are you aware of your rights to a lawyer in a paternity suit if you cannot afford one? Would you say:

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No
- 3 - Don't know

___14/

130. Would you be willing to participate in a program that explained paternal rights and provided related decision making alternatives or choices? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2

___15/

Now, I would like to ask you some questions concerning the relationship between you and the mother of your first child.

HAND These are the possible answers to the next
RESPONSE few questions. After I read each statement
CARD #1 tell me the answer that best describes the
relationship between you and she.

131. How would you describe the relationship with the mother of your first child prior to her becoming pregnant? Would you say the relationship was one of:

- 1 - Love
- 2 - Friendship
- 3 - Casual
- 4 - Hostile

___16/

132. Do you now consider the relationship to be, would you say one of:

- 1 - Love
- 2 - Friendship
- 3 - Casual
- 4 - Hostile

___17/

133. How do you believe the mother of your first child regarded the relationship between you and she prior to her pregnancy? Would you say one of:

- 1 - Love
- 2 - Friendship
- 3 - Casual
- 4 - Hostile

___18/

134. Now, how do you believe the mother of your first child considers the relationship between you and she? Would you say one of:

- 1 - Love
- 2 - Friendship
- 3 - Casual
- 4 - Hostile

___19/

135. Do you see serious problems in the current relationship between you and the mother of your first child? Would you say:
YES - 1 NO - 2 (If no, skip to question 136)

___20/

135a. If yes, ask subject to briefly describe these problems.

Problem List:

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____

___21-22/

136. Did you try (or have you tried) to influence the mother of your first child's decision on whether she should keep your baby? Would you say?
YES - 1 NO - 2

___23/

136a. Did you try (or have you tried) to influence the mother of your first child's decision on whether she should put your child up for adoption? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2

___24/

136b. Did you try (or have you tried) to influence the mother of your first child's decision on whether she should have had an abortion prior to the birth of your first child? Would you say: YES - 1 NO - 2

___25/

Now, I would like to ask you your opinion on a variety of statements.

HAND These are the possible answers to the statements
RESPONSE that I'm going to read to you. After I read
CARD #2 each statement, please answer the statements by
 giving as true a picture of your own beliefs
 as possible.

Are there questions before we go on? (Interviewer answer questions and begin.)

A - Strongly agree B - Mildly agree
C - Agree and disagree D - Mildly disagree
E - Strongly disagree

- 137. Most people would rather live in a climate that is mild all year around than in one in which winters are cold. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 26/
- 138. Hypocrisy is on the increase in our society. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 27/
- 139. In dealing with strangers one is better off to be cautious until they have provided evidence that they are trustworthy. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 28/
- 140. This country has a dark future unless we can attract better people into politics. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 29/
- 141. Fear of social disgrace or punishment rather than conscience prevents most people from breaking the law. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 30/
- 142. Parents usually can be relied upon to keep their promises. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 31/
- 143. The advice of elders is often poor because the older person doesn't recognize how times have changed. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 32/
- 144. Using the Honor System of not having a teacher present during exams would probably result in increased cheating. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 33/
- 145. The United Nations will never be an effective force in keeping world peace. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 34/

146. Parents and teachers are likely to say what they believe themselves and not just what they think is good for the child to hear. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 35/
147. Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 36/
148. As evidenced by recent books and movies morality seems on the downgrade in this country. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 37/
149. The judiciary is a place where we can all get unbiased treatment. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 38/
150. It is safe to believe that in spite of what people say, most people are primarily interested in their own welfare. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 39/
151. The future seems very promising. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 40/
152. Most people would be horrified if they knew how much news the public hears and sees is distorted. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 41/
153. Seeking advice from several people is more likely to confuse than it is to help one. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 42/
154. Most elected public officials are really sincere in their campaign promises. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 43/
155. There is no simple way of deciding who is telling the truth. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 44/
156. This country has progressed to the point where we can reduce the amount of competitiveness encouraged by schools and parents. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 45/
157. Even though we have reports in newspapers, radio and television, it is hard to get objective accounts of public events. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 46/
158. It is more important that people achieve happiness than that they achieve greatness. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 47/

159. Most experts can be relied upon to tell the truth about the limits of their knowledge. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 48/
160. Most parents can be relied upon to carry out their threats of punishment. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 49/
161. One should not attack the political beliefs of other people. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 50/
162. In these competitive times one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 51/
163. Children need to be given more guidance by teachers and parents than they now typically get. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 52/
164. Most rumors usually have a strong element of truth. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 53/
165. Many major national sport contests are fixed in one way or another. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 54/
166. A good leader molds the opinions of the group he is leading rather than merely following the wishes of the majority. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 55/
167. Most idealists are sincere and usually practice what they preach. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 56/
168. Most salesmen are honest in describing their products. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 57/
169. Education in this country is not really preparing young men and women to deal with the problems of the future. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 58/
170. Most students in school would not cheat even if they were sure of getting away with it. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 59/
171. The hordes of students now going to college are going to find it more difficult to find good jobs when they graduate than did the college graduates of the past. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. 60/

- 172. Most repairmen would not overcharge even if they think you are ignorant of their speciality. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. ___61/
- 173. A large share of accident claims filed against insurance companies are phony. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. ___62/
- 174. One should not attack the religious beliefs of other people. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. ___63/
- 175. Most people answer public opinion polls honestly. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. ___64/
- 176. If we really knew what was going on in international politics, the public would have more reason to be frightened than they now seem to be. Would you say: A, B, C, D, or E. ___65/

Now, I have just a few more questions to ask you about yourself and then we will be finished.

- 177. For what acts or actions were you disciplined (or punished) while growing up?

List acts or actions:

___66-67/

- 178. Who disciplined you most frequently?

___68-69/

179. What punishments were most frequently used as discipline when you were growing up? Would you say:

- 1 - Spankings
- 2 - Sitting in corner
- 3 - Staying in your room
- 4 - No outside playing
- 5 - No TV or radio
- 6 - Doing extra housework
- 7 - Blows to face
- 8 - Blows to body
- 9 - Other punishments (please specify)

70-71/

180. Which punishments were most effective with you?

72-73/

181. Which punishments were least effective with you?

74-75/

182. How frequently were you disciplined or punished for the following acts when you were growing up, that is, how frequently were you disciplined for:

(Would you say)

| | Often | Sometimes | Never | |
|----------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|
| a. Talking back to adults | ___ | ___ | ___ | 76/ |
| b. Fighting | ___ | ___ | ___ | 77/ |
| c. Staying out late | ___ | ___ | ___ | 78/ |
| d. Not doing homework | ___ | ___ | ___ | 79/ |
| e. Bad reports from school | ___ | ___ | ___ | 80/ |

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| | Often | Sometimes | Never | |
|--|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| f. Cursing | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___03/ |
| g. Stealing | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___04/ |
| h. Dirty rooms | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___05/ |
| i. Not doing chores | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___06/ |
| j. Lying | ___ | ___ | ___ | ___07/ |
| 183. Were you ever given the responsibility of caring for younger sisters or brothers when growing up? YES - 1 NO - 2 | | | | ___08/ |
| (If no, skip to question 185) | | | | |
| 184. How did you discipline your brothers and sisters? | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | ___09-10/ |
| 185. Who has the primary responsibility for caring for your child? | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | ___11-12/ |
| 186. Who has the primary responsibility for disciplining (or punishing) your child? | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | ___13-14/ |
| 187. Here is the last question. Is there anything about you that I haven't ask that you think I should know? Anything about your family? | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | |
| | _____ | | | ___15-16/ |

APPENDIX C QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How old are you? _____
2. Who do you live with now? (Interviewer, circle all that apply).
 - a) mother
 - b) father
 - c) friends
 - d) brothers and sisters
 - e) other family members
 - f) girlfriend
 - g) lives alone
 - h) other (describe) _____
3. How many people live with you? _____
4. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____
5. When you were growing up, did you live with both your mother and father?

6. Is your family on Public Assistance? Yes _____ No _____
7. What grade are you now in, in school?
 - a) 7-9
 - b) 10-12
 - c) College (year) _____
 - d) not in school
 - e) Other (describe) _____
8. If you are not in school, at what age did you leave school? _____
8-A. Why? _____
9. How old were you when you first had sex with a girl? _____
10. How old were you when you first became a father? _____
11. How many children do you have? _____
12. Do you live with your child/children? _____
13. If you do not live with your child, how often do you see him?
 - a) daily
 - b) weekly
 - c) monthly
 - d) rarely
 - e) not at all
14. How would you describe the way you feel about your child? _____

15. How would you describe your relationship with your first child's mother?
 a) love b) friendship c) casual d) unfriendly
- 15-A. How would you describe your relationship with your child's mother's family?
 a) loving b) friendly c) casual d) unfriendly
16. Do you plan to marry your child's mother someday?
 Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
- 16-A. Explain your plans _____

17. In your opinion, and from what you have seen yourself, what are some of the problems you have faced as a young father? _____

18. What are some of the things you have liked most about being a young father? _____

19. Do you feel there is anything wrong with having a child without being married? Yes _____ No _____ (Explain) _____

20. Did you and your partner plan to have your child?
 Yes _____ No _____
21. Would you have more children without being married?
 Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
22. When having sex, how often do you and your partner use birth control? (Explain, pill, rubber, diaphragm, foam, etc.).
 a) always b) sometimes c) never

23. When having sex, how often do you use a condom (rubber)?
 a) always b) sometimes c) never
24. Are any other family members unwed fathers?
 Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
 24-A. If yes, who? _____
 24-B. Are any family members unwed mothers?
 Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____ If yes, who? _____

25. Are you working? Yes _____ No _____
 25-A. If yes, what kind of work do you do? _____

26. If you could have your wish, which job would you choose for yourself?
 a) Musician b) Doctor c) Pro Athlete d) Teacher
 e) Numbers Runner f) Engineer g) Computer Programmer h) Hustler
 i) Counselor j) Other _____
27. What work do you really see yourself doing ten years from now? _____

28. What things stand in the way of reaching your wish? _____

29. How much do you think you know about different types of jobs?
 a) a great deal b) some c) not much
30. Do you plan to go to college or business school someday?
 Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____
31. Do you feel you have all the information you need to choose a college or business school?
 Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____
32. As a Black youth in this country, do you feel you have received the same educational and job opportunities as other Americans?
 Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____

33. If not, can you give examples of how society has blocked opportunities for yourself and your family? _____

34. Do you think agencies should have a program just for teenage fathers? _____

35. What kind of help should an agency offer teenage fathers?
Check all that apply.
a) sex education _____ b) parent training _____
c) a place to socialize _____
d) help with school problems _____
e) job training _____ f) job placement _____
g) help with emotional problems _____
h) help with family problems _____
i) counselling on male/female relationships _____
j) other _____ (describe) _____

36. Have you ever come to this agency for any reason?
Yes ___ No ___ If yes, why? _____
37. If yes, how many times have you come to this agency? _____
38. What could this agency do to help you delay becoming a father again? _____
39. What things do you like about this agency? _____

- 39-A. Dislike? _____

40. What should this agency do in order to connect with more teenage fathers? _____

41. In what ways has fatherhood affected your career? (Probe for several responses.) _____

42. In what ways has fatherhood affected your education? (Probe for several responses.) _____

43. In general, how do (or did) you feel about going to school? Would you say you:
a) disliked it very much b) disliked it somewhat c) liked it somewhat
d) liked it very much e) don't care one way or the other
44. How well are you doing (or did you do) in school? Would you say you're getting:
a) superior grades b) average grades c) good grades d) poor grades
45. How have you been feeling in general during the past month? Would you say:
a) very happy b) mostly happy c) unhappy d) up and down a lot
e) very unhappy
46. What is the best way for a program to make contact with teenage fathers? Check all that apply.
a) Radio ads _____ b) Newspaper ads _____ c) Flyers _____
d) Through church _____ e) Send a worker to teenage hangouts _____
f) Through school _____ g) Other _____
47. How did you hear about the program you attend? _____

48. What made you decide to participate in this program? _____

49. If you do not participate fully, why not? _____

50. Is there anything about you that I haven't asked that you think I should know? _____

Anything about your view on how programs can connect with fathers?

Thank you very much. You've been very helpful.

APPENDIX D

**Sample Ethnographic Interview Guide For
Telephone Survey of Agencies****Guide to Telephone Survey of Agencies Serving Unwed Black Adolescent Fathers**

My name is Linda Smith and I'm a Doctoral Student at Hunter College School of Social Work. My dissertation project concerns developing programs for unwed Black adolescent fathers. I'm interested in gaining the practice wisdom of experienced people, about program development and the fathers themselves. I'd like permission to quote you, but your name will be kept confidential.

Could you describe your program for me?

How was your program initiated?

How is it funded? Was getting and maintaining funding a problem?

Is the program strict about enforcing rules and regulations?

How would you describe how you and your colleagues work together?

What goes on in a typical day in your program?

What are the goals of your program?

Could you tell me how your program is organized? Do you work as a team? Do orders come from the administrator down?

Could you describe the number of staff in your program, their roles and title?

Are there male and female staff members?

In your opinion, do different male and female staff members respond differently to the fathers?

How many unwed Black adolescent fathers are involved in your program?

How often are they seen?

Are non-fathers seen in your program? How many, how often?

Are there differences in attitude in behavior between fathers and non-fathers?

Describe your perception of the Black adolescent fathers in your program? What do you feel they need most from social service programs?

What kind of assistance do fathers request from your program most often?

What services does your program offer fathers?

Describe what works best in terms of services for adolescent fathers? What services have not been effective?

Can you describe all the different things your program has done to recruit Black adolescent fathers?

Is your program well known in the community?

Does the community support your program? In what ways?

What do you like best about your job? What do you like least?

Describe the services, staff, setting and clients in an ideal program for Black adolescent fathers?

In general, what is the response of social welfare institutions in your area to the needs of Black adolescent fathers.

APPENDIX E
SAMPLE ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR
BLACK UNWED ADOLESCENT FATHERS

I'm trying to finish my doctoral degree. My research topic concerns Black teenage fathers like yourself. I'd like to learn as much as possible about Black teenage fathers because I think they need some of the same kind of help as teenage mothers. I intend to use my research to develop programs to help fathers. You don't have to answer any questions that you don't wish to answer and won't be identified by name in this study.

Did you plan to become a father?
Could you describe what being a teenage father is like?
Can you think of any ways being a father has changed your life? Your relationship? School?
Are young males who become fathers different from other young males? In what way?
How do you feel about your child?
Have you had interesting experiences with your child?
What is the best part of being a father?
What is the worst part of being a father?
Describe typical activities as a father?
Are you still in school?
What do you hope to become after graduation?
Has becoming a father changed your plans?
Describe your relationship with the mother of your child?

POST-EVENT PROCESSING GROUP

The group leaders will focus on how the workshop events impacted on the participant cognitively, in terms of knowledge gained, and affectively, in terms of the workshop's potential effect on the participants future.

Suggested structure for group is as follows:

1. Have participants name at least one new piece of information learned in the workshop. (Leaders - discuss and correct distortions).
2. Have group leaders role play some of the activities witnessed during the workshop. Stop the action and ask participants for the next step.
3. Discuss what, if any, changes in lifestyle participants would have to make to enter the facility.
4. Discuss how fatherhood "fits" with the career or training presented.
5. Give participants post-workshop questionnaire.

SUMMATION GROUP

The Summation Group will allow participants to voice their feelings about the project, and to discuss their plans for the next step. An effort will be made to have concrete assistance (referrals, applications) available for participants. Post-test interviews will be arranged at this time.

POST-TEST MEASURE

The post-test measure will consist of the same questions as the pre-test measure, with the addition of the following questions:

1. Overall, how would you rate the Windows on Opportunities Project?
a) very good b) good c) bad e) very bad .
2. If you could change the project in any way, how would you change it?
3. If you could design your own project for young fathers, what would it consist of?
4. In what ways, if any, has the project affected your career plans?
5. In what ways, if any, has the project affected your educational plans?
6. How has the project affected the way you feel about being a father?

APPENDIX I POST WORKSHOP QUESTIONNAIRE
INTERMEDIATE MEASURE

1. I would rate this workshop as:
 - a) very interesting
 - b) interesting
 - c) somewhat interesting
 - d) not at all interesting

4. I would consider entering the school or career presented by this workshop event.
Yes ___ No ___ Maybe ___

5. Which aspect of this workshop did you like the most:
 - a) hands-on experience
 - b) classroom presentation
 - c) group discussion
 - d) seeing the school/corporation
 - e) Other (describe) _____

6. I would now consider putting off having any more children in order to prepare myself for the career or educational opportunity presented in this workshop:
Yes ___ No ___ Unsure ___

7. Overall, I would rate this workshop event as:
 - a) very good
 - b) good
 - c) somewhat good
 - d) not at all good

Session 2: Male and Female Reproductive Anatomy/
Birth Control Methods

Purpose:

1. To explore the organs and muscles of the male and female reproductive system, using both medical and "slang" terminology.
2. To introduce the reproductive process, with emphasis on pregnancy prevention.
3. To introduce factual information about birth control methods. The risks, benefits and proper usage are emphasized.

Supplies:

1. Clear diagram of male and female reproductive systems with both external and internal views.
2. Actual examples of each birth control method (i.e., condom,, foam and dispenser, diaphragm, birth control pills).

Method:

1. Ask students what is the first thing they see when observing the genitals. Then begin naming and explaining anatomy from the most external to the more internal.
2. Ask students to give the "slang" terminology for the organs, and give them the correct medical terminology.
3. Ask what are the 3 functions of the vagina and penis, respectively.
4. Once organs are completed, explain process of ovulation, menstruation, conception, and in the male sperm and semen production.
5. Introduce birth control methods:
 - a. foam and condoms
 - b. diaphragm and spermicidal cream
 - c. birth control pills

Note: Stress the accessibility of the foam and condom.
6. As a review, ask students to name the respective anatomical parts of both male and female. The counselor should point to the organs so that the students can visually identify parts.

Session 3: Sexual Myths versus Facts

Purpose:

1. To compare factual information with fallacies regarding sex.
2. To replace the myths with appropriate information.
3. To elicit discussion among students.

Method:

Thinking drill #1:

Students are presented statements regarding sexuality and contraception and asked to decide if the statement is myth or fact

Note: See attachment for myth/factual statements.

Note: Allow students no more than one minute to discuss each statement among themselves, before interjecting with correct information.

Session 4: Sexually transmitted Diseases and Post Test

Purpose:

To present information about sexually transmitted disease.

Method:

1. Discuss the symptoms and incubation of AIDS, Herpes, Chlamydia, Syphilis and Gonorrhea. Others may be added as counselor determines the need.
2. Discuss proper hygiene
3. Discuss agencies that may serve the teen if he or she becomes infected.
4. The counselor should explore agencies in and out of the immediate area of the school so that the student has service provider options.

0011m

Maternity, Infant Care - Family Planning Projects
Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, Inc.

MALE INVOLVEMENT

MYTH OR FACT SHEET

Are the following statements MYTH or FACT?
Where do you think they come from?
What are the assumptions behind these statements?
What are the facts?

-
1. It's a hassle to get contraceptives.
 2. Condoms work by killing sperm.
 3. You should carry condoms, even if you aren't having sex often.
 4. Withdrawal or "Pulling out" is a very effective birth control method.
 5. You're a real man if you're having sex.
 6. When a female says "No" she really does not mean it.
 7. All sexually transmitted diseases go away by themselves.
 8. "Blue balls" is a disease men get if they are sexually aroused, but don't have sex.
 9. Females cannot get pregnant if they have sex while on their menses.
 10. Birth control is the females responsibility.
 11. A female can trap man's a penis in her vagina.
 12. Females urinate through the vagina.
 13. A pregnancy can be caused by sperm that have been deposited in the vagina 2 to 3 days prior to ovulation.
 14. A man is born with a certain amount of semen; once the supply is used up, his sex and reproductive life is over.
 15. The penis has three functions.
 16. Morning erections are caused solely by the need to urinate.
 17. A man is always ready for sex at any time, with any woman, in any situation.

APPENDIX K:

TITLE: MALE ADVOCATES ("Blitzkriegers")
MALE'S PLACE
MALE FAMILY PLANNING PROJECT
MECKLENBURG COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Mecklenburg County will continue to experience an increase in the number of teenage pregnancies unless young males are directly involved in any attempts toward education for responsible sexual behavior.

While most of the attention has been focused on teenage girls, it is often the young male who determines whether or not he or his partner will use contraception.

Description: Five young men will be hired from the project areas (Amax James/West Boulevard and North/Northwest Charlotte). Their input will be solicited and ideas used to determine the most practical and innovate means of attracting young men to the Male's Place. They will also be encouraged to make suggestions to the staff for non-institutional delivery services, i.e., development of community-based rap session. In addition, they will be encouraged to carry the message of responsible sexual behavior to their peers.

FAMILY LIFE INSTITUTE
 FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH
 MAY 3 - 5, 1982
 7:00 P.M.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| May 3 - Adults | - Women's Health Workshop | Catherine Wright |
| | - Male Health Workshop | Stanley Graham |
| Teens | - Drug Education | Idelia Proctor |
| Pre-Teens | - Grooming (Acne) | Keith Holt |
| 6 - 8 Years | - Goofy Over Safety | |
| | | |
| May 4 - Adults | - Hypertension | Catherine Wright |
| Teens | - Teen Clinic Services | Idelia Proctor |
| Pre-Teens | - Nutrition | Keith Holt |
| 6 - 8 Years | - Dental Health | Stanley Graham |
| | | |
| May 5 - Adults | - Arthritis | Catherine Wright |
| Teens | - Male-Female Relationships | Idelia Proctor |
| Pre-Teens | - Drug Education | Keith Holt |
| 6 - 8 Years | - Nutrition | Stanley Graham |

PRIMARY DUTIES: Distribute educational material
 Conduct rap sessions
 Distribute condom coupons
 Locate "hang-outs"
 Recruit clients for Male's Place
 Other duties as needed
 (Keep us informed if we're on target or not)

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT: Eleven weeks (100 hours)
 (Three hours a day, three days a week = 9 hours a week, plus an extra hour on "special event" day)

TIME FRAME: Week #1 - Training/Orientation
 Week #2 - 8 - Extensive Outreach/Education
 May 22 - "Special Event" - Health Fair - Disco
 Week #9 - 11- Follow Up

EVALUATION:

BUDGET: 5 Advocates, 100 hours each at \$4.00 an hour = \$2,000.00
 (99 Hours/ advocate @ 9 hours a week for 11 weeks, plus 1 extra hour on "Special Event" day, May 22, 1982.

TRAINING:

1. Pre-test
2. Orientation to Male's Place and Related Services
3. Reproductive Anatomy and Physiology
4. Birth Control
5. S.T.D.
6. Values Clarification
7. Responsible Sexual Behavior



Hecklenburg County Health Department

Basil G. Deitz, M.D., M.P.H.
Director

249 Billingsley Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211
Phone: 704-375-1885

ADVOCATE SERVICES

Advocate _____

Address _____

Social Security # _____

Advocate services rendered in The Male Family Planning Program during the
month of _____, 19_____.

Date of Service

Hours

Total Hours _____ @ \$4.00 per hour \$ _____

Signature



MECKLENBURG COUNTY
Department of Public Health
249 Billingsley Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

TO:

SUBJECT: Male's Place Clinic/Male Family Planning Program

FOR USE: Immediately (thru 10-12-81)

CONTACT: Keith Holt, Male Family Planning Program - 399-2501 Ext. 235

Approximate Time : 30 seconds

Text: Men, it's happening!!! The Male's Place Clinic is happening. The Mecklenburg County Health Department's Male Family Planning Program is opening a clinic just for you. It starts October 12 from 4-7 p.m. at the Amay James Center. You get a free physical examination and information on V.D., sexuality and contraception. There'll be counselors there who understand the man's point of view. And of course, it's all confidential. Come on out and get the facts. Call

The Male's Place
399-2501



MECKLENBURG COUNTY
Department of Public Health
249 Billingsley Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211
PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

TO:

SUBJECT: Male's Place Clinic/Male Family Planning Program

FOR USE: Begin October 12, 1981

CONTACT: Keith Holt, Male Family Planning Program - 399-2501, Ext. 236

Approximate Time: 30 seconds

**Text: Hey man! Ever have a question about health or sexuality?
(short pause) How about V. D. or contraception? Bet you
didn't have a place to get straight answers, the real facts.
Now you have a place, the Male's Place. The Male's Place
is part of the Mecklenburg County Health Department's Male
Family Planning Program and it's set up just for you. At
the Male's Place you can get an examination and information
about V. D. prevention and birth control. And if you just
went to talk, there are counselors there who understand where
you're coming from. It's all confidential and free.
Call . . . The Male's Place - 399-2501**



Mecklenburg County Health Department

249 Billingsley Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211
Phone (704) 375-1885

David G. Delta, M.D., M.P.H.
DIRECTOR

Community Leaders!

Are you aware that one of the most devastating problems that the youth of our community are facing today is Teen Pregnancies - unplanned and unwanted (not to mention the high incidence rate of Sexually Transmitted Diseases). Would you believe near epidemic proportions?

Efforts have been made to work with the young ladies to help get better control of the present situation. We've grown to learn that the young ladies are not solely responsible for what we're faced with.

The Mecklenburg County Health Department developed this project - The Male Family Planning Program/The Male's Place Clinic to improve the knowledge of young men regarding pregnancy prevention and the man's responsibility in human sexuality.

Community leaders who are in regular direct contact with young men could be quite helpful facilitating implementation of this program. We are continuing to receive a lot of encouraging support for this project by many citizens of the Charlotte Mecklenburg community. We look forward to meeting with you.

We've organized a lot of factual information pamphlets, films, and various approaches to encourage open discussion. We'd appreciate your input and assistance in helping to reach as many teen males as possible.

One of us will be contacting you soon to discuss our goals and objectives. We need your input and support to help make this project a success.

Thanks for your help!

Respectfully,

Male Family Planning Program

Stanley Graham,
Health Educator

Keith Holt,
Health Educator

SG:em

PUBLICITY

The project has been publicized through use of the media and community outreach. Posters, leaflets, bumper stickers, and calling cards have been distributed throughout the community, especially in the two target areas.

Media Programs

- Week long program on FORUM, WCCB-TV
(National Family Sex Education Week, October 5 - 9, 1981).
- Talk Shows:
 - WAYS Radio
 - WBCY Radio
 - WGIV Radio
- Newspaper articles (see attachments)
- Media coverage of Grand Opening of Male's Place (Amay James Center).
 - Charlotte Observer
 - Charlotte Post
 - WSOC-TV, Channel 9
 - WBT Radio



APPENDIX I

North Carolina State University
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Social Work Program
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Box 8107 Zip 27695-8107
(919) 737-3281

January 27, 1987

Although my family and myself have only been in Raleigh for a short period of time, it has been our pleasure to attend Martin Street Baptist Church. We recognize that Martin Street has a sincere and active interest in the well-being of the community; particularly the well being of the its young people. As you know one out of every four births in the black community is to a teenage mother. I am in the process of completing a Doctoral project from Hunter College, School of Social Work, that attempts to address the problem of teenage pregnancy by engaging teenage fathers.

The project consists of a questionnaire eliciting information on the causes of early paternity and what agencies can do to help fathers delay future paternity.

In the next step of the project the fathers will be exposed to new and hopefully interesting educational experiences. Planned events include a computer lab at North Carolina State University, a hands on visit to the School of Veterinary Medicine and a film-editing lab.

The third step of the projects consist of a questionnaire to determine if broadening life options, even in this small way, impacts upon attitudes towards delaying paternity.

The Hargett Street YMCA is in the process of setting up an on-going program for participants in the study and other teenage fathers.

I am seeking your assistance in recruiting subjects for the study. Any black adolescent father, or expectant father, age 13-19 is eligible to participate. All responses will be kept confidential. In addition, subjects will get free admission to the Hargett Street Y's activities (dances, pizza parties, etc.), and two free passes to a local movie theater. I hope you will bring this project to the attention of your congregation.

Page 2

Potential subjects may contact me at 737-3291 or 3299, or Debra Weathers at 934-7386.

If you have any questions about the project, please call me at home, 782-7850. Thank you for giving this matter your consideration.

Sincerely,



Linda Anderson Smith, CSW
Assistant Professor
Social Work

LAS/ac

THE CAROLINIAN THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1987

New Horizons

Area Teenagers Explore Options

Children having children. A nationwide dilemma which provides just as many questions as it does answers. Where should sexual education courses be taught? In the home? At school? At Sunday School? Who should decide on the dissemination of birth control? Parents? Government? Church? Should birth control be disseminated to minors? Absolutely not! Definitely! Sometimes.

It seems the problem of teenage parenthood has become as widespread in the United States as chicken pox, only calamine lotion doesn't stop the itch. The itch is the teenage curiosity to actively participate in sexual relationships, usually without realizing the seriousness of the results. When they wind up pregnant and scared, neither teen parent knows where to turn.

At the YWCA, the New Horizons Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Program gives young parents someone to turn to. The program is divided into three parts. The Teen Center is a place where teens go to talk about teen suicide and other teen issues. Peer Counselors, another facet of the program, consist of teens who have been professionally trained to talk with other teens about their problems. Finally, New Horizons has a mentor program, which pairs

adolescent parents with adult community members who serve as role models and teach good parenting skills. Before last summer, the mentor program provided assistance for female teens only, but thanks to Elna Smith, an NCSU professor, the mentor program has grown large enough to include teen fathers as well.

"Stereotyped as uncaring and uninterested in their offspring, teen fathers are falsely undermined in the community," Ms. Smith points out. But she understands the teen fathers' fears and needs. She began the program as an empirical research project for her dissertation for the Hunter College School of Social Work, but the program is much more than an experiment for her.

Working at NCSU, Ms. Smith teaches courses on black families and has access to the various disciplines and courses the college offers. Her role as teacher/social worker, and her position on the YWCA Hargett Street Committee on Administration, enable her to reach teen fathers and "let them know that there are other opportunities even though they may seem to be closed off."

With a group of nine teen fathers between the ages of 16 and 21, Ms. Smith uses her position at NCSU to

expose the teen fathers to educational experiences and possible career options. With the help of the YWCA—the use of the van for transportation, the use of the facility for meetings and the Teen Center—the program has really "taken off."

Ms. Smith is happy with the cooperation of the YWCA Hargett Street Branch and especially with Deborah Weathers, pregnancy prevention coordinator, and Shirley Nirmans, branch director.

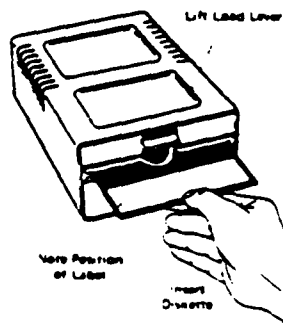
Ms. Smith takes a group of enthusiastic teen fathers to various places of employment to try to increase the awareness of jobs with the hope that the messages will have a positive impact.

"The teen fathers have taken a Life Simulator Course at the computer lab on the NCSU campus where the computer asked them to make decisions about life and job role and then predicted those jobs they would enjoy and most likely succeed in. They have done job questionnaires, we've gone on tours of the television studio, and we're planning tours of the veterinary and design schools next," Ms. Smith states. "Even if the young men aren't interested in that particular field, exposure is as important as working and it gives the teen fathers something to dream about."

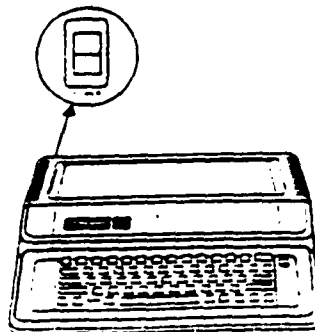
STUDENT HANDOUT**HOW TO RUN THE LIFE COURSE SIMULATION****Running the Program**

To begin a session on the Apple[®]II, perform the following steps:

1. Insert the diskette marked "Social Power Game" into the diskette drive on the left (or into the only drive, if you have only one). The left drive is referred to as drive 1. Push the diskette all the way into the drive until you hear a click. Remember the label side of the diskette must be face up (see Figure S-1).

Figure S-1

2. Turn on your monitor (screen).
3. On the left back side of your Apple II, you will find a power switch. Turn it on (see Figure S-2).

Figure S-2

STUDENT HANDOUT

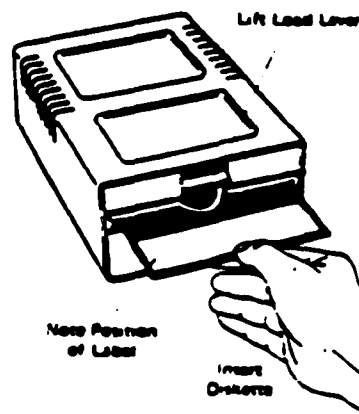
HOW TO RUN THE LIFE COURSE SIMULATION

Running the Program

To begin a session on the Apple[®] II, perform the following steps:

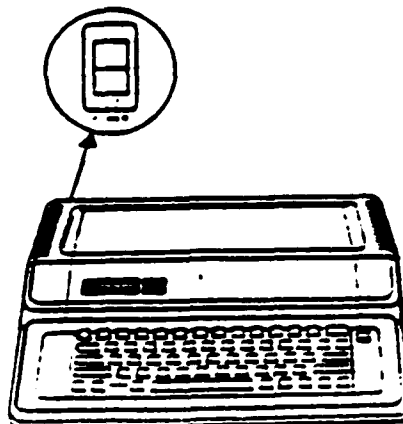
1. Insert the diskette marked "Social Power Game" into the diskette drive on the left (or into the only drive, if you have only one). The left drive is referred to as drive 1. Push the diskette all the way into the drive until you hear a click. Remember the label side of the diskette must be face up (see Figure S-1).

Figure S-1



2. Turn on your monitor (screen).
3. On the left back side of your Apple II, you will find a power switch. Turn it on (see Figure S-2).

Figure S-2



The red light on the drive will be on for a moment. When it goes off, the title display will appear on the screen. To continue, simply follow the directions on the screen.

The Scenario

In the *Life Course Simulation* you can simulate your own projected life course or role-play another type of person. In the simulation, you will have the opportunity to make major life decisions you are likely to face and then experience the likely outcomes.

As you begin the simulation, you may want to take the two preliminary tutorial courses to familiarize yourself with the features of this program, and to compare and contrast your expected life course with the average life course in the United States. To access the tutorials, press A or I when you reach the Main Menu (Figure S-3).

Beginning the Simulation

When you are ready to proceed to the actual simulation, press L when you return to the Main Menu. You will be asked to enter some background information, including your sex, parent income, and IQ. The first time you play this game, you will probably want to depict actual facts about yourself. The life course will begin at the age of 15, and every six months you will be able to review your time allocations and make major life decisions.

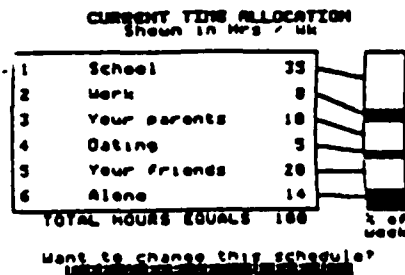
Figure S-3

```

MAIN MENU
-----
A) Average Life Course
   (Course 1)
I) Interdependencies in Life Courses
   (Course 2)
L) Life Course Simulation
W) Wrap Up Tutorial
Q) Quit the program
-----
SELECT ONE LETTER: M I L W Q
  
```

To alter the ways you have allocated your time, and thereby establish different priorities, access the display of "Current Time Allocation" (Figure S-4). You will be able to alter your time allocation in any manner you choose.

Figure S-4



The Wrap-Up Tutorial

When you have finished one or several simulation life courses, you can compare your simulated life course with the average life course in the United States. The graphic results will help you analyze the process and results of this life course simulation.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS:

1. First use your own personal life history and life goals to play the simulation. Be sure to be honest about your gender, IQ, and parents' income. Discuss how your plan worked out, including:
 - a. How do you think your major life choices affected how "successful" you were? Success can be measured by whether or not you achieved your desired levels of evaluation from your important social groups. (Play the game again differently to assess their impact.)
 - b. On the basis of this experience, do you think you should revise your plans? Do you think you should spend more or less time working, with your friends, at school, and so on?
2. Identify a different type of person whose life course you might wish to role-play. Use your best estimate of how he or she would run their life and play the simulation. Contrast the results with your personal life course simulation.
3. In the context of the game, discuss the merits of the statement: "Anyone can be successful if only they try hard enough." Is it more difficult for some than for others to achieve?
4. There are 12 different combinations of gender, IQ, and parents' income. Design a plan or experiment to try out different combinations to assess their impact. You may want to do this with a group.

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