

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University
Microfilms
International
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

8401941

Laguna, John Novak

THE PUERTO RICAN ADOLESCENT FATHER: A PSYCHOLOGICAL
PERSPECTIVE

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1983

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE PUERTO RICAN ADOLESCENT FATHER:

A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

John N. Laguna

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Clinical Psychology in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York

1983

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in
Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

4/8/83
date

Anderson J. Frankl
Chairman of Examining Committee

5/5/83
date

Herbert D. Seltzer
Executive Officer

Carmen Vazquez

Laurence Gould

Rochelle Levine

Herbert Nechin
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

The Puerto Rican Adolescent Father:
A Psychological Perspective

by

John N. Laguna

Adviser: Professor Anderson J. Franklin

Thirty Puerto Rican adolescent males from the New York Metropolitan area were interviewed about their attitudes and behavior on the variables of family, ethnicity, intimacy, and fatherhood. Two groups were compared: 15 unwed fathers, and 15 unwed non-fathers.

Family dynamics were not supported on the hypotheses that (a) more fathers than non-fathers came from single parent homes; (b) fathers rated their own fathers as having positions of greater importance and their mothers lesser importance in the family than non-fathers; (c) fathers and non-fathers differed in their ages at the time of paternal departure from the nuclear family.

Ethnicity was supported on the hypothesis that (a) fathers affiliated more closely with Puerto Rican peers than non-fathers (Fisher Exact Probability Test, $p < .05$). A re-analysis showed significant differences found in attitude with non-fathers having more positive attitudes concerning Puerto Rican ethnocultural membership than fathers (Fisher Exact Probability Test, $p < .05$). Hypothesis (b) positing differences between the groups in their designation as Puerto Rican was not supported.

Intimacy was not supported on the following hypotheses: (a) that fathers and non-fathers differed in their experiences of having girlfriends; (b) that the groups differed in the ethnicity of their girlfriends; (c) that fathers and non-fathers differed in attitude on the necessity to consummate sex; (d) that the groups differed in their usage patterns for contraception. However, the data did support the following hypothesis: (e) that fathers differed from non-fathers in their frequency of sexual relations (Mann-Whitney U Test, $p < .02$). The data were reanalyzed and non-fathers were significantly more positive concerning contraception than were fathers (Fisher Exact Probability Test, $p < .05$).

Fatherhood was not supported on: (a) that fathers and non-fathers differed in their real perceptions of fatherhood; (b) that the two groups differed on the role modelling of their own fathers; (c) that there would be differences concerning the Puerto Rican father as being different from fathers in other groups; (d) that more fathers than non-fathers would be sons of unwed fathers. The hypothesis that (e) there would be significant differences in idealized expectations of fatherhood with non-fathers being significantly less authoritarian in their expectations of fatherhood than were the unwed fathers was supported (Mann-Whitney U Test, $p < .05$).

Table of Contents

Approval Page	Page ii
Abstract	Page iii
List of Tables	Page vii
Chapter One: Family, Ethnicity, Intimacy, Paternity and their effects upon Adolescent Unwed Fatherhood.	
Unwed Motherhood.....	Page 1
Unwed Fatherhood.....	Page 12
Statement of the Problem.....	Page 16
Purposes and Objectives.....	Page 16
Rationale and Objectives.....	Page 17
Summary and Overview.....	Page 19
Chapter Two: Theory and Research Background of the Relevant Literature.	
Part One: Unwed Fatherhood	
Theoretical Approaches.....	Page 22
Systematic Approaches.....	Page 28
Social Casework Approaches.....	Page 38
Part Two: The Puerto Rican Culture	
Demographics.....	Page 45
Island Influences.....	Page 48
Mainland Influences.....	Page 59
Conclusions.....	Page 71
Chapter Three: Methods	
Statement of the Hypotheses.....	Page 73
Description of the Subjects.....	Page 76

Pilot Study.....	Page 78
Description of Procedures.....	Page 86
Treatment of the Data.....	Page 88
Chapter Four: Results	
Family.....	Page 90
Ethnicity.....	Page 92
Intimacy.....	Page 94
Fatherhood.....	Page 98
Chapter Five: Adolescent Unwed Fatherhood: Discussion and Future Research	
Part One: Review	
Part Two: Discussion	
Summary and Findings.....	Page 102
Interpretations and Literature Support.....	Page 104
Problems and Limitations.....	Page 110
Practical Implications.....	Page 112
Future Research.....	Page 113
Appendix One	Page 116
Appendix Two	Page 119
Appendix Three	Page 120
Bibliography	Page 122

List of Tables

Table 1: Comparison in Means of Ages, Amount of Education, and Residence in New York for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 2: Stage of Development of Adolescent Parents at Birth of Their Child (Actual Number).

Table 3: Single versus Two-Parent Family Membership of Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 4: Ages at Paternal Departure from Family for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 5: Peer Affiliations (Male/Female) for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 6: Designation as "Puerto Rican" for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 7: Ethnocultural Feelings for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers.

Table 8: Frequency of Sexual Relations for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers by Rank.

Table 9: Attitudes toward Contraception Usage for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers (Numbers).

Table 10: Expectations of Authoritarian Fatherhood for the Unwed Father and the Non-Father groups (Ranks).

CHAPTER ONE

Family, Ethnicity, Intimacy, Paternity and Their Effects Upon Adolescent Unwed Fatherhood

Introduction to the Problem

Of the many demands that society makes of its members none is as complex as that of parenthood. The responsibilities, decisions, and problems encountered by the parent in his attempts at successfully socializing his child often place him under great stress. Yet, preparation for this all-important role remains relatively non-existent. (Kruger, 1972).

When one adds to this stressful role the realities of single parenthood faced by an unwed adolescent mother, one encounters a situation in which crucial parenting decisions are being made by a parent often not psychologically mature enough to realistically deal with these problems. But what is known of the effects of parenthood upon one not yet in their adulthood?

I Unwed Motherhood

Braen and Forbush (1975) chronicled the growing national concern with the plight of school-age parenthood. They cited 1962 as being the pivotal year before which the plight of adolescent mothers was not largely addressed. Drawing upon government figures on natality Braen and Forbush depicted a scene in which while the overall number of births was declining nationally, the number of out-of-wedlock births to women fifteen to nineteen years of age was increasing at a rate of a little over 10,000 a year to stand at 158,000 illegitimate births in 1968.

Chenoweth (1971) reported that each year some 200,000 girls under eighteen have a baby leading to an interruption of their education, and the subsequent inability to establish both economic independence and a stable home. While Chenoweth can report on the subsequent establishment of 175 community comprehensive programs to serve approximately 40,000 school-age pregnant girls, she raises the issue as to what services are being provided for the remaining 160,000 pregnant adolescents not so reached.

Howard (1971a) also cited the 200,000 annual adolescent illegitimate birth figure, but addressed the fact that no more than five percent of this population are served by maternity homes. The overwhelming majority appear to remain in their own homes during pregnancy. Howard further states that only about fifteen percent of this unwed mother population place their babies up for adoption - the remaining eighty-five percent instead seeking to raise the child themselves.

In further analyzing this population Howard found that of the 200,000 adolescent mothers some sixty percent became married at the time of their child's birth, with forty percent remaining in unmarried status. Finally, of these adolescents who became pregnant at the youngest ages (fifteen and younger) the majority were members of Minority groups (60%), and all of the girls pregnant at these younger ages are more likely to have another child out-of-wedlock while still of school age.

In a New York City survey of total live births and out-of-wedlock births in the 1970s (New York City, Dept. of Health, 1970-1977) demographic information on adolescent pregnancy is noteworthy. The survey

shows that the overall rate of total adolescent live births in New York City has declined. These figures include the ages of Under-15 to 19 years of age. From a high of 20,203 total live births to adolescents in 1970, the rate has steadily declined to a lower rate of 15,451 total live births to adolescents in 1977.

More significantly for the present study is the fact that while the overall adolescent total live birth rate has declined, the percentage of out-of-wedlock births by this group has increased sharply. In 1970 adolescent out-of-wedlock births comprised 54% of the total live births of all adolescent mothers. By 1977 this percentage had risen to 73% indicating that while fewer adolescents were giving birth in New York City, more of these births were illegitimate ones. This finding mirrors the findings of Braen and Forbush that the number of births is declining, but that out-of-wedlock births to adolescents are increasing.

The most extensive study to date on the issue of adolescent pregnancy and childbirth was performed under the sponsorship of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Its Guttmacher Institute in a comprehensive study (1976) presented evidence attesting to the rise in teenage childbearing in the United States, and then explored the phenomenon of this rise by citing epidemiological studies they had undertaken to explore the phenomenon of adolescent illegitimate childbearing.

What the Guttmacher study shows is that some eleven million teenagers in the United States are sexually active each year. Of this group some four million are girls, one million of whom become pregnant each year. Subsequently, some 600,000 give birth each year to chil-

dren conceived illegitimately. This figure is up sharply from that found by Braen and Forbush in 1968 (158,000), and that of Howard and Chenoweth in 1971 (200,000).

The Guttmacher Study first cited epidemiological evidence to the effect that: (a) two-thirds of these teenage pregnancies are unintended; (b) more than half of all out-of-wedlock births in the United States are to teenagers; and (c) nine out of ten unwed adolescent mothers keep their babies.

Next, citing medical evidence the study went on to say that low birth weight is twice as high for babies born to teenage mothers than to older mothers, and significantly, that the maternal death rate is 60% higher for younger teens (fifteen and under) than for any older mother group.

The educational and job prospects of these teenage mothers likewise are depicted bleakly by the study. Twice as many teenage mothers drop out of school than do non-mothers. Pregnancy was found to be the most common cause of teenage school-dropouts among adolescent girls. The job scene for this group is equally as bleak with teenage mothers facing greater risk of unemployment and welfare dependency than do older mothers.

The study finally dealt with the issue of prevention of teenage pregnancy. It proposed some steps in dealing with the "epidemic" of adolescent childbearing. The study stressed: realistic sex education, preventive family planning programs, adequate pregnancy counseling services, availability and accessibility of legal abortion, adequate health care for the mother, and the inclusion of educational, employment, and social services for this group.

Thus the population of adolescent girls in the United States has risen from 158,000 to 600,000 in less than ten years - an increase of over 300%.

But while the epidemiological study of adolescent parenthood is informative in its own right, the social needs and concerns of the unwed adolescent mothers themselves need to be addressed. One of the major social concerns is the health of the unwed adolescent mother and her offspring.

Anderson, Jenss, Mosher, and Richter (1966) in a study of out-of-wedlock births among school age girls in Metropolitan Buffalo, New York first found that the percentage of out-of-wedlock mothers having less than three months prenatal care was almost twice that of married mothers (forty-eight versus twenty-six percent). They also found that the death rate under one year of age for the white out-of-wedlock infant was 26.5% as against 19.5% for the white legitimate infant. Comparable figures for the non-white infant were 48.6% (out-of-wedlock) versus 32.7% for the legitimate infant. Anderson et al conclude that the higher incidence of preventable conditions among out-of-wedlock infants left no doubt that this out-of-wedlock infant/mother group was at high risk for birth complications.

McGanity, Little, Fogelman, Jennings, Calhoun, and Dawson (1969) likewise found in their study of 550 high risk pregnant teenagers that while prenatal care was acknowledged by these expectant mothers as being important only two percent sought such care before the twelfth week of pregnancy, and overall 41% of this special population had fewer than four prenatal visits. McGanity et al found that these

adolescent mothers had a higher potentiality for obstetric problems than did mothers seen in private practice.

In a special summary report the National Academy of Sciences (1970) found that teenage mothers have a greater number of babies weighing less than 2,500 grams at birth. Low birth weight continues to be a major cause of infant mortality. In contrast to an overall United States rate of 8.3% in this low weight category for all live births in 1965, the percentage for nonwhite adolescent mothers under fifteen years of age was 21%, and for white mothers in this same early adolescent group the percentage was 13%.

These studies of Anderson et al, McGanity et al., and the National Academy of Sciences correspond to the medical evidence presented by the Guttmacher Study - namely that the adolescent unwed mother is less likely to seek adequate prenatal care for herself resulting in a greater risk for birth and postnatal complications. Her offspring likewise are at greater risk for lower birth weight, and subsequent infant mortality.

The educational needs and subsequent job prospects of the unmarried adolescent mother are next investigated as they constitute another of the major social concerns confronted by this adolescent population.

Murdock (1968) presented a brief historical overview of the impact of the unwed school-age mother on the educational system. The practice had been to exclude the unwed adolescent mother from regular school programs with little or no thought given as to the continuation of her education. After exclusion from the regular educational programs, educational opportunities became practically non-existent.

Murdock noted that even in maternity homes little emphasis was placed on the educational needs of these young mothers. A survey of maternity homes in New York State revealed at best the assignment of a teacher for one or two half-days per week, with the majority of these homes having no educational programs.

Examining the relatedness of work opportunities to education for this group, Murdock felt that the lack of interest in these girls' futures often became internalized by the girls themselves. With little or no interest in themselves these girls often pursued no further education. This resulted in little occupational training with either welfare being the final solution or else a repeat pregnancy.

McMurray (1969) also found that pregnant adolescents were the more likely high school dropouts, and were poorly prepared to support their new families. She felt that excluding pregnant students from school reflected community attitudes and mores seeking to punish the teenage girl for her transgressions. The school's stance often became couched in terms of her possible negative influence on peers to emulate her and actively engage in sexual relations. The pregnancy was often deemed a hazardous physical handicap making it difficult or impossible for the student to remain in school.

Citing the policy changes in New York City McMurray reported that pregnant school-age girls are now permitted to remain in their home schools as long as possible receiving regular pre-natal care and counseling in planning for her baby. Students wishing to leave the regular school can be transferred to home instructional programs in maternity homes or in community programs.

Kipp and Griggs (1975) reported on the special educational centers for unved pregnant girls run under the guidance of the New York City Board of Education. Six centers served a population of approximately 900 girls accepted from the second month of pregnancy through to the birth of their child and beyond.

What they report is that the centers attempt to help the girls improve attendance, increase their infant care and homemaking skills, encourage continued education after the births of their children, raise the level of the girls' marketable skills, diminish the risk of stillbirths, and change the academic profile of low achievers.

In a comparison of thirty-three Center girls with thirty-three neighborhood girls Kipp and Griggs reported that the Educational Center girls showed improvement over the neighborhood girls (after three months attendance) in academic achievement, peer and school relationships, overall attitudes, and the improved use of pupil personnel services. However, the neighborhood girls made significant improvement over Center girls in personal and total adjustment, and in their attitude toward society. What Kipp and Griggs recommended was a combined program in which pregnant girls remain in neighborhood schools part of the day or every other day following the normal school regimen, and then return to the Center for the rest of the time.

Hoefl (1968) in a study of the unwed mother in a culturally deprived high school located in a large urban center in the Midwest sought to report on the systematic comparison of an unwed mother versus non-mother group. There were thirty-seven girls in each group. The variables studied were attendance, grades, and emotional behavior. The uniqueness of the study was in the fact that these were unwed

mothers who had returned to school following the birth of their children.

Hoefl reported that in all three areas the study group scored considerably lower than the non-mothers. By the end of the semester over half of the unwed mother group had dropped out of school while only thirteen percent of the control group had left. Hoefl concluded that there were three choices as to how an educational system can treat the unwed mother when she returns to school: the system can (a) reject them - which avoids the problem entirely; (b) accept them as normal students - which does not address the difficulties of reentering the school system or dealing with the responsibilities of a young mother with an infant who needs care; (c) accept them back as special, troubled students who need special help in dealing with infant care and attendance or else cannot be expected to succeed. Hoefl felt that the school is the most available and effective agent to deal with these problems.

Thus to summarize pregnancy remains the major cause of adolescent girls dropping out of school. Past and present school policies forcibly expelled or pressured the pregnant girl to withdraw, or else enter a maternity home where educational programs were not as nearly available. Despite attempting to continue her education the young mother often becomes unable to cope with the pressures of continuing or returning to school.

The societal and psychological concerns of the unwed adolescent mother are the next area of study. What does being an unwed mother mean to the adolescent girl, and how does she respond to the pressures and responsibilities?

Herzog (1966) sought to put the issue of unwed motherhood in its proper perspective by decrying the socio-religious, morality oriented attitudes that sought to clamp down and punish the unwed mother. At the same time Herzog pointed out that similar indictments are not heard against the fathers of these illegitimate children. Herzog finally characterized the majority of unwed mothers as falling into a low social status, low income group, with little quality prenatal care and more often presenting with greater medical complications.

Clark (1967) felt that the theme of societal punishment against the unwed mother stemmed from the perceived threat that out-of-wedlock births presented to the core institution of the family. Clark felt that this threat served as the impetus for societal sanctions against the unwed mother. What Clark presented was that external support, both cultural and interpersonal, were now withdrawn from the adolescent mother because of society's need to punish her for having an illegitimate birth. At the same time the continuing needs of the unwed mother ranged from dealing with the guilt of being pregnant and not married, with the realities of labor and birth, to making plans for the care of her infant, and for the future.

Barglow, Bernstein, Exum, Wright, and Visotsky (1968) in following a group of seventy-eight early adolescent unwed mothers for a three and a half year period found that often the quality of the grandmother/unwed adolescent mother relationship changed from a hostile, prepregnancy interaction to one often of equality between the grandmother and new mother. There were likewise residues of shame, and a conscious identification with the child by the unwed mother. Their investigation of the phenomenon of repeat pregnancy led to the

discovery of greater dependency, poorer school attendance, and increased membership in a broken home for the girls who had repeat pregnancies.

Drew (1965) in a study of a maternity home population of some twenty-two to thirty unwed teenage mothers found that in one-third of the cases the pregnancy was seen as a result of moderate adolescent turmoil, while in about fourteen to nineteen percent of the cases the girls had had a history of considerable behavioral difficulty. As did Barglow et al, Drew found that denial was often utilized during pregnancy, in the general behavior of all the girls, but especially in the girls engaged in group therapy.

Drew postulates that in a significant number of cases severe psychiatric disturbance was present during pregnancy, and that the pregnancy itself was the "equivalent" of a psychiatric symptom. Drew finally noted that entry itself into a maternity home indicated a rejection of the girls by their own social system.

Thus from the epidemiological, medical, educational, and socio-psychological evidence presented the issue of unwed adolescent motherhood is generating many areas of concern and interest. But thus far the overwhelming resources of study have been turned to only one of the unwed adolescent parents - the unwed mother to the overwhelming neglect of the other parent - the adolescent unwed father. Who is the adolescent father? Are there issues that he is facing? Are there epidemiological, and socio-psychological concerns that he is facing generated by his participation in the unwed adolescent parenthood process?

II Unwed Fatherhood

Returning to the study of the Guttmacher Institute cited earlier proves to be perhaps the best starting point in understanding the demographics of the unwed adolescent father. The study indicated that eleven million teenagers in the United States were sexually active with four million being girls. Thus one million adolescent girls each year become pregnant with 600,000 subsequently giving birth, does this mean that one million boys were sexually involved with 600,000 eventually becoming fathers? Unfortunately the study does not provide this answer. One large epidemiological question concerns the percentage of illegitimate adolescent pregnancy contributed to by adolescent boys? This information presently eludes the epidemiologist who seeks to research adolescent illegitimate childbirth.

What responsibility for his illegitimate offspring does the adolescent father feel, if any? Common folklore presupposes that he feels no responsibility, but is this actually the case? Chenoweth (1971) suggested that out-of-wedlock pregnancy may be one of the factors in the school drop-out rate of adolescent boys who father children, and who feel a sense of obligation for financial support of the mother and child. McMurray (1969) also reported that adolescent boys drop out of school due to an extraordinary sense of responsibility they feel for the young mothers. Thus one factor to be explored more systematically is the effect unwed fatherhood has on the educational and work (job) preparedness of the young adolescent male.

Are there psychological effects upon the young adolescent father comparable to those found in the young adolescent mother? Are there personality variables contributing to the evolution of unwed adoles-

cent fatherhood? Young (1954) in an early look at the unwed mother found the unwed father to be the "neurotic" counterpart of the girl he had impregnated. As Barglow et al and Drew have already pointed out the unwed mothers they studied often demonstrated discernible patterns of neurotic and more disturbed behavior, is this the same pattern for the unwed adolescent father?

The cultural context of the illegitimate childbirth process plays an important part in adolescent parenting. As McMurray (1969) further pointed out, race and economic status were often discriminating factors in the selection for, or exclusion from, maternity homes for the pregnant adolescent. The United States National Center for health Statistics (DHEW, 1974) in a twenty-five year survey of illegitimacy trends in the United States found that for women ages fifteen to forty-four the proportion of babies born each year that are illegitimate has been approximately six to ten times greater for the non-white than for the white population. Within the non-white population itself the illegitimacy ratio for Negro births (270.9 per 1000 births) was about two and a half times as great as that for the other non-white groups (107.8 per 1000 births).

While the collapsing of the age groups (15-44) does not directly address the issue of adolescent illegitimate childbearing, it does reflect the dichotomy between white and non-white instances of illegitimacy. What the study implies is a differential cultural treatment of illegitimacy. The study of how illegitimate adolescent pregnancy and parenting affects the unwed adolescent father in a specific cultural context becomes the next focus. The non-white predominance of illegitimacy becomes the broad area of selection due mainly to the

discrepancy between lesser non-white representation in the general population, but greater non-white representation in illegitimacy. In looking therefore at the non-white adolescent unwed father and the cultural context of his unwed fatherhood one must become cognizant of his membership in a minority group and how this membership will often both dictate and limit the psychological and social supports he can obtain.

But how to select from within the non-white group? If selection is by race, e.g., choosing to investigate adolescent parenting within the Black race, then even within this large non-white group there are some fourteen different ethnic groups (Valentine, 1971). The task therefore becomes one of further defining the cultural context of investigation to an investigation within the adolescent unwed father's ethnic group. An empathic ethnic investigation allows for more sensitivity in dealing in this area of human sexuality. Giordano (1976) in fact found that ethnic identity was the link between the individual's psyche and his communal relationships - including that of his family.

The interests of the investigator turn thus to ethnicity, but specifically to his own ethnic group - the Puerto Rican. As McAdoo (1977) has pointed out there is a need to be sensitive to, and accurate in, the interpretation of family socialization data that comes by having experienced the examined culture as children or parents. For a clearer understanding of adolescent illegitimacy in the Puerto Rican culture some demographic information is provided highlighting both island and mainland representation.

In Puerto Rico for 1975 the total number of live births for the adolescent mother population (ages fifteen to nineteen) totalled

13,580 of which 3,990 were illegitimate. Thus for 1975 the adolescent illegitimacy rate stood at 29%. In 1977 again for Puerto Rico the figures were 13,862 total adolescent live births with 4,282 being illegitimate and the illegitimate birth rate was 31% (DHEW, 1978; Departamento de Salud, 1977).

For New York City the figures revealed for 1975 Puerto Rican adolescent live births were 2,294 with illegitimate births at 1,392 and the illegitimacy rate stood at 61%. For 1977 the totals were 1,859 live births, 1,282 illegitimate births, and an illegitimacy rate of 69%. Thus the Puerto Rican New York City experience of adolescent illegitimate birth was significantly higher than that of the island - more than twice the illegitimacy rate. (NYC, Department of Health, 1975, 1977). Unsurprisingly, no comparable statistics are kept identifying and describing the fathers of these illegitimate children.

Investigators who have sought to determine the role of the adolescent unwed father in illegitimate parenting have suggested three overall areas as contributing to the rise in adolescent illegitimacy. These are: family dynamics, the intimate relations between adolescent males and females, and the available concepts and models of fathering.

The problem that this study examines is an extension of these areas of investigation plus the addition of a fourth: membership in a specific ethnic minority group, the Puerto Rican, to see what influence this will bear upon adolescent unwed fatherhood. The present study will examine detailed aspects of familial, ethnic, intimate, and paternal dynamics, and trace the relationship among these variables to adolescent unwed fatherhood.

Statement of the Problem

The problem that this study seeks to address is the influence that family, ethnic group, intimate, and paternal dynamics may have on adolescent unwed fatherhood. The problem of the study might be further clarified by asking a number of questions:

(1) How does adolescent unwed fatherhood relate to membership in the family of origin?

(2) How does adolescent unwed fatherhood relate to the dynamics of ethnic group membership?

(3) How does adolescent unwed fatherhood relate to the dynamics of intimate relations with the adolescent female?

(4) How does adolescent unwed fatherhood relate to the currently held concepts of fatherhood?

The study of this problem has import for a number of reasons. First, the study will add to the paucity of literature on the general topic of adolescent sexuality and illegitimate adolescent fatherhood. Second, it will address the relationship between familial, ethnic, intimate, and paternal factors and their effects upon adolescent unwed fatherhood. Third, the study may provide workers in the field of adolescent parenting with insight into the psychological dynamics of the adolescent father. Finally, the study may provide insight into intervening and slowing the rise of adolescent illegitimacy.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study is to examine the relationship of familial, ethnic, intimate, and paternal dynamics on adolescents who have

become unwed fathers, and adolescents who have remained unwed non-fathers. The specific objectives of the study are:

(1) To demonstrate that adolescent unwed fathers will evidence a greater pattern of disrupted family relations in their family of origin than will adolescent non-fathers.

(2) To demonstrate that adolescent unwed fathers will identify and affiliate more strongly with their own ethnic group than will unwed non-fathers.

(3) To demonstrate that adolescent unwed fathers will engage in more sexual behavior placing them at greater risk for fatherhood (e.g. contraception-less sex) than will unwed non-fathers.

(4) To demonstrate that adolescent unwed fathers will have a different conception of fatherhood than will adolescent non-fathers.

Rationale of the Study

The basis on which the case can be made that adolescent unwed fatherhood is related to the dynamics of family of origin lies in the sparse research currently existing on adolescent unwed fathers and adolescent sexuality.

In a study examining the differences between adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers Pauker (1971) found that the only area of significant difference in his studied population was in the incidence of familial disruption. More unwed fathers than non-fathers came from families disrupted by divorce and separation.

Perkins and Grayson (1968) found an emergent pattern of father-absent, disrupted families of origin with subsequent unchannel-

led masculine identity difficulties in the juvenile father population they interviewed.

Sorenson (1973) in an attempt to explore adolescent sexuality in all strata of American life is noteworthy for his findings concerning parental influences in adolescent sexuality. He found that as far as youth's sexual attitudes and behavior are determined by parental influence, parental example was the strongest determining factor. Sorenson's data cited numerous instances in which the impact of parental example upon the attitudes of youth toward sex, love, and marriage was great. Consequently family dynamics appear to be prominent in the development of the adolescent unwed father.

Some of the rationale for ethnicity as a factor has already been cited (McAdoo, 1977; Giordano, 1976). However, more significant to this study are the findings of Rosenberg and Bensman (1973). They found that the dominant cultural sexual ideologies (of the upper and middle classes) have little relevance for American underclass ethnic groups. They linked ethnic underclass mores to non-sexual aspects of lifestyles found in these underclasses. This may account in part for the greater non-white predominance in illegitimacy. In any case the factor of ethnicity and its relation to unwed adolescent fatherhood merits study.

In her early study of the unwed mother Young (1954) found that these unwed fathers with whom she came into contact were usually the "neurotic counterpart" of the women they had impregnated.

Mitchell (1972) found that there is a pronounced need for intimacy in adolescents with derivative needs for a sense of belonging to a

significant other person, and the need for heterosexual interaction of all types - including sexual.

Lorenzi, Klerman, and Jekel (1977) found that the relationship between one hundred-eighty unwed adolescent mothers they interviewed and the fathers of their children was more than a casual one. A high rate of both financial assistance and frequent visits by the father to see his child betokened an enduring relationship between the unwed adolescent parents.

Hass (1979) found that in his survey of 625 teenagers between the ages of fifteen and eighteen the overwhelming majority reported themselves as having been in love at some point in their lives, and often thus became the targets of parental dismissal or ridicule. Thus the quality of intimate relations between the adolescent unwed mother and father warrants greater in depth exploration.

Finally, both LaBarre (1969) and Robbins and Lynn (1973) found that the adolescent fathers they interviewed were often themselves the sons of an illegitimate sexual liaison, or else had never resolved their sense of identification with their own fathers. The issues of fatherhood itself must therefore remain a principal area of study.

Based on these studies it seems logical to conclude that adolescent unwed fatherhood would be influenced by the dynamics of the family, ethnicity, intimate relations, and fatherhood.

Summary and Overview

Chapter One has presented the issue of adolescent illegitimate parenting and how the focus of study and intervention has rested overwhelmingly with the unwed mother. It has also raised the issue of how

the dynamics of family, ethnicity, intimacy, and paternity lend themselves to a study of the other adolescent parent - the unwed father. Chapter Two will present the relevant literature dealing with the issues of unwed fatherhood and with membership in a particular ethnocultural group, the Puerto Rican.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five respectively will deal with the methodology used to measure the relevant variables of the study, an analysis of the results of measurement, and a discussion of the findings with implications for both practical application and future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Theory and Research Background
of the Relevant Literature

Chapter Two will present an analysis of the literature relevant to unwed fatherhood, and to the particular ethnocultural group under study - the Puerto Rican.

While the study of unwed motherhood has drawn extensive attention due to the myriad needs of the unwed mother and the realities of illegitimate childbirth, the study of unwed fatherhood has been relatively neglected. More often the existence of unwed fathers was always acknowledged in an ancillary manner, almost as if in afterthought. This neglect of one of the significant partners in the illegitimate parent dyad is likewise reflected in the psychological literature. The scarcity of studies dealing with who the unwed father is, and what his needs may be seemingly point to an unspoken assumption that unwed parenthood and its implications have no relevance for him. The present analysis of the literature will attempt to address this assumption.

Chapter Two will also serve to address the cultural context of living encountered by the Puerto Rican. The act of unwed adolescent fatherhood will thus be explored against the backdrop of membership in this Hispanic ethnic group with its socio-cultural systems.

1 Unwed Fatherhood

Theoretical Approaches

Futterman and Livermore (1947) in an early study attempted to link the process whereby a man sires an illegitimate child with the unconscious dynamics issues of psychosexual development found within the putative father himself. They stated that the putative father's own difficulties with his parents provide a key to understanding the dynamics of the unwed father. For the putative father there develops an unfavorable identification with his own father with a subsequent direction of aggression against the father in attempts to supplant the father's basic attachment to the mother. They likewise stated that the mother plays a facilitating part in the acting out of this Oedipal conflict.

Futterman and Livermore found that the overpermissiveness of the mother in her attachment to her son led to an intensification of the Oedipal conflict. The adolescent, in particular, splits love into sacred (mother) and sexual (lust) components and attempts to alleviate his subsequent guilt over sexual encounters. But they posit that this alleviation is unsuccessful due to the great store of incestuous fantasy directed towards any woman, with a heightening of guilt and a need for punishment. This splitting into sacred and profane love was said to be more prevalent in unwed fathers than in unwed mothers, especially in adolescence where childhood fantasies concerning the mother remain relatively strong.

But while the investigations of Futterman and Livermore were clearly within the realm of Psychoanalytic theory their findings raise some questions. For example, what is the cultural (social) context of

the unwed father's actions? How many unwed fathers were studied to arrive at their conclusions? What measurements were employed to ascertain these developmental splittings of love, identification, and lust?

Futterman and Livermore appeared to rely on the use of clinical investigation and judgment. While the use of clinical investigation has merits for the questions it raises, its use as an empirical tool in exploring issues has been held in question. Likewise the use of two case studies to document their findings can do little more than illuminate and point one in the direction of investigation. Finally Futterman and Livermore do address the issue of culture by choosing not to explore the dynamics of unwed fathers from cultures in which "the social mores do not condemn children born out of wedlock" (p.175). What means were used to distinguish between cultures suitable for investigation and those deemed unsuitable can only remain in speculation.

Reider (1948) acknowledged the issue of social context in the unwed father dynamic by briefly exploring the patterns of establishing paternity in Sweden, and the desires of Black American servicemen to be reunited with their illegitimate offspring in England. Reider likewise posited the necessity of proving virility as being one of the strongest derivatives of this conflict.

Reider stressed that the fathering of a child alone is not sufficient for the gratification of the wish to prove verility, but the additional necessary condition is that the male not be married, and thus avoids full responsibility for the wish.

Reider studied a group of unspecified, white American males who were seen in the course of psychotherapy, and again utilized clinical observations to support his findings.

Both Edlin (1954) and Young (1954) found that the unmarried fathers with whom they came into contact were usually as psychologically impaired as the women whom they had impregnated.

Edlin further felt that the imposition of a forced marriage in order to bring the sanctions of matrimony to the relationship between the unwed parents resulted in the unwed father feeling humiliated and trapped. Often the only recourse left to the father was escape by desertion.

As reported in Chapter One Young found that the unwed parents often complemented each other neurotically in that each found in the other the answer to their own neurotic needs. She found that for the unwed father his own emotional development had been blocked and the illegitimate child represented his attempts at reconciling his infantile needs with adult realities. Young also found an inability within the unmarried father to combine love and sex within a happy marriage. This last finding seems to parallel the findings of Futterman and Livermore.

While Edlin's and Young's findings provide needed insight into the psychological and social context of the unmarried father they also suffer from a lack of more methodological investigation. Like the earlier studies their importance lies in the theoretical and observable issues they brought to the study of unwed parenthood, and the possible areas of further research they raised.

Vincent (1960) in looking at a sample of two hundred and one white, unmarried mothers made some observations as to the white unmarried fathers of their children. In terms of viewing the unmarried mothers as having been sexually exploited Vincent posited that the same variables positively describing the man during dating were now viewed as becoming the "basis for and evidence of" this sexual exploitation. This change in the value of these variables (age, education, and socioeconomic superiority) from being ones accepted as positive to values rejected and denigrated as negative comes about when illegitimacy surfaces. Vincent maintained that the softening of societal sanctions against the unmarried mother for her illegitimate birth was made at the expense of labelling the unmarried father as an exploiter for failing to marry and thus protect the woman from shame.

As mentioned Vincent chose to study the white unmarried fathers of this study. He excluded an exploration of some three hundred eighty-seven non-white illegitimate childbirths because few of these non-white unwed mothers chose to report any data on unmarried fathers. Thus a cross-cultural investigation of the effects of unmarried fatherhood on whites and non-whites was not undertaken.

Bernstein (1966) examined the phenomenon of unmarried fatherhood from two perspectives: that of the adolescent male's first sexual experience, and that of the out-of-wedlock Aid for Dependent Children Fathers (AFDC).

Bernstein emphasized that for the adolescent sexual experimentation is one of society's expectations of the adolescent male, and is a source of much positive status gain among peers. However the adolescent often becomes troubled by serious questions and doubts concerning

this experimentation. For Bernstein these doubts centered around the adolescent's uncertainty about sex, his sex role, about contraception, the possibilities of venereal disease, and most importantly the consequences when his sexual activities result in the conception of a child. Bernstein pointed out that disappointment and confusion often followed the male's first sexual experience.

In dealing with the issues of the AFDC father Bernstein noted the inequity of having these men shoulder the burden of their illegitimate offspring without the same types of services being made available to them that were made available to middle class fathers.

Bernstein herself realized the limitations of theoretical espousings on the subject of unwed fatherhood without more systematic attempts at gathering clearer data, and this becomes the chief criticism of her findings. But more germane to the present study is Bernstein's awareness of the interface of the sexual experimentations and confusions of the adolescent male and his possible inclusion in a lower class system. This will be further explored in a later section with the unfolding of the economic repercussions for the Puerto Rican family of their life in New York City.

LaBarre (1969) maintained that early sexual activity was an entry into the triple crisis: adolescence, early marriage, and parenthood. In looking at the adolescent unmarried father LaBarre felt that the adolescent's rejection of his own father (as an appropriate sex-role model) while simultaneously becoming a father himself, led to an irre- solution of his adolescent problem of personal identity. Subsequently the young father becomes unprepared for his role in parenthood and marriage.

LaBarre posited that there was a greater need for the male to prove his masculinity by engaging in heterosexual activities than for the female who by pregnancy and motherhood readily demonstrates her femininity. LaBarre felt that needed deferment of early sexual activity was undertaken in lieu of the responsibilities of early parenthood which often resulted in lower levels of maturity, education, and dependent economic and class status. However, LaBarre stated that this "habit of deferment" was a middle class ethnic, not shared by all economic classes in American society.

LaBarre did address the issue of difference's in culture, particularly as it applied racially. In talking of the Negro male and his difficulties in establishing responsible economic status LaBarre spoke of the disruption of Negro families by the father's inability to work and the subsequent difficulties that this created for the young Negro adolescent male in his struggles to resolve his own identity difficulties. What LaBarre stressed was the importance of modelling effects for the young, Black adolescent male, and the disruptive influence that ensues when the paternal role model becomes devalued by societal pressures. Thus LaBarre spoke principally of the white, middle class unwed adolescent father, he did acknowledge the interplay of cultural differences found among the different groups in the country, and its relationship to adolescent male sexuality.

Thus the first part of this chapter has seen the presentation of largely theoretical formulations of unwed fatherhood based upon clinical observation and clinical work within an overriding network of Psychoanalytically derived theory. The bulk of these studies have been directed at the dominant middle class, white stratum of the popu-

lation. The issue of cultural differences has largely been addressed tangentially, often through the question of poverty and social class membership. With the exception of Vincent (1960) and his survey data few of these studies attempted to systematically approach the issue of unwed fatherhood.

Systematic Approaches

Later studies of unwed fatherhood attempted to investigate the issues utilizing more systematic techniques. However, the postulation of theoretical formulations and the use of observation continued.

Pauker (1971) attempted to compare to the MMPI personality profiles of ninety-four unmarried adolescent non-fathers. All of these adolescents had been administered the MMPI in 1954 while in attendance in the ninth grade in the Minnesota school system. Pauker's purpose in undertaking the study was to provide a more accurate control group for the study of the target unwed father group, and then to compare the results of their personality tests. Attempts were made to match the fathers and non-fathers in terms of age, socioeconomic status, and schools attended. The ages of the unmarried fathers ranged from thirteen to seventeen, while the non-father group ranged from fourteen to seventeen. Pauker reported that the illegitimate children were fathered at some point after these personality tests were given, so this comparison was an attempt to see if personality factors would reveal demonstrable differences.

The results of the comparison revealed more similarity than difference between the two groups with the only significant difference being that the instances of separation and divorce among the parents

of the fathers' group was some three times greater than that of the non-fathers' group. While this lent some support to the proposition that issues of family disruption contributed to unmarried fatherhood, Pauker noted that this difference accounted for only seven percent of the fathers' group, and did not seem to be a general contributing factor to unwed fatherhood.

While Pauker attempted to match as closely as possible his father and non-father groups he failed to share certain information of his study. For example, what are the particular demographics of his groups? Were they an entirely white group of adolescents? Were they from lower, middle, or upper class strata? Were they mostly urban or rural youth?

Perkins and Grayson (1968) reported on their efforts at group counseling for youth held in the short term detention and study facility of the Juvenile Division of the Philadelphia County Court. By analyzing the records of hundreds of hours of individual and group counseling sessions Perkins and Grayson found that a pattern of female domination of the family clearly emerged as a significant focus in the lives of the teenage unwed fathers they saw. More significantly these groups of unwed fathers felt a guarded hostility toward their own mothers which often became channelled into an overt denigration of girls with whom they had contact.

Perkins and Grayson also reported that these young fathers often felt deserted by their own fathers, and felt that the circumstances of their own fatherhood would replicate this pattern of intergenerational desertion. Often desires to marry the mothers of the children were attempts by these fathers to forestall their inevitable desertion of

their offspring which they felt would engender in their children the anger, frustration, and longing for the absent father which they themselves felt.

Expressions of anger and chagrin were found to be frequent as these young fathers found themselves without a support element or outlet to help them deal with their intense feelings. Most significantly for the present study was the finding that feelings of self-hatred were exacerbated due to the unwed fatherhood being a further drain on precarious levels of self-worth.

Price (1971), and Howard (1971b) present brief looks into the adolescent father's world. In describing a program conceived to deal with adolescent pregnancy in Atlanta, Price spoke of the needs of some two hundred and ten adolescent fathers with whom he had come into contact. From a social work perspective Price found that the young father had a gamut of needs revolving around needs for relationship counseling, as well as help with employment, job training, and education. Price's work with this young father group was undertaken from the perspectives of their family background, expectations of the girl, acceptance or denial of relationship with the girl, conceptions of fatherhood, and contraception.

The conclusions Price reached lent themselves to those found in other studies: that most of these fathers had an inadequate family life, that their sense of loneliness and search for affection led to irresponsible sex, and that they were unable to give up their significant contact with peers. Overall Price concluded that the adolescent father group was young, felt unloved, and was dominated by their immature impulses.

Howard, whose initial impetus into the area of adolescent pregnancy was directed towards the young mother, found in her contacts with adolescent fathers that they were also a high risk group. This risk takes the form of deficiency in social skills, with many fathers unpreparedly being forced into early marriage with subsequent divorce. Howard felt that opportunities for vocational and educational advancement were often passed up or superseded by the stringent demands of premature family life. These educational and vocational lags resulted in little earning power and the increasing risk of family size increment without the financial resources to properly care for children.

Price's brief analysis, much like that of Perkins and Grayson's, centered on the family as being the nexus of the problems of the unwed adolescent father. Lacking a clear paternal role model (or at best an inadequately perceived one) the young male turns to peers to provide him with the answers to difficulties he is encountering in resolving masculine and larger identity issues. Like Perkins and Grayson Price concludes that the turning to peers and sex is made in an irresponsible, impulsive fashion with little thought given to the consequences of such activities. Howard largely focused on these consequences which highlight the ultimate projections for the teenage marital union - stress and divorce.

Robbins and Lynn (1973) sought to investigate whether there existed a generational recidivism in illegitimacy between parents and their sons, and whether unwed fathers and non-fathers differed in their attitudes about responsibilities to their children, sexual behavior, and contraception and marriage.

The adolescents comprising their study were forty-four boys who were wards of the California Youth Authority. Of this group twenty-two were known to be unwed fathers. They were matched with twenty-two non-fathers and became the subjects of the study. The ages of the fathers' group ranged from sixteen years to twenty-one years, seven months with a mean age of seventeen years, eleven months. There was an ethnic mix of thirteen white, three Mexican-American, and six Black adolescents. The non-fathers had ages ranging from sixteen years, four months to twenty years, nine months with a mean age of seventeen years, zero months. The ethnic composition of the non-father group was comprised of fourteen white, three Mexican-American, and five Black adolescents.

The unwed fathers were further categorized as having: (a) Thirteen of their families still intact at the time of commitment, with the remaining nine fathers having come from broken homes due to early death, divorce, abandonment, or separation of parents; and (b) membership predominantly in social classes IV and V (lowest) as measured by the Hollingshead Scale. Thus socioeconomically the bulk of this unwed father group (fifteen) were from the lowest socioeconomic strata.

All of the youth were interviewed individually with eighty-six questions being asked over a forty-five minute period, followed by fifteen minutes of discussion. These questions dealt extensively with illegitimacy - for the unwed father with his experiences of fatherhood, and for the non-father with his experiences of fatherhood, and for the non-father with his projection into the future of his anticipated fatherhood.

Robbins and Lynn sought to determine whether the youths themselves were illegitimate, whether any siblings had illegitimate children, and whether any brothers in particular were unmarried fathers.

Robbins and Lynn found that the evidence supported their hypotheses that there is generational recidivism in illegitimacy and that attitudinally there are differences between the fathers and non-fathers concerning illegitimacy. Significantly more unwed fathers than non-fathers were illegitimate, and more siblings of unwed fathers had illegitimate children than did siblings of non-fathers. In terms of attitudinal differences they found that more unwed fathers than non-fathers approved of their own children becoming unwed parents, approved of extramarital sex, and disapproved of the use of contraception. Robbins and Lynn stressed the consequences for illegitimacy if these attitudes were transmitted to offspring.

Robbins and Lynn's further differentiation of their fathers' group by using social class and ethnic information in a demographic manner raises some pertinent points. It appears that they chose not to investigate the factors of socioeconomic status, and ethnic membership as being relevant variables. The assumption appears to be made that by becoming an unwed adolescent father these variables become subsumed and universalized under the experience of unwed adolescent fatherhood.

Robbins (1975) in her doctoral study utilized interviewing as a means of obtaining information concerning attitudes and behavior in regard to sexuality and unwed fatherhood. Robbins interviewed one hundred and ten males from a college population who were divided into four diverse groups: thirty bachelor non-fathers, thirty unwed fathers, thirty wed fathers, and twenty wed-unwed fathers. This last

group consisted of married men who had fathered illegitimate children with women other than their spouses. What Robbins appeared to attempt was to expand upon her earlier study with Lynn (Robbins and Lynn, 1973) and see whether there was a generational recidivism in illegitimacy.

Robbins found that (a) more unwed fathers than non-fathers, wed fathers, or wed-unwed fathers were illegitimate; (b) that siblings of unwed fathers have more illegitimate children themselves than do siblings of bachelor non-fathers, wed fathers, or wed-unwed fathers; and (c) siblings of unwed fathers are illegitimate more than often than are siblings of non-fathers, wed fathers, or wed-unwed fathers.

Attitudinally the doctoral study mirrored in part the earlier study in that both family and interpersonal attitudes towards sexuality and contraception use showed a more tolerant attitude of non-responsibility for the unwed father group than for the other groups in the study. Also the non-father group considered the consequences of their sexual activity (e.g. conception) prior to intercourse and that a significant number of unwed fathers never discussed the possibilities of pregnancy with the woman.

Robbins' data did not support the findings of others (e.g. Perkins and Grayson) that unwed fathers come from unhappy, or female-dominated homes, that illegitimate men see their status as disadvantaged, or that they hold the parents in less esteem because they had sired illegitimate children.

The nature of Robbins' population coming from a college population as it did appears to evidence an emphasis on the middle to

upper middle class strata of American society. Differences may exist attitudinally between these strata and the lower class strata.

Billler and Meredith (1974) in an examination of the paternal role and place in the family postulated the genesis of a new non-traditional unwed father - the "counterculture" unwed father. They posit that this father is often from a higher socioeconomic strata than the typical unwed father, and often chooses to become an unwed father.

Billler and Meredith first present the portrait of the traditional unwed father as being "poor, uneducated, young, or suffering from problems caused by his own parents" (p.310). In contrast they portray the nontraditional unwed father as being more likely to be college educated and to have had a relatively more stable home. The difference between these unwed father groups as postulated by Billler and Meredith is that the nontraditional father sires by choice, not chance.

Unfortunately while presenting a provocative idea which clearly has implications for socioeconomic status as being a distinct variable in unwed fatherhood Billler and Meredith did not provide any systematic study of the traditional versus non-traditional unwed father. The dynamics of the differing realities of their unwed paternity would seem to beg a study, chiefly in terms of psychological approaches to the fact of becoming fathers, possible differences in the nature of the relationship of the unwed parents, and what future goals are generated and realistically realizable given the realities of the illegitimate childbirth.

Lorenzi, Klerman, and Jekel (1977) sought to investigate the relationship between young, unwed mothers and the putative fathers of their children both before and after the birth of their children.

One hundred eighty pregnant school-age girls who registered for care in the Young Mothers Clinic of the Yale-New Haven Hospital between September of 1967 and June 1969 were asked and agreed to participate in the evaluation of the clinic. These pregnant girls were seventeen years of age or younger, unmarried and residents of New Haven, Connecticut. The girls were predominantly Black (169) with six being white, and five being Puerto Rican.

The data obtained came from forms completed by Clinic staff and from postpartum interviews. In addition there were three waves of interviews conducted at the homes of the young mothers by a research associate approximately three, fifteen, and twenty-six months postpartum.

At clinic registration the one hundred and eighty girls included in the study ranged in age from twelve to seventeen with a mean age of fifteen. Information about the putative fathers was not obtained directly, but was taken from the girls. Statistical analysis were not undertaken as the data are presented in an expository manner. Percentages presented are based on the number of responses to specific questions.

The race of the putative fathers of this study was not determined. The age range of the fathers was from fifteen to twenty-five with a mean age of eighteen and a half years. The father was almost always older than the girl, with seven girls claiming to be the same age and one claiming to be older. While a direct reporting

of the results of the interviews is not feasible, certain highlights will be presented so as to gain an understanding of the study's implications.

Lorenzi et al found that there was a clear decrease over time in the number of girls who maintained a steady contact with the father of their children this despite a number of marriages. While this seems to point to a pessimistic outlook in terms of postpartum contact, their data reveal that the relationship between the young mothers and young fathers is not merely a casual one. Lorenzi et al go on to report that by two years postpartum twenty-three percent of the girls had married the putative father, and an additional twenty-three percent were still seeing him on a regular basis.

The high rate of financial assistance, and the frequent visits by the father to see his child were also taken to be evidence of an enduring relationship between the young parents. Lorenzi et al make the recommendation that these meaningful relationships, if identified early enough could be further strengthened by the introduction of help to the couple, rather than just to the young mothers.

That the authors relied upon reported data for their study highlights the difficulties commonly found in gaining access to the unwed adolescent father population. Interestingly and probably more common to the issue of illegitimacy and adolescence, the authors stressed a method of intervention (couples counseling) which their own facility could not provide. Again while recognizing the impact of pregnancy upon the young male, and his impact upon the young mother and child, the difficulty of both planning and providing some workable means of including him in the birth and postpartum decision-making process

remains elusive. Thus the difficulty of operationalizing institutional policy to address the needs of the unwed adolescent father remains in evidence.

Social Casework Approaches

To date the most extensive and systematic study of the unwed father had been undertaken by Reuben Pannor and his associates at the Vista Del Mar Child-Care Service of Los Angeles. In a study of the difficulties and dilemmas besetting the unmarried father spanning some two decades Pannor has taken an active, social casework approach in trying to aid the putative father in coming to grips with the reality of the child he has fathered.

Pannor's early work dealt mainly with presenting case observations and strategies employed by him and his associates in actively dealing with the problems of the unwed father population they encountered.

Rowan and Pannor (1959) attempted to address the issues touching upon the teenage unwed parents and their respective families. They found that just as an unwed mother receives help from a "good mother figure" in the person of a female social worker, so the young teenage father could benefit from interactions with a male social worker. In terms of identification Rowan and Pannor felt that the teenage father was able to more freely discuss the emotionally charged sexual material with a person whom he identifies as being a good father image.

The issue of the teenage father's continued financial dependence upon his parents necessitates their inclusion in any counseling or social work intervention involving their son. For Rowan and Pannor

(much as Lorenzi et al, 1977 found) importance was stressed upon "valuing and accepting the boy's affectional and protective interest in the girl" (p. 19). Often it was found that this interest was in contrast to the more punitive attitudes of the boy's parents toward the girl. It was found that the teenage couple held each other in high esteem, and that conception had not been the result of merely a promiscuous relationship.

In dealing with the problems of reaching out to the older, unmarried father Rowan and Pannor (1961) stressed that the future of the child must of necessity be of paramount importance, but that the needs of the father must likewise be recognized as important as those of the mother. Rowan and Pannor further posit that the licit sexual relationship must be upheld and strengthened as having the greatest potential for fulfilling "the individual's need for intimacy, acceptance, and sexual satisfaction with trust and without inhibition" (p. 24).

Pannor (1963) continued further his exploration of the problems of the teenage unwed father by pointing to the fact that while the majority of these boys had some knowledge of contraception, few used it when having sexual relations. Often the rationale for not using contraception was in citing that the relationship was of a "special" nature, and contraception use would have implied sex for the sake of physical need satisfaction.

Pannor also noted that in some cases the couple had experienced sex on only one, or two occasions before the girl became pregnant, while in other cases the relationship had been over a period of months, and for some for as long as a year. The element of chance

thus appears to enter into the sexual relationships between teenagers, particularly as conception and its prevention are concerned.

The experiences of the putative fathers in seeing their children for the first time sharply brought into awareness the reality of the problems resulting from their sexual behavior. Pannor found that the reality of his paternity (as personified by his infant child) had an enormous impact upon the young father. The result was often one in which the young father would ask for frequent assurances that his child would receive the best possible care. As noted by the male caseworkers working with adolescent unwed fathers, the meaning of his relationship with the girl, marriage, his future aspirations, and the alternatives possible in planning for the baby then took on greater meaning for him. Unsurprisingly Pannor re-echoes the theme that these fathers have more feelings about their illegitimate offspring and the mothers of these children than has heretofore been recognized.

Pannor, thus, in his earlier writings presented the social case-work findings clinically obtained by interactions with the unwed father, mother, and their respective families. From these earlier clinical observations and the resultant theoretical formulations Pannor next turned to a systematic investigation of unwed fatherhood.

Pannor, Massarik, and Evans first under the auspices of the National Council on Illegitimacy (1968) and later in a separate publication (Pannor, Massarik, and Evans, 1971) reported on their more systematic study of the unwed father. Their study had an overall four part goal: (1) to develop a plan to reach out to unmarried fathers and engage them in a relationship with the social workers; (2) to ascertain the characteristics of the unmarried fathers as a group; (3)

to ascertain the effects of involving unmarried fathers in a casework relationship; and (4) to develop methods for obtaining data in a systematic manner.

There were ninety-four (94) unmarried fathers studied by utilizing the California Personality Inventory (CPI) as the major personality assessment tool, as well as intensive interviewing by the social workers, and analyses of a Standardized Case Recording Form, a tool used to evaluate the benefits in casework services to clients. The study population was comprised of predominantly white, middle class unwed fathers.

In looking at the date of the study Pannor et al found that on the CPI the unmarried fathers scored below the norm on scales measuring sense of well-being, social maturity, and responsibility. They reasoned that the low score for responsibility suggested immaturity, and undercontrolled, rigid behavior. Pannor et al stressed the point that "Since sexual identity develops during the maturational process, lack of sexual identity can flow from poor parental relationships, and may be reflected in overt sexual behavior as an attempt at solution" (p. 118).

Pannor states that in eighty-five percent of the cases it appeared that the sexual experience of the unmarried father represented an effort to prove masculinity, and that in their study fifty percent of the unmarried fathers lived in homes where their fathers were absent or deceased. Pannor et al speak of the need to prove masculinity with the illegitimate child becoming a talisman of both virility and self-worth - a living embodiment for the unmarried father of his sense of self as determined by his potent masculinity. Male

caseworkers in the study concluded that the lack of masculine identity, and the concomitant need to prove this identity were frequently contributing factors towards out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

Pannor, Massarik, and Evans' use of clinical observation, case-work, and systematic measurement becomes the first large scale attempt made to apply research techniques to the heretofore clinically studied area of unwed fatherhood.

Pannor (1970) added to the theme of questionable masculinity as being one of the factors in unmarried fatherhood by pointing out how many of the unwed fathers with whom he had been in contact had been products of either female dominated homes, or homes in which the father was absent. The issue of a lack of a salient role model for the adolescent boy again surfaces with its implications for the sexually-active seeking out of a masculinity identity on the part of the young male to prove his masculinity and subsequently solidify his overall sense of identity. Pannor found that if the father was present he often failed to assume his role as head of the family. Pannor further pointed out how the relationship between the unwed mother and unwed father often deteriorated when sexual relations began, leading to a host of feelings of depression, guilt, and fear.

In addressing the particular problems encountered by the teenage unmarried father Pannor (1971) stressed that the prevention of out-of-wedlock pregnancies can be further encouraged by encouraging the improvement, and strengthening of family life - particularly concerning the respect and understanding of the role of the father within the family.

Pannor reflects the salience of Perkins and Grayson's (1968) point as to the importance of the teen father's own father and how the dynamics of identification with the paternal role model play a significant part in the identity and development of both the teenage father and non-father.

Pannor and Evans (1975) finally address the issue of the parents of teenage unwed fathers and mothers, and how their own perceptions of their children's dilemma often work against arriving at a realistic solution to the problem of out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

Pannor thus attempted to address the issue of unwed fatherhood both interpersonally in the unwed father's relationships with the unwed mother, her parents, his parents, and intrapsychically in terms of the unwed father's own identity.

Pannor's study group and the population he clinically serviced appeared to be of the white, middle class stratum of society. When the focus of the present study shifts to the Puerto Rican population issues of poverty and disrupted families will take on a greater import than found to be the case with Pannor's California group.

Wessel (1968) in a sensitive and insightful study looked at socioeconomic and ethnic factors which impinged upon adolescent parenthood, and drew conclusions especially germane to the present study.

Wessel found that when the out-of-wedlock birth was further complicated by socioeconomic and racial issues the process of finding realistic solutions became exacerbated. He found that many of the unwed adolescent parents came from poverty families in which there was a dearth of love and kindness resulting in their inability to postpone

immediate sexual gratification. This appears to be in accordance with LaBarre's (1969) finding over the "habit of deferment" being a middle class ethic. Wessel found that youths from the poverty group were often without the same access to contraceptive information available to middle class youth. Like Pannor, Wessel found in his contacts with adolescent parents, and expectant parents that when the adolescent unwed father is freed from punitive, legalistic pressures he frequently has many concerns for the mother and child, and seeks to have an active role in the planning of the baby's future.

More significantly for this study Wessel found that the issue of socioeconomic and racial status weigh heavily in terms of how the focus shifted from providing help to the unwed father in understanding and dealing with the responsibilities of his parenthood, to a focus on how the young father could be forced to bear a substantial portion of the financial responsibility for the care of the mother and child.

Wessel thus raised the issue of membership in a non-white poor subcultural group, and posits how this membership adversely adds its impact upon the dynamics of adolescent unwed fatherhood.

Thus from the early Psychoanalytically oriented investigations of single case presentations through the active, intervention-oriented social casework approaches, this review has proceeded to detail how the unwed father has been viewed. Attention will now be turned to see how ethnocultural factors within the studied population - the Puerto Rican - will influence the dynamics of adolescent unwed fatherhood.

II The Puerto Rican Culture

Demographics

Central within the culture of the Puerto Rican is the family. Many of the customs, history, and interactions of Puerto Rican life revolve around the workings of the Puerto Rican family. Traditionally subsumed within the Puerto Rican family, as in most Hispanic cultures, is the position of the father as the head of the family. While in many cases the reality of this position may be different, in the Puerto Rican culture the ideal family has as its head the authoritarian father. This will have a significant bearing on this section of the study dealing with Puerto Rican family dynamics.

Before looking at the dynamics of the Puerto Rican family and seeing how ethnocultural factors exert their influence on adolescent unwed fatherhood, a brief investigation of demographics will provide insight into the broader social context within which this Hispanic group functions. The data utilized will be limited to the Puerto Rican population living on the United States mainland. In discussing the Puerto Rican careful consideration must be given to the continuing influence exerted upon the mainland Puerto Rican group by the indigenous island population.

In a comparison of persons of Spanish origin in the United States the population totals of the Puerto Rican group range from 1.6 to 1.7 million. Significantly of all Hispanic groups in the United States (Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and the remaining Hispanic groups) the Puerto Rican group has the lowest median income (\$7,629.00) as well as the highest percentage of membership living below the low-income level (32.6%) (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1975).

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1976) in one of the most comprehensive investigations of the U.S. Puerto Rican to date posited some facts that bear heavily on the theme of this present investigation. The commission found that the typical Puerto Rican adult on the mainland was born in Puerto Rico, but that the bulk of the U.S. Puerto Rican population was of preschool and elementary school age. What this means for the present study is that the Puerto Rican adult/parent was probably born and reared into the family dynamics of the island culture, and is most probably attempting to raise his U.S. born offspring within the same familial-cultural pattern. An examination of the island patterns of familial interaction will prove vital to an understanding of the current familial dynamics into which the Puerto Rican child is born and acculturated.

The Commission, citing an earlier population study (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1972), also found that thirty percent of all Puerto Rican families in the United States were headed by a woman, and that this figure soared to sixty percent among Puerto Rican families living in poverty. The impact of father absence or lack of a salient male role model upon the dynamics of unwed adolescent fatherhood has already been cited (Perkins and Grayson, 1968; and Pannor, 1970). The particular character of father-son interactions will be developed in a later section.

In continuing with the demographic profile of the Puerto Rican population the focus shifts to the Puerto Rican youth. In again looking at the U.S. Bureau of the Census data (1975) it is found that some 26.9% of the entire Puerto Rican mainland population is between the ages of ten and twenty. This compares with 25.8% of the entire popu-

lation of Hispanics in the United States. In translating these percentages to round figures some 450,000 Puerto Ricans in the United States can be subsumed under the youth category.

In New York City where the largest assemblage of Puerto Ricans reside outside of the island the figures for unwed adolescent pregnancy within this group becomes more precise. While illegitimacy data were presented earlier comparing island and New York City patterns of out-of-wedlock births only city patterns will be used here.

The New York City Department of Health (1970-1977) as earlier cited in Chapter One tabulates the total live and out-of-wedlock births by age of mother and ethnicity for the entire city. These figures are broken down ethnically into White, Non-white, and Puerto Rican categories, and by age ranging from Under-15 to 45+ years. The particular focus of study will be upon the births to Puerto Rican adolescent mothers ranging in ages from Under-15 to nineteen years. A limitation of the use of these figures must first be presented.

The incidence or number of new cases of adolescent childbirth cannot be determined from this data. These data are not capable of distinguishing between adolescent mothers giving birth (whether in or out-of-wedlock for the first time), or mothers who are giving birth for the second or subsequent times. However, they do provide information concerning the prevalence of adolescent out-of-wedlock births to the Puerto Rican group on an annual basis for the years 1970-1977. Therefore the period prevalence rate of Puerto Rican adolescent out-of-wedlock birth can be determined.

As was found for the overall New York City adolescent birth rate, the overall adolescent birth rate for Puerto Ricans has also declined.

Similarly following these same patterns, while fewer Puerto Rican adolescents were giving birth, a greater percentage of these births were out-of-wedlock.

What the figures show is that the percentage of out-of-wedlock adolescent births to the Puerto Rican group peaked at 55% in 1970, and after dropping significantly to 44% in 1971, the percentage of Puerto Rican out-of-wedlock births rose steadily from 44% in 1971 to 69% in 1977. Numerically the out-of-wedlock rates for the Puerto Rican adolescent girl when from a high of 1,641 births in 1970 to a low of 1,282 births in 1977.

Again while information on repeat out-of-wedlock births is not available, the demographic information provided must be analyzed in its own right. As with the Guttmacher Study (1976) the question arises as to the demographic characteristics of the adolescent fathers. What percentage of these Puerto Rican adolescent mothers were impregnated by Puerto Rican adolescent fathers? Were these first time or experienced fathers? Are there cultural factors involved in Puerto Rican unwed adolescent parenthood? The study turns to an investigation of the influences of the Puerto Rican culture.

Island Influences

The phenomenon of migration and return migration between the island of Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland keeps alive the cultural influences that the island has upon the Puerto Rican on the mainland. Puerto Ricans represent a non-classical, non-traditional migratory group due to the free movement between the mainland, USA and the island of Puerto Rico itself. Unlike other migrating ethnic/cultural

groups the reality of American citizenship for the Puerto Rican has lifted the barriers which normally limit and force the acculturation of the migrating groups to the American culture. For the Puerto Rican the easy movement back and forth to the island maintains strong ties and a strong bonding to the island culture. Therefore an examination is first undertaken as to these cultural influences, particularly as they influence familial growth and development.

Wolf (1952) undertook an early investigation into the family dynamics of three different Puerto Rican groups she found to predominate on the island: the small rural farmers, the sugar workers, and the middle class. In undertaking this intraethnic investigation Wolf clearly posited the heterogeneity of her findings and the specificity of familial dynamics within each of these three subgroups. While her study is an early one, stress must be placed upon the likelihood that many of the parents of the Puerto Rican adolescent unwed fathers were themselves socialized and acculturated into the subsystems Wolf investigated.

In her poorest subgroup, the rural farmers, Wolf found that often the mother would unconsciously manipulate her son, recruiting him in her attempts at acting out her unconscious resentment and dissatisfaction with her married life. Wolf found that the mother's help enabled her son to develop ideas of "omnipotence" which later could generate aggression towards various outgroups, but, in reality, represented the mother's manipulative efforts at revenge against the father. Wolf's positing of a collusion between mother and son seems to echo the findings of Futterman and Livermore (1947) whereby the development of the putative father was aided by overpermissive attachments to the mother

with the direction of aggression against the father. This aggressive rejection of the father most likely results in his devaluation and in his ultimate rejection as an appropriate identification model.

Thus in this particular subgroup the efforts of the mother appear to be directed towards obtaining some vicarious satisfaction through the activities of her son. Tangentially, the maternal modelling being perceived by the young daughter is not to be discounted. Speculation arises as to whether present Puerto Rican mothers reared in these subgroups familial systems might not also be utilizing this as a means of obtaining some satisfaction in an otherwise bleak family system.

In the society of sugar workers Wolf found a pattern in which households frequently had a succession of different father figures, with the subsequent relations between siblings being those derived through the mother. Wolf postulated that since the family tie of the father was thus weakened his position as a castrating, authoritarian figure was lessened. Dynamically, what this meant for the young boy was that his need to repress hostility against the father was lessened, in turn lessening his need to internalize that for which the father stood.

Wolf likewise found that the boy's sexuality was emphasized with subsequent manipulation of, and praise for his penis. Developmentally, this occurred up until the age of five, and well into the child's Oedipal development. What this also served to do was to develop within the boy a sense of his preferredness, and the power he comes to possess due to his penis. This power later becomes acted out in the young Puerto Rican male's need to demonstrate his sexual prowess.

Wolf finally examined the Puerto Rican middle class, and here as in all of the three strata the father is nominally the head of the family. But here also the relationship of the father to his son is distinctive, because while the father can readily demonstrate his affection to his daughters, he is expected to be more guarded and reserved towards his son. This reservation on the part of the father is undertaken to provide a proper masculine example. The paternal role-modelling it also provided should be noted.

What Wolf found in this middle class stratum was again the maternal patterning of supporting the son's unconscious wishes to supplant the father. Notably in those instances where marital relations were poor his maternal support was often heightened. Significantly the mother often bathed the boy well after he was past the age of being able to do so for himself, and would remain in bed with him until he fell asleep. This custom was found to last well into puberty.

Thus the mother frequently appeared to stimulate and excite her son, as well as recruit him in her efforts to replace the father. What Wolf found is that the adolescent boy began to associate sexuality with a different type of woman than that of his mother. The split between sexuality and love is essentially the one Futteman and Livermore found in their investigation of the adolescent development of the putative father. That Wolf found it in these segments of the Puerto Rican population could betoken a more tolerant cultural predisposition, and possible cultural sanctioning of the adolescent paternal role.

While Wolf's study provides important cultural clues to segments of the Puerto Rican island population her view of the familial dynam-

ics was clearly a psychoanalytically oriented one. Her investigation and interpretations of the cultural behavior she viewed has their roots in the evolution and resolution dilemmas of the universal Oedipal complex. However, other interpretations of the familial behavior are possible. One alternative interpretation could have been that economic pressures encountered by the rural farmers and sugar workers due to their marginal subsistence could have had effects on the family unit not measured by Wolf. For example the fathers of these two lower strata could have felt that the threatening effects of poverty and subsistence existence were undermining their sense of worth as being capable providers for their families. Therefore faced with the lack of control over their economic destiny they focused their efforts on the family to provide both status and psychological self-worth. One offshoot is that the wife and children might not have been focusing as posited psychoanalytically on the Oedipal difficulties; but upon the perceived loss of status of the father and the effects of this loss on clearly defined roles within the family system. Wolf needed to integrate more fully the effects of other factors in her study.

Wolf's study and the island studies that follow are ones that have been cited continually in the psychological literature as being germane to the Puerto Rican family. Their continued designation as being relevant studies despite some thirty years' time points to the problems and shortcomings in finding articles and studies relevant to the present Puerto Rican family. The lack of current cultural research either from a clinical, intuitive, or research perspective points to the need for more studies updating whether in fact the

cultural patterns of the Puerto Rican family continue to develop in the same way.

Fernandez-Mendez (1970) in taking an anthropological look at the Puerto Rican working class family found that the majority of the island's families came from this substratum. He posited that since the societal realities presented to the Puerto Rican male often denied him the prestige acquiring avenues of economic status, political status, and cultural status, that the only avenue left him became the affirmation of self-worth through virility. Wolf appears not to have noted these relevant interpersonal dynamics.

In a comparison of Mexican and Puerto Rican family values Fernandez-Marina, Maldonado-Sierra, and Trent (1958) sought to investigate family affectional patterns, family authority patterns, and the differential evaluation of the status of the sexes in a select group of upwardly mobile Puerto Rican adolescents. This was an attempt to explore what differences existed between the family values of Puerto Ricans, and those of other Latin Americans, and the beliefs of Fernandez-Marina et al that these patterns would resemble more closely the patterns found in Latin American countries than those found in the United States.

The subjects of the study were Puerto Rican teenage freshmen (ages 16-19) selected from lecture courses given at the University of Puerto Rico. Two hundred forty females and two hundred fifty-four males completed the survey. All subjects were unmarried. The majority of these subjects' families were either home owners or were in the process of purchasing their own homes.

The instrument used to survey family values was an adaptation of a questionnaire developed by Diaz-Guerrero to investigate Mexican patterns of family values. The questionnaire itself consisted of one hundred twenty-three (123) items consisting of declarative sentences to which the respondent answered Yes or No.

The results were analyzed using percentage information. The study found that there were some areas of congruence with Wolf's earlier study. The findings were: (1) that the Puerto Rican mother was held in higher affectional esteem than was the father; (2) that the Puerto Rican still maintained the concept of male superiority and male dominance within the family - much as in other Latin American countries; (3) that in Puerto Rico greater status was accorded the male child than the female; (4) that the fundamental propositions underlying the middle class Puerto Rican family (in 1958) tended to be more similar to the Mexican rather than the mainland American; (5) that the clash between American and Latin American family values has engendered a shift in the Puerto Rican family more towards an Americanization of beliefs; and (6) that the poor definition of the male's authority and the increasing importance of the woman's role in Puerto Rico had led to a conscious questioning of the unique authority of the male.

Fernandez-Marina et al recognized the limitations of the study as being due to their reliance on questionnaire approaches for data collection, and their attempts at cross-culturally comparing the results of their study on Puerto Rican middle class adolescent college freshmen with the results obtained from a group of Mexicans of whom relatively little was known.

What is especially germane to the present study was the finding that the Americanization of beliefs was contributing towards the "undermining of the father's traditional authority in the family" (p.178). This undermining and the ensuing vacuum left by the devaluation of the Puerto Rican father will be explored later in greater detail. In particular an analysis will be made of its impact upon the mainland Puerto Rican adolescent.

In a further elaboration of their findings Maldonado-Sierra, Trent, and Fernandez-Marina (1960) sought to experimentally test the hypothesis that Puerto Ricans who expressed greater acceptance of traditional Latin American family beliefs tended to express greater demonstrable psychopathology than those who were less accepting of these beliefs. The definition of traditional Latin American family belief utilized by Maldonado-Sierra et al^o was the unquestioned and absolute obedience to the father, the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of the mother to her husband's and children's needs, the assumption of the biological and natural superiority of the male within the culture, the expectation of superlative femininity, and the double standard of sexual morality.

The overall design of the study was (a) the selecting and securing of family background materials from, and the matching of, a sample of experimental and control subjects; (b) the use of an adjective checklist as a method for screening controls and for confirming the existence of testable differences in personal descriptions between experimentals and controls; (c) the testing, by questionnaire, of all subjects' expressed acceptance of thirty-two statements directly relevant to traditional Latin American family beliefs; and (d) the

statistical evaluation of differences in mean scores for expressed acceptance of family beliefs between the experimental and the controls.

The experimental subjects of the study were sixteen Puerto Rican undergraduate students who had gone to psychiatrists seeking help. All sixteen (as judged by the psychiatrists) were suffering from various neurotic complaints and disorders. Each of the sixteen were matched with two other University students who were determined to be healthier. Seven hundred and fifty students were screened to serve as controls, and from this group thirty-two were selected. Subjects were matched on religion, social status of subjects' families, sex, age, social mobility, and other factors which may have tended to influence the subjects' family beliefs. The adjective checklist was used as the principal determinant as to whether the control subjects were psychologically healthier than the experimental group. The selection of favorable versus unfavorable adjectives in a self-descriptive manner became the chief means of differentiation, with those subjects who chose more positive adjectives being considered healthier.

A t-test analysis was used to measure the significance of mean differences between the small groups used. What Maldonado-Sierra et al found was that conversely to their hypothesis non-neurotic control subjects were significantly more accepting of traditional Latin American family beliefs than were their neurotic counterparts. What they postulated from this experimental study was that those members of the Puerto Rican population who were moving away too rapidly from the traditional family values of the Puerto Rican culture were encountering more interpersonal problems than those holding onto the values, or

moving away at a slower pace. What they also found in this study was a process whereby the weakening of traditional family values engendered an increasing sense of anxiety within the Puerto Rican male as his traditional masculine role became blurred, and the role of the Puerto Rican woman began to take on more previously defined masculine values.

The limitations of the study were themselves posited by Maldonado-Sierra et al, namely the generalization of findings from the study to the population at large due to such variables as age, income, and college membership versus non-membership. What the study does posit, however, is a trend in cultural change which may have greater significance than has been heretofore realized. The admixture of traditionally held Puerto Rican family values with American cultural expectations seems to speak directly to the study presently being undertaken. If on the island itself this admixture was seen to be a possible contributing factor to psychic stress and poorer functioning, what is its significance when the admixture of cultures is occurring on the mainland, away from the cultural support systems found on the island? The genesis of a new, adapted culture, partly Puerto Rican - partly American, is posited as evolving from this process. This will be developed in the next section.

In attempting to use their findings in an active therapeutic manner Maldonado-Sierra, Trent, Fernandez-Marina, Flores-Gallardo, Vigoreaux-Rivera, and de Colon (1960) utilized an intervention paradigm for schizophrenic Puerto Rican patients based on culturally typical Puerto Rican family dynamics. By attempting to treat these patients within the context of the Puerto Rican family network Maldo-

nado-Sierra et al stressed two concepts especially endemic for the Puerto Rican male: machismo and hombría.

What Maldonado-Sierra et al emphasized was that the sexual connotations of machismo motivated the Puerto Rican male to demonstrate his sexual prowess with women. On a deeper, unconscious level it was posited that machismo served as a means of severely repressing any latent manifestations of homosexuality. Thus for the male the outward demonstrations of machismo become a means of attesting to virility in order to preclude any inner signs of homosexual interest. This intrapsychic explanation of the cultural phenomenon of machismo compares closely to the findings of Reider (1948) in which the need to prove virility was found to be one of the strongest derivatives of the unmarried father's unresolved Oedipal conflict.

Hombría entails the cultural expectations of nobility, courage, and authority. Respeto is still another concept of importance to the Puerto Rican family. This concept of love, honor, and fear of parents becomes manifested throughout the lives of both children and parents - inculcating a lifelong devotion to parental needs.

What Maldonado-Sierra et al utilized was the establishing of a family-centered paradigm of therapy which wedded the knowledge of culturally established familial roles with an active attempt at utilizing these roles within a group therapy paradigm.

The results of this pilot intervention which Maldonado-Sierra et al undertook showed that when an assessment was undertaken significant gains were made by the patients as shown by psychiatric, psychological, and social history evidence.

While the cultural pattern within the Puerto Rican population seems to lend itself again to the development of unmarried fatherhood, the earlier findings of Maldonado-Sierra et al (1960) would seem to dispute this. Psychoanalytically it was posited that the Puerto Rican male's need to demonstrate his virility was both a need to severely repress latent, homosexual ideation, and a need to come to grips with possibly unresolved Oedipal issues in his development. Thus the male's macho behavior, psychoanalytically, takes the form of a psychic deficit found to be prevalent in a sizable proportion of the population. However, what the Maldonado-Sierra study posited was that culturally the maintenance or gradual loosening of traditional Latin American family beliefs was the pattern to be found in the healthy non-neurotic Puerto Rican. Included in these beliefs were both the double standard of sexual morality, and the biological and natural superiority of the male within the culture - aspects of machismo. This manner of describing a behavior one way theoretically and another experimentally points to the difficulties of describing ethnocultural phenomena within the constraints of any one theory.

Having presented some background on the influences of ethnocultural factors within the Puerto Rican family systems found in Puerto Rico, the focus shifts to the Puerto Rican family in the United States.

Mainland Influences

Berle (1975, pp. 80-91) in a reprinted edition of her 1958 study of Puerto Ricans living in a Manhattan slum, found that the Puerto Rican families she studied had evolved into a four-fold pattern of

family structure not unlike that found by Billingsley in his study of Black Families in America (1968).

The first family pattern was that of the nuclear family in which a husband and wife lived by themselves or lived with the children of their own union. This is the prototypical family which is ostensibly found to predominate, and be the model for adaptive family functioning in America. What Berle found within this nuclear family was that sometimes a debilitating illness suffered by the father necessitated that the mother assume the provider role in the family. When this occurred the results were often a loss of self-respect suffered by the father culminating in severe threats to family integrity. Often the family chose to go on welfare rather than accept this disruption of traditional familial roles.

The second family pattern was that of the stable couple with their own child/children and also a child/children from a previous union. Berle found this family to differ little from the nuclear family.

The third family pattern was one in which a woman with a child lived without a stable male partner. Here the mother assumed the chief responsibility for the caretaking of her children, although the father(s) of the children were expected to contribute to their support and had visiting privileges. This lack of a consistent male role model seems to parallel Wolf's findings (1952) for her sugar worker population on the island of Puerto Rico, and offers one insight into the continuing patterns of island life transposed to the mainland.

The fourth family pattern was that of the extended family. Here there were great loyalty patterns to this family structure with

members often refusing to relocate away from the slum community to better housing even if they possessed the money to do so. Berle felt that the extended family often provided a good system of care for its sick members, and that extended family dynamics should be studied as to its patterns of illness and the behavior of its members. Thus for Berle the extended family system with its loyalty to its members was seen as a positive force in the Puerto Rican family's struggles to adapt to life in the New York City slum environment.

Padilla (1958) in her study of "Eastville" a New York City slum in which resided many Puerto Rican families, found that traditional familial patterns within this particular Puerto Rican population had undergone adaptations consistent with the environmental realities of slum existence.

Padilla noted that the emphasis upon the family as the center of adult obligation was indoctrinated into the child from early childhood while individual interests were often devalued. Speculation can be made as to whether this "family indoctrination" became a survival mechanism for the Puerto Rican family unit in the face of harsh slum existence.

Padilla likewise found distinct patterns of courting and orientation to sexuality and marriage. For the Puerto Rican female there was often pressure placed upon her to marry legally. However, with the premarital loss of virginity the establishment of a consensual union was deemed sufficient enough to establish an independent household. For the male there was no social pressure brought upon him to marry, except that brought on by the woman and her parents.

Those marriages that occurred early (in the teens) were often forced marriages brought about by unwed adolescent pregnancies. As Edlin (1954) pointed out the durability of such a union was dubious. Padilla found that the young Puerto Rican male despite facing the possibilities of a forced marriage was often pressured and encouraged to have girl friends from his mid teens onward as proof of his manliness. Thus we see transposed from the island of Puerto Rico to New York the cultural sanctioning of demonstrations of virility, and the cultural ramifications of forced marriage upon unwed adolescent parents.

Padilla also found that the Puerto Rican father was always expected to exercise authority over his children - even if no longer residing with them or if his contacts with them were at best minimal.

What Padilla and Berle found in their studies was an adaptation of life in the urban ghetto environment that was undertaken culturally by the Puerto Rican family. A recognition seemed to be made of the environmental detriments that were confronting Puerto Rican families living in the slum. However, the chief limitation of these studies as being indicative of "typical Puerto Rican family structures" in New York is that they all focus predominantly upon the poor slum family without attempting comparisons with middle class or upper class Puerto Rican families. While the large majority of the Puerto Rican mainland population does live in poverty, the variable of socioeconomics must further be delineated and studied.

Minuchin, Montalvo, Guerney, Rosman, and Schumer (1967) in their study of families in the slums found that in a comparison of unstable Negro and Puerto Rican families that the role of the father was more

defined, his absence was felt more, and the mother's relatedness to him, and incompleteness without him were all greater in Puerto Rican than in Negro families. They found that all of these characteristics of family interactional patterns were transmitted more to the Puerto Rican child than to the Negro child.

In addition Minuchin et al found that where the father proved to be an inadequate role model the Puerto Rican child could more readily turn to other male models within the extended family. Minuchin et al posited patterns whereby the Puerto Rican male engaged in "adolescent-type" activities directed at his wife and women in general in an attempt to bolster his self-image. They maintained that the relationship between husband and wife was one in which the husband simultaneously became a "son-husband" demonstrating both his demanding and dependent natures toward his wife.

Leavitt (1974), found that within the Puerto Rican family the husband often functioned as a "paterfamilias" while his wife's role was often relegated to being little more than chattel property. Leavitt postulated that this disparity in status between spouses was often due to the sexual ideals of virginity for women and machismo for men. This led to the evolution of a rigid barrier between the sexes which did not permit communication in many vital areas. Leavitt postulated (as did Minuchin et al) that the Puerto Rican husband expected his wife to be a "mother substitute" due to his retaining infantile dependence upon women.

The findings of Preble (1968) bear on the above studies principally with regard to status and its lack for the Puerto Rican male. As Fernandez-Mendez (1970) had posited the closing of status acquiring

avenues often resulted in the Puerto Rican male's drive to seek adult prestige via his sexuality.

Both Leavitt and Minuchin et al seem to ignore the traditional family beliefs system held as the ideal within the Puerto Rican culture. Interestingly Minuchin et al see as a phenomenon of the Puerto Rican family in the slum the turning to other male models within the extended family which would seem to be another aspect of positive extended family dynamics for the Puerto Rican. That both Berle and Minuchin et al found it in their studies of slum families could betoken a key positive adaptational mechanism for family survival, the collective strength of the extended Puerto Rican family.

Preble (1968) found that for the New York Puerto Rican family the most significant result of the social, cultural, and economic conditions it faced was the downgrading of the Puerto Rican male.

Preble found that the father's inability to find work when coupled with the wife's ability to do so often resulted in a marital role reversal. What this role reversal meant was that the male could not perform the culturally expected duties and functions of a Puerto Rican father. As noted first by Berle (1958), the male, now forced into a passive, heretofore solely feminine role of a child caretaker, becomes unable to cope with his loss of status as head of his family. This cultural loss of his *hombria* and *dignidad* often resulted in a pattern of family disruption with the father leaving the family.

Preble further posited that although an initial sense of relief and freedom might be felt by the family, the collapse of male authority created a vacuum that the mother became incapable of filling. Preble noted that the Puerto Rican adolescent male suffered the most

due to his loss of a model for his male respect and identity. More significantly for this study, as the mother became the dominant figure within the family, the boy received encouragement to identify with his mother, thereby hindering a more appropriate masculine identity formation.

Thus the work realities encountered by Puerto Rican fathers and the subsequent influences of these socioeconomic factors upon family disruption become important variables for further study. Here again the cultural variable of role expectations within the Puerto Rican family is confronting a social reality over which it has little control. The resultant attack upon culturally prescribed patterns of behavior and expectations again has its greatest damage upon the Puerto Rican family unit.

The findings of Preble again are closely tied into the socioeconomic issue but do lend some support to the present investigation. As Preble posited the Puerto Rican adolescent male in New York faces the disruption of his family, the flight of his father, and the possible identification with his mother. This could in turn lead him into a state of identity confusion over the issue of male versus female identification and result in his being propelled into more active sexual activity so as to prove his maleness. Culturally this active sexuality is sanctioned behavior within the traditional family beliefs governing male role behavior in the Puerto Rican culture.

Rendon (1974) found that the clash between traditional Puerto Rican values concerning sexuality, and more liberal American values contributed to the confusion and sense of dissociation experienced by

the Puerto Rican adolescent in attempting to deal with the issue of sexuality.

Thus what the New York Puerto Rican adolescent male encounters is a confusion between culturally expected behavior, a differing American value system, the lack of an adequate male role model, and the possibility of identifying with his mother. All of these factors are subsumed under masculinity, sexuality, and identification.

Araoz (1969), and Hoffman and Fishman (1971) attempted more systematic investigations into aspects of mainland Puerto Rican family structure.

Araoz attempted to compare four areas of study between New York City Puerto Rican fathers and island Puerto Rican fathers of lower socioeconomic class. These were thirty fathers in New York, and thirty in Arecibo, Puerto Rico. Twelve questions were utilized for the main research tool of the study. These questions were presented as an open-ended, semi-focused interview. The four study areas were: (a) perception of father role demands; (b) fulfillment of that role; (c) default in this fulfillment; and (d) reasons for that default. These interviews were conducted in Spanish.

From the statistical analysis of the study, utilizing Chi Square, it was found that there were no grounds to say that New York Puerto Rican fathers felt more unhappy, more confused, or more inadequate in their father role than the island group. However, Araoz found that there were grounds to believe that those in New York were more aware of differences between their original and their present socio-cultural environment than those in Puerto Rico. Thus this final finding supports the present study in asserting that ethnocultural differences

are having more of an effect on the adaptation of the New York based Puerto Rican family to the American cultural mainstream.

Hoffman and Fishman (1971) sought to clarify those behaviors denoting Puerto Rican and American values held by male members of a Puerto Rican, New York City metropolitan community.

The topics covered were: hopes and aspirations, social contacts, language usage and attitudes, attitudes toward Americans and Puerto Ricans, concept of self as Puerto Rican and American, ethnic behaviors, and attitudes toward children's behaviors. The obtained data consisted of self-reported behaviors, attitudes, and opinions of thirty-two male respondents about their daily lives, their children's daily lives, and their aspirations for themselves and their children.

The respondents lived in a poor neighborhood, and were considered to be a cross section of the neighborhood in terms of education, occupation, and age. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, and content analysis coding was employed. Three separate processing operations were employed: cross tabulations - indicating the number of persons answering each option of every item in relation to respondent attitude towards child's language usage at home; varimax orthogonal factor analysis - yielding a seven factor solution; and a Q analysis on all individual response profiles yielding a three group solution.

What Hoffman and Fishman found were that aspects of both American and Puerto Rican cultures were preferred by this example due to the active involvement in both cultures by Puerto Ricans in and around New York. What was more significant was that the men of the sample reported that their children appeared to be engaging the American

culture in a significantly more interactive manner, providing a living link between the two cultures.

The respondents likewise felt that while assimilation was ongoing, they had no fears that their children would lose their Puerto Rican identity because most of the sample likewise spontaneously voiced their sense of responsibility towards the maintenance of the Spanish language in the home, and stressed the importance of family responsibility. The men of the study felt that as long as the family remained intact and they, as fathers, maintained authority within their families, they were willing to accept the values of the American culture.

Colon-Edgar (1969) and Mizio (1974) both echo Preble's and Berle's findings that the New York Puerto Rican family has been disrupted by the pressures of economic survival and subsequent male-female role reversal.

Mizio makes the point that the breakdown of the expected paternal machismo, while on the surface seemingly related solely to male chauvinism, leaves the father without any measure of control over his destiny. While both Colon-Edgar and Mizio attest to the significance of poverty and its adverse effects upon the Puerto Rican family, Mizio further stresses how Puerto Rican children view the undermining of their family structure. Seeing this family disruption, and having little probable contact with more successful Puerto Rican family models these children begin to internalize contempt for their parents, for Puerto Ricans, and for themselves. Thus the evolution of a negative self-identity within a cultural web of powerlessness again evolves due to the exigencies of adapting to the realities of poverty.

Montijo (1975) briefly traced the course of Puerto Rican immigration from rural Puerto Rico to the urbanized American mainland centers like New York, and the splitting of Puerto Ricans into two diverse groups. One group was a middle class one with its adoption of a more nuclear family structure differing little from the model American family structure. The second was a poorer class who were at a loss because the older island patterns of familial and cultural living could not be directly adopted. What Montijo found was that often the Puerto Rican ghetto father attempted to exercise the same patterns of traditional authority which his own father exercised, but with the differing results that his children would not respond as he did, with respect for parental authority.

Instead the ghetto Puerto Rican child ridicules and disobeys his father based upon the child's awareness of the father's low social status, and his perception of his father as lacking in authority. What Montijo presents is the utilization of the "cool cat or hustler" as the idealized role model for the Puerto Rican adolescent to follow. For the Puerto Rican adolescent the loyalty ties to the peer group become stronger than the ties to the parent. In many respects this appears to be synonymous with Price's finding (1971) concerning the difficulty the adolescent unwed father had in giving up his ties and reliances upon his peers.

Interestingly while Montijo posited the splitting of the migration into two groups, and outlined the difficulties encountered by the poorer group, he did not comment on the adaptations of the middle class Puerto Rican group to the mainland. This lack of knowledge concerning the realities encountered by the Puerto Rican middle

class could in itself have led to further avenues of research on familial adaptation and functioning. Again, as in the majority of these studies, reliance for information is upon the lower class Puerto Rican family structure.

Torres-Matrullo (1976) and Murillo-Rohde (1976) both speak of the acculturation difficulties faced by the Puerto Rican family on the American mainland in terms of parental role reversal due to economic need, the downgrading of the Puerto Rican male on the mainland, and the often resultant evolution of one-parent, mother only homes.

For Torres-Matrullo an additional exacerbating issue faced by the Puerto Rican family is that of intergenerational conflict due to the learning of English by the Puerto Rican child with a subsequent acquisition of values and attitudes which are different from those of their parents. What follows is the evolution of anxiety within the parents due to their loss of control over their children. This appears to differ from Hoffman and Fishman's (1971) findings concerning acceptance of American acculturation, but significantly, Hoffman and Fishman's respondents voiced the maintenance of the Spanish language as being an important element in the biculturation process.

Murillo-Rohde added that the traditional sexual double standard for men and women becomes less tolerated by those youth born or reared on the mainland. What evolves is a process of "open fighting or rebellion" against the parents' attempts to enforce these traditional standards.

As presented in Chapter One Rosenberg and Bensman (1973) compared sexuality in the lower class systems found in three ethnic groups, one of whom was the New York Puerto Rican. They reported that the Puerto

Rican male youth often accepted the responsibility of having fathered an illegitimate child by allowing himself to wed his pregnant girlfriend. This acceptance, however, became couched in a sense of "Fatalismo", i.e., resigning himself to be responsible for his part in the conception. This appears to differ little from Padilla's earlier findings concerning forced marriages. Rosenberg and Bensman conclude that this fatalistic acceptance of unwed fatherhood, and its subsequent responsibilities could be a culturally determined way of dealing with illegitimate pregnancies and parenthood among Puerto Rican youth.

Discussion and Conclusions

By having presented those studies dealing with unwed fatherhood, and those dealing with the ethnocultural dynamics of the Puerto Rican family, an attempt was made to place the issues of unwed adolescent fatherhood in a particular ethnocultural context, and examine what factors influence unwed adolescent fatherhood within that context. The Puerto Rican adolescent unwed father becomes the embodiment of these two diverse areas of study.

However, overlap does exist within these two diverse areas. For both the Psychoanalytically viewed unwed father, and the ethnoculturally viewed Puerto Rican male there exists the need to prove one's virility - often as one of the significant impetuses toward adult development.

In viewing middle class unwed fatherhood and predominantly lower class Puerto Rican family dynamics the significance of life and development for males within families characterized as having strongly dominant maternal influences, whether due to father passivity or

father absence, cannot be minimized. The changing of roles within the family system, whether due to father absence or passivity, has enduring effects upon the Puerto Rican adolescent.

The turning to peers as a substitute for inadequate parental models proves to be another point of congruence between these two diverse groups.

However, while it is posited that for the unwed middle class father, and the Puerto Rican male there is a need to prove virility, for the former it is undertaken ostensibly in an unconscious manner in attempts at resolving Oedipal issues. For the latter Puerto Rican male this is undertaken in a culturally sanctioned manner in order to gain status within the reality of lower class group membership.

The Puerto Rican adolescent unwed father is posited as having poorer family relations within his family of origin than his non-father counterpart, especially as it relates to his ideas about fatherhood and sexuality. Thus the study of the unwed father within this Hispanic adolescent group becomes the focus of investigation for the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

Chapter Three will present the methods and procedures of the study. For the purposes of presentation the chapter has been divided into five sections, namely, description of the study hypotheses, description of the subjects, description of the research instrumentation, description of the procedures, and the treatment of the data.

Statement of the Study Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are posited for the four major variables of investigation: family dynamics, ethnicity, intimacy and fatherhood.

I Family Dynamics

The following are the hypotheses which are posited for testing in this area of the study:

H1: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers in their families of origin with more fathers than non-fathers coming from single parent families.

H2: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in their rankings of their mothers and fathers on familial importance with fathers ranking their fathers higher, and their mothers lower than will the non-fathers.

H3: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers at their ages when their parent(s) left the

family with adolescent fathers being younger at the time than the non-fathers.

II Ethnicity

H1: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in their ethnic peer affiliations with adolescent fathers affiliating more strongly with Puerto Rican peers than do adolescent non-fathers.

H2: There will significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers on being designated Puerto Rican with fathers more often being designated Puerto Rican than non-fathers.

III Intimacy

H1: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in that more fathers than non-fathers will have girlfriends.

H2: There will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers on the ethnicity of their girlfriends with more fathers than non-fathers having Puerto Rican girlfriends.

H3: There will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers on the necessity for sex with more fathers than non-fathers believing sexual opportunities must be consummated.

H4: There will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers in their frequency of sexual relations with fathers being more sexually active than non-fathers.

H5: There will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers in their contraception use patterns with fathers using contraception much less frequently than non-fathers.

IV Fatherhood

H1: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in their real perceptions of fatherhood with fathers having more authoritarian perceptions than non-fathers.

H2: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in their ideal expectations of fatherhood with fathers having more authoritarian idealized expectations of fatherhood than do non-fathers.

H3: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers in the role modelling influences of their own fathers with more fathers than non-fathers naming their own fathers as significant models.

H4: There will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers in their perceptions of the stereotypic Puerto Rican father with more adolescent fathers than non-fathers viewing the stereotypic Puerto Rican father to be different from fathers of other ethnic groups.

H5: There will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and non-fathers on the issue of illegitimacy with more fathers than non-fathers being themselves the sons of unwed fathers.

Description of the Subjects

Thirty Puerto Rican male adolescents were involved in this study. The respondents were divided into father and non-father groups matched by age and area of residence. The ages for the unwed fathers ranged from 16 years, 8 months to 20 years, 7 months with a mean age of 18 years, 9 months. The ages of the non-fathers ranged from 16 years, 7 months to 20 years, 3 months with a mean age of 18 years, 6 months. The average age of the children of these unwed fathers at the time of the interview was fourteen months.

The unwed father group had a mean educational level of ten and half years, while the non-father group had a mean educational level of eleven and half years.

In terms of place of birth 87% of the unwed fathers (13 to 15) were born in New York City, while 60% of the non-fathers (9 to 15) were born in New York City, and one non-father was born in the New York Metropolitan area.

Residence in New York showed a mean length of residence of 17 years, 8 months for the unwed fathers and 16 years, 4 months for the non-fathers.

In terms of socioeconomic status the majority of the sample were from the lower class to lower working class populations. The sampling technique used was random. Table 1 presents a comparison of the unwed adolescent father and unwed adolescent non-father groups.

Table 1
 Comparison in Means of Ages, Amount of Education,
 and Residence in New York for Unwed Fathers
 and Non-Fathers

Variables	Unwed Fathers	Non- Fathers
Age	18 years, 9 months	18 years, 6 months
Education	10.5 years	11.5 years
Residence in New York	17 years, 8 months	16 years, 4 months

By inspection the mean ages of both the unwed father and non-father groups vary little, if any. Educationally, while the non-fathers as a group are about a year ahead of the unwed father group, the level of education for both groups is below that of the high school graduate level. Three of the non-fathers were in their first year of college, while none of the unwed fathers had so advanced.

While the place of birth is not shown it reflected a predominantly New York trend with 87% of the fathers and 67% of the non-fathers being born in the New York Metropolitan area. Thus coupled with the extended length of residence for both groups there was a ready identification with the New York experience of the Puerto Rican population. Consequently those aspects of the cited mainland Puerto Rican culture become especially relevant.

The particular difficulties in securing a large enough number of unwed adolescent fathers resulted in establishing a sample size of thirty (N=30) for the overall study. While the sample size loses some

of its power efficiency it represents the strongest attempt made at securing a representative sample of male Puerto Rican adolescents.

For purposes of exposition Table 2 shows the stages of adolescent development of the unwed mothers and unwed fathers. These stages are of the adolescent parents at the time of the birth of their child and not at the time of the interview.

Table 2

Stage of Development of Adolescent Parents
at Birth of Their Child

	Stages		
	Early Adoles. (Ages 12-14)	Middle Adoles. (Ages 15-17)	Late Adoles. (Ages 18-20)
Unwed Fathers	2	3	10
Unwed Mothers	4	3	8

Pilot Study

Initially the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem 1974), and the Bogardus Ethnic (Racial) Distance Scale (1925) had been planned as the chief measures to be used in obtaining the adolescents' attitudinal responses. However the Bem SRI proved inadequate with this Hispanic adolescent population due to their difficulties in reading and comprehending the adjectives used in the inventory. The inventory was thus discarded for use with this group.

The Bogardus Scale has had a long history of use with varying groups. However, the need to explain, and interpret to the respondents of the pilot study the rankings, and differentiations between group acceptance levels and their repeated difficulties in responding

also led to its abandonment as an instrument for this study. Due to the difficulties with these two measures and with a lack of other suitable measures geared to Hispanic youth it was decided to develop more relevant instruments to use with these youth.

I Development of the Puerto Rican Adolescent Questionnaire (PRAQ)

Before being utilized in the present study the PRAQ was field tested as a questionnaire. Eight Puerto Rican adolescent male respondents who were unwed non-fathers were used in this field test. These respondents ranged in age from thirteen years, eight months to eighteen years, four months. The purpose of the field test was to determine the content validity of those items selected for the PRAQ from the universe of items available. Initially extensive questioning was devoted to the family of origin, ethnicity, sexuality, male-female roles and responsibilities, and fatherhood.

The family section initially was devoted to ascertaining contacts with family members and determining who was included within the rubric of the family. Some questions, e.g., "Are your natural parents living together?" were determined to be more relevant for inclusion in the final version of the questionnaire. Others such as "Do you have a stepmother/stepfather?" were discarded and included in the family tree or genogram later adopted to pictorially represent family membership.

The ethnicity section of the field study was generally adopted entirely. The only inclusions were the questions dealing with role modelling ("Is there any Puerto Rican Man you are close to, admire, or would like to be like?") and those attempting to get group preference

information ("Which do you feel most relaxed with, Puerto Ricans? Others? All? None?").

The largest revision and selection process was undertaken in the section dealing with sexuality and male-female roles and responsibilities. Here a transformation was undertaken to inquire instead into the relationship between unwed adolescent parents and projections of relationships by non-father adolescents. Thus questions such as "How should a man act? How should a woman act?" and "How are a man and woman different?" as well as "Did you feel more like a man when you discovered you were going to be a father?" were replaced by "If a girl becomes pregnant what would her boyfriend do?" or "Since your girl became pregnant have you had any relationship with her?" This was an attempt to gain both more factual information concerning both dating, sexual, and relationship patterns from the young men.

The final section was geared toward their perceptions of fatherhood and here again the field study proved invaluable in helping to track and outline what for these youth were their conceptions of fatherhood. Generally the entire section was again adopted for inclusion in the finished version of the PRAQ with the inclusion of "Is/was your father someone you'd like to be like or someone you admire?" and "Was your father an unwed father himself?"

Results of Pilot Study

From the field test it was determined that half of the group had come from broken homes and had been reared by other relatives, generally the maternal grandparents. This rearing pattern had developed following the dissolution of the respondent's nuclear family by

divorce, illness, or death. There was also considerable extended family involvement. Thus both in response to the development of the questionnaire, and to personal factors the family of origin proved to be a significant variable of study for inclusion in the final version of the PRAQ.

In terms of ethnicity and attitudes toward ethnic group preferences, half of the group had negative conceptions of minority groups including the Puerto Rican. However these attitudes changed when the question of a specific Puerto Rican role model was presented. What this appears to mean for the pilot study is that while having had a negative view of Puerto Ricans as a group these adolescents nonetheless had a more positive view of possible individual role models who were Puerto Rican. There was also a decidedly Puerto Rican peer affiliation preference for seven of the eight respondents.

Intimacy brought what appeared to be a split between cognitive awareness of sex and the possibilities of subsequent pregnancy and childbirth for their partners, and their own acknowledgment of their inability to delay sexual gratification if the opportunity presented itself. Thus while six of eight respondents did not feel that sex had to be consummated immediately, five respondents were and probably continue to be extremely sexually active. The implication was of a cognitive/physical split in which physical gratification appeared to dominate. For many of these adolescents there was also a voiced need for a special sharing relationship with a female peer.

Fatherhood was viewed in two ways by the pilot study respondents: what their fantasied expectations of a father were, and what their own actual perceptions of fathers were. Seven of eight respondents viewed

their own fathers in an ambivalent, most negative manner. However, their fantasied expectations of fatherhood generally revolved around the themes of fathers being educators, financial caretakers, and role models.

The use of the field study respondents' responses, reactions, and questions laid the major ground work for the actual questions developed for the PRAQ. The results of the field study were thus utilized as a systematic way of uncovering the major areas of focus for the PRAQ, and the specific questions used.

Puerto Rican Adolescent Questionnaire

The Puerto Rican Adolescent Questionnaire (cf. Appendix One) has thus evolved into the combined features of a personal data sheet and an attitude gathering instrument. It obtains from the adolescent respondent demographic information regarding place and date of birth, address, educational level, and length of residence in the New York Metropolitan area. It likewise obtains information on the major areas of investigation of the study namely: family, ethnicity, intimacy, and fatherhood.

The major variables studied by the PRAQ are:

I Family: Sub-variables are family type - whether from single or two parent families; age of respondent when mother/father left the nuclear family. II Ethnicity: Designation as Puerto Rican; Peers-predominant ethnic group composition of male and female friends. III Intimacy: Girl-friends - experiences of having or having had an intimate relationship with a female adolescent; Girlethnicity - ethnicity of

majority of girlfriends; Necessity for sex; Frequency of sexual relations (cumulative); Frequency of contraception usage by adolescent respondents (cumulative). IV Fatherhood: Role modelling effects of the actual fathers of the respondents; Puerto Rican Fathers - whether fathers from within the Puerto Rican ethnocultural group differ from fathers of other ethnic groups; Status - whether respondents are fathers or non-fathers; and Fathers' Status - whether the father of the respondent was himself an unwed father.

The PRAQ is a questionnaire of six pages length taking from forty-five minutes to an hour to administer. The following directions were used: "This is a study of the attitudes and feelings that adolescents have about being Puerto Rican, about their families, about sexuality, and about being or becoming fathers. The study consists of both questions and tasks that I'll present to you in an interview. Your responses will be kept confidential, and the results of this study will be used for my dissertation. The study will also be used to see how young Puerto Rican men like yourselves deal with these issues. If you have any questions or would like more clarification please feel free to ask at any time. "(Included in the PRAQ was the use of a "family tree" in order to depict pictorally the familial composition of each respondent).

II Development of the Family Ranking Scale (FRS)

As mentioned above the respondents to the pilot study were divided into adolescents from intact families and adolescents from broken homes. Thus issues of loyalty and identification with parents were raised during the field test. In order to try and determine who

were the important familial members for these youth the Family Ranking Scale was developed.

The Family Ranking Scale (cf. Appendix Two) is a unidimensional, ordinal scale developed to rank-order the members of the respondents families in the order of their perceived importance within the family. As is construed the instrument is designed to allow the adolescent to qualitatively differentiate between members of his family by his own perceptions of their importance within the family. As it is theoretically conceived this instrument will further allow the adolescent to differentiate roles within the family as to identity models. In particular rankings for fathers and mothers will be especially scrutinized.

III Development of the Authoritarian Father Scale (AFS)

From the section of the pilot study dealing with fatherhood the questions "How does a father act?"/"How should a father act?" later incorporated into the PRAQ elicited from the pilot study respondents a number of statements which poignantly pointed out how for these youths their fathers and fatherhood in general was filled with much ambivalence. From statements like "He's nice, only sometimes gets strict" to "Father to son - that's it, he doesn't see what our lives are like!" fatherhood for the pilot study youth elicited much emotional response. When asked to give their expectations of an ideal versus real father the statements of these youth were developed and incorporated into the AFS. Thus such statements as "(Father) teaches right and wrong" and "(father) not hitting the mother" were directly taken from the pilot study and utilized for developing the AFS.

The AFS (cf. Appendix Three) is a Likert - type measuring instrument consisting of two scales. It includes a Real Father Scale (ten statements about the respondents' perceptions of real/actual fathers), and an Ideal Father Scale (the same ten statements with the inclusion of the respondents' perceptions of the ideal father).

As mentioned above the chief source of the AFS was based upon the actual statements made by the Puerto Rican adolescents of the pilot study concerning real and ideal fatherhood. Added to these statements was the knowledge and information gained by the extensive investigation into, and knowledge of the role of the father in the Puerto Rican culture. This knowledge was highlighted in the relevant literature presented in Chapter Two of this study.

The scores obtained on the AFS represent the cumulative ratings given by the fathers and non-fathers to the Scale statements. The scoring ranged from a possible low score of ten indicating strong disagreement with the scale statements to a possible maximum score of fifty indicating strong agreement. Strong agreement, or endorsement of the scale statements characterizes the respondent as having highly authoritarian, somewhat culturally traditional conceptions of fatherhood. The opposite case is true for strong disagreement, or non-endorsement of the statements. As is conceived the major variable to be studied will be the attitudinal differentiations that exist between the two groups based upon their conceptions of fatherhood.

Description of Procedures

The adolescent respondents to the study were obtained from referrals of social service and medical agencies in the New York Metropolitan area, from advertisements placed in Latin New York Magazine, from hand bills distributed in Lower Manhattan, and by word of mouth. In particular while the adolescent unwed father group was obtained principally from social service agencies, a few were related to co-workers of the investigator who directed the young fathers to the investigator. Non-fathers were generally referred by colleagues of the investigator, or by agencies having adolescent contact. In total some forty agencies in the New York Metropolitan area were contacted either by direct visit or indirectly by telephone by the investigator so as to place him in contact with the Puerto Rican adolescent male population.

Unwed adolescent fathers were paid the sum of ten dollars (\$10.00) for their participation, while non-fathers were paid five dollars (\$5.00). Surprisingly no agency had direct contact or program planning for any adolescent father population of any ethnicity, although peripheral contact was maintained by a few. This will be further elaborated upon in a subsequent chapter.

Prior to administration of the interview written permission was obtained to conduct the interview in which each respondent was given an explanation of the purposes of the study and the major areas of investigation. Each prospective respondent was then given the opportunity to ask questions and receive further clarification before the interview began. Confidentiality was treated by using first name, initial of last name on the questionnaire itself, and transferring the

data to a scoring sheet in which each subject was identified only by number.

Interviewing of the respondents and all recording of the answers on the questionnaire was undertaken by the investigator alone. This obviated the need for other interviewers or else for self-responding by the adolescent alone. This procedure also provided the opportunity for clarification of responses, as well as for the maintenance of confidentiality. The two scales utilized in the study were completed by the respondents themselves in the presence of the investigator. As was previously mentioned the actual interviews and ranking tasks took from forty-five minutes to an hour to complete.

The interviews were predominantly conducted in the office of the investigator in Lower Manhattan. There were, however, notable exceptions. One interview was conducted in the newly established residence of the unwed parents in Brooklyn. Two interviews were conducted in neighborhood playgrounds at the request of the unwed adolescent fathers for whom emancipation from the family of origin was still an important issue. These last two interviews took place in the Bronx and in Spanish Harlem. Two interviews were likewise conducted in a teen pregnancy agency in the Bronx. In general wherever the adolescent respondents felt was most comfortable was chosen as the locus of the interview. All respondents were residents of the New York Metropolitan area.

Permission to conduct this study in the investigator's own agency was obtained first from the Chief of Service, Department of Psychiatry, Gouverneur Hospital, and later from the office of the Executive Director, Gouverneur Hospital. Referrals and interviews at

other loci were obtained generally after a site visit was made by the investigator and direct contact established with either the program director, or the head of social services. In total some twenty site visits were undertaken to directly consult with the various agencies. In each case the investigator and the proposed study were all well received. The only stipulations placed upon the investigator was to share both research and clinical findings to which the investigator agreed.

Treatment of Data

The data collected from the Puerto Rican adolescent males relative to the family dynamics of the unwed adolescent father and unwed adolescent non-father were analyzed by means of the Fisher Exact Probability Test. Initially Chi Square analyses had been planned, but the low cell frequencies of some of the collected data necessitated the substitution of the Fisher Test for the Chi Square.

The same analysis format (Fisher Exact Probability Test) was utilized for the studied variables of ethnicity, intimacy, and fatherhood in a 2x2 factor format with father/non-father constituting one factor, and the studied variable (e.g. family type) constituting the other factor in the form of yes-no responses).

Notable exceptions to the above analyses were the variables Frequency of sexual relations, and Frequency of Contraception use. These variables along with the data obtained from the Family Ranking Scale, and the two scales of the Authoritarian Father Scale were analyzed by means of the Mann-Whitney U Test in which the data were ranked and analyzed under the father/non-father groupings. All data

thus were treated using Non-Parametric Statistical Format. (Siegal, S., 1956).

The level of confidence for all analyses was established at .05.

Chapter Four

Results

This chapter will deal with the presentation of the results of the study. The chapter has been divided into four sections which correspond to the four major areas of investigation: family, ethnicity, intimacy, and fatherhood. All of the instruments (PRAQ, FRS, and AFS) have been subsumed under these areas. The study hypotheses have likewise been organized for presentation in this manner.

I Family

Hypothesis one stated there will be significant differences between adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers in their families of origin, i.e., with more fathers than non-fathers coming from single parent families. Table 3 shows the frequency count of this sub-variable. Although the data show a strong trend for members of both groups to be from single-parent families these data are not significant at the .05 confidence level. Consequently the hypothesis was not supported.

Table 3
Single versus Two-Parent Family Membership
of Unwed Fathers and Non-fathers

	Single Parent	Two Parent
Unwed Fathers	10 (67%)	5 (33%)
Non-Fathers	10 (67%)	5 (33%)

n.s. Fisher Exact Probability Test

Hypothesis number two stated there will be significant differences between adolescent unwed fathers and non-fathers as to their ages when their parent left the family, with adolescent fathers being younger at the time than non-fathers (N=20).

While Table Four shows this not to be significant statistically it does show the pattern of those unwed fathers from single parent homes to have lost their fathers after the age of seven. More will be said of this finding in Chapter Five.

Table 4

Ages at Paternal Departure from Family
for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers

	Before 7 Years	After 7 Years
Unwed Fathers	2	8
Non-Fathers	5	5

n.s. Fisher Exact Probability Test

Hypothesis Three stated there will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers in their rankings of their parents on familial importance with adolescent unwed fathers ranking their fathers higher, and their mothers lower than non-fathers.

This was not borne out by the data obtained on this sub-variable. Both adolescent fathers and non-fathers almost universally ranked their mothers as the most important member of the family with a ranking of one (N=24). When ranking positions two and three were included in the analysis the mother was ranked in the first three familial positions for the entire sample (N=30).

With fathers the ranking patterns varied for the adolescent fathers and non-fathers with fathers being ranked from positions one to eight (most important to least important) within the family. This would seem to address issues of ambivalence regarding the fathers of these adolescents, but the hypothesis was not supported.

Thus, overall the variable of family dynamics did not prove to show significant differences between the adolescent unwed fathers and adolescent non-fathers of the study.

Ethnicity

Hypothesis number one stated that there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their ethnic peer affiliations with unwed fathers affiliating more strongly with Puerto Rican peers than do non-fathers.

Table Five shows that there are significant differences between fathers and non-fathers with unwed fathers indeed showing a stronger Puerto Rican peer affiliation pattern than did the non-fathers ($p < .05$). These affiliations were found to exist for both male and female peers.

Table 5

Peer Affiliations (Male/Female)
For Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers

	Puerto Rican Peers	Non-Puerto Rican
UnWed Fathers	14	1
Non-Fathers	9	6

$p < .05$ Fisher Exact Probability Test

Hypothesis Two stated there will be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers on being designated Puerto Rican, with fathers more often being designated Puerto Rican than non-fathers. Table Six shows this variable not to have attained statistical significance. However it does again show a trend for most of the youth of the study (fathers and non-fathers) to have been

designated Puerto Rican. Interestingly the strongest factor in their selection as being Puerto Rican by others was the manner in which they spoke, often excluding the use of the Spanish language.

Table 6

Designation as "Puerto Rican"
for Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers

	Designated P.R.	Not-Designated P.R.
Unwed Fathers	11	4
Non-Fathers	9	6

n.s. Fisher Exact Probability Test

The data on ethnicity were re-examined with regards to attitudes toward membership in the Puerto Rican ethno-cultural group. Responses to Question 10 of the PRAQ ("What feelings do you have about being Puerto Rican?") were examined and analyzed with regards to differentiating between positive and negative feelings of ethnocultural membership. As Table 7 shows there was a significant difference between unwed fathers and non-fathers with regards to their ethnic membership, with non-fathers being significantly more positive about being Puerto Rican than unwed fathers ($p < .05$).

Table 7

Ethnocultural Feelings for Unwed
Fathers and Non-Fathers

	Positive Feelings	Negative/Neutral Feelings
Unwed Fathers	9	6
Non-Fathers	14	1

$p < .05$ Fisher Exact Probability Test

In summary ethnicity proves to be a significant variable in differentiating adolescent unwed fathers and adolescent non-fathers.

III Intimacy

Hypothesis number one stated that there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in that more fathers would have girlfriends than would non-fathers.

Hypothesis number two stated there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers on the ethnicity of their girlfriends with more unwed fathers than non-fathers having Puerto Rican girlfriends.

As the data showed all the youth of the study (fathers and non-fathers) had girlfriends, the majority of whom were Puerto Rican so significant differences were not found. Of the unwed adolescent mothers all fifteen were Hispanic and fourteen of fifteen were Puerto Rican.

Hypothesis number three stated there will be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers on the necessity for sex with more fathers than non-fathers believing sexual opportunities must be consummated.

This Hypothesis was not supported by the actual data. Approximately half of the entire sample (16 respondents: 7 fathers, 9 non-fathers) said it was not necessary to consummate the sex act if the opportunity presented itself. This would dispel somewhat the myth of the sexually overactive Hispanic male youth.

Hypothesis number four stated there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their frequency of

sexual relations, with unwed fathers being more sexually active than non-fathers.

As Table Eight shows this sub-variable proved to be significant at the $p < .02$ level of confidence. Unwed fathers proved to be significantly more active than non-fathers in their frequency of sexual relations.

Table 8
 Cumulative Frequency of Sexual Relations for
 Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers by Rank

	Non-Fathers		Unwed Fathers	
	Frequency	Rank	Frequency	Rank
1.	30	14.5	300	29
2.	40	16	9	11
3.	150	27	50	19
4.	5	8.5	300	29
5.	0	2.5	5	8.5
6.	0	2.5	50	19
7.	90	24	50	19
8.	0	2.5	100	25
9.	80	22	30	14.5
10.	12	12	50	19
11.	1	5.5	125	26
12.	0	2.5	86	23
13.	13	13	300	29
14.	1	5.5	7	10
15.	2	7	50	19

$p < .02$ Mann-Whitney U Test

Hypothesis number five stated there will be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers is their contraception use

pattern with fathers using contraception much less frequently than non-fathers.

What the data show is an equally poor usage rate for both groups. Unwed fathers used contraception only 7.5% of the time they engaged in sexual intercourse. Non-fathers had a contraception use rate of 16%. Overall for both groups there was a 9.3% contraception use rate for all sexually active adolescents.

The data on contraception were again examined and analyzed vis-a-vis attitudes toward contraception. Question 23 of the PRAQ asked each respondent whether contraception should be used during sex. When analyzed for attitudes significant differences were found to exist between unwed fathers and non-fathers with non-fathers significantly more positive towards using contraception during sex. Table Nine shows these differences.

Table 9

Attitudes Toward Contraception Usage for
Unwed Fathers and Non-Fathers (Numbers)

	Positive Attitudes	(Neutral)	Negative Attitude
Unwed Fathers	7		8
Non-Fathers	13		2

$p < .05$ Fisher Exact Probability Test

In summary, there were significant differences between adolescent unwed fathers and non-fathers in their frequency of sexual relations and attitudes toward contraception use with unwed fathers being

significantly more sexually active, and having a more negative or neutral attitude towards contraception use than non-fathers. Intimacy thus proved to be a significant variable differentiating unwed fathers from non-fathers.

IV Fatherhood

Hypothesis number one stated there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their actual perceptions of fatherhood with unwed fathers having more authoritarian perceptions than non-fathers. An analysis of the data of the AFS (Real Father Scale) showed this not to be the case with no significant differences found to exist between unwed father and non-fathers in their actual perceptions of fatherhood.

Hypothesis two stated there will be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their ideal expectations of fatherhood with unwed fathers having more authoritarian expectations of fatherhood than do non-fathers.

Table Ten shows the ranks for unwed fathers and non-fathers on their idealized expectations of authoritarian fatherhood on the Ideal Father Scale. The data revealed significant differences between the two groups at the $p < .05$ level of confidence, with unwed fathers maintaining significantly greater expectations of authoritarian fatherhood than do non-fathers.

Hypothesis three stated there will be significant differences between fathers and non-fathers in the role modelling influences of their own father with more adolescent unwed fathers than non-fathers acknowledging their own fathers as significant role models. This was

not found to be the case when the data were examined with sixty-six percent of the sample (N=20) finding their own fathers to be significant role models.

Table 10

Expectations of Authoritarian Fatherhood for
the Unwed Father and Non-Father Groups (Ranks)

	Unwed Fathers		Non-Fathers	
	Ratings	Rank	Ratings	Rank
1.	25	4	24	2.5
2.	26	7	30	17.5
3.	42	28	27	12
4.	39	27	30	17.5
5.	30	17.5	27	12
6.	33	22.5	22	1
7.	27	12	27	12
8.	23	22.5	35	26
9.	30	17.5	26	7
10.	34	24.5	45	29.5
11.	32	21	29	15
12.	34	24.5	27	12
13.	26	7	24	2.5
14.	31	20	26	7
15.	45	29.5	26	7

$p < .05$, Mann-Whitney U Test

Hypothesis number four stated there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their perceptions of the Puerto Rican father with more unwed fathers than non-fathers viewing the ethnocultural Puerto Rican father as different from fathers in other ethnocultural groups.

Again when examined this hypothesis was not supported with unwed fathers and non-fathers being equally divided on this variable.

Hypothesis number five stated there would be significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers on the issue of illegitimacy with more unwed adolescent fathers themselves being the sons of unwed fathers than were the adolescent non-fathers.

The data showed that eighty percent of the entire sample (N=24) are the sons of wed fathers, and that there were no significant differences between unwed adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers on this sub-variable.

In summary for the major variable of fatherhood unwed adolescent fathers maintained significantly greater expectations of authoritarian fatherhood than did adolescent non-fathers.

Chapter Five
Adolescent Unwed Fatherhood:
Discussion and Future Research

Chapter Five will present first a brief review of the study and will then present a discussion of the findings and conclusions with recommendations for future research.

I Review

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study had been to examine the relationships of familial, ethnic, intimate, and paternal dynamics upon adolescents who have become unwed fathers and adolescents who have remained unwed non-fathers. The specific objectives were:

(A) To demonstrate that adolescent unwed fathers would evidence a greater pattern of disrupted family relations in their family of origin than would non-fathers. These would include being from broken homes in which their absent fathers would be seen as having more importance than their mothers.

(B) To demonstrate that the fathers would both identify and affiliate more strongly with the Puerto Rican group than would the non-fathers by their peer group patterns, role modelling preferences, and self-designation as being Puerto Rican.

(C) To demonstrate that the unwed fathers would engage in more at risk sexual behavior than would the non-fathers. These would include frequency of sex, contraception usage patterns, and relationship patterns with adolescent females.

(D) To demonstrate that fathers would have a different conception of fatherhood than would non-fathers, especially in viewing their own and other Puerto Rican fathers, and on the issue of being themselves illegitimate children.

Review of the Methods

The subjects of the study were thirty Puerto Rican male adolescents fifteen of whom were unwed fathers, fifteen of whom were unwed non-fathers. Each of the subjects underwent a confidential, personal interview by the investigator using the Puerto Rican Adolescent Questionnaire (PRAQ), the Family Ranking Scale (FRS), and the Authoritarian Father Scale (AFS). For their participation unwed fathers were paid ten dollars (\$10.00), and non-fathers were paid five dollars (\$5.00).

Subjects were referred to the study from social service and medical agencies in the New York Metropolitan area, from advertisements in an Hispanic youth-oriented magazine, and by word of mouth from colleagues.

II Discussion

Summary of Findings

The analysis of the data collected relative to the principal objectives of the study indicated no significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers on the variable of family dynamics, with unwed and non-fathers similar in their type of family origin, in their rankings of their parents, and in their ages when their parent left the nuclear family.

Analysis of ethnicity found unwed fathers and non-fathers to have significant differences in their ethnic peer affiliations and in their attitudes toward membership in the Puerto Rican ethnocultural group. Effects of ethnic group designation did not prove to be significant.

Analysis of intimacy factors found no significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their experiences of having girlfriends or in the ethnicity of these girlfriends. Likewise no significant differences were found in the necessity for sex to be consummated. Unwed fathers and non-fathers were found to be significantly different in their frequency of sexual relations with unwed fathers being significantly more sexually active than non-fathers. Birth control patterns revealed no significant differences between the two groups with uniformly poor usage patterns, but did reveal significant differences in attitude with non-fathers having significantly more positive attitudes toward contraceptive use than did unwed fathers.

Analysis of the fatherhood variable revealed no significant differences between unwed fathers and non-fathers in their real perceptions of fatherhood, in the role modelling influences of their own fathers, in their perceptions of the stereotypic Puerto Rican father, and in being themselves sons of unwed fathers. However, significant differences were found to exist in their idealized expectations of fatherhood with non-fathers having significantly less authoritarian expectations of fatherhood than did the unwed fathers.

Interpretations and Literature Support

1 Family

For the studied variable of family dynamics no appreciable differences were found to exist for the unwed and non-father groups. Their family organizational patterns (whether of single parent, or two-parent families) were not found to be significantly different. This would appear to contrast with both Perkins and Grayson's (1968) and Pannor's (1970) findings concerning the influence of maternal and paternal roles in the teenage father's family of origin. For both groups in the present study more similarity of family dynamics than difference was found, a finding more in keeping with Pauker's investigations into adolescent paternity (1974).

A re-investigation of the relationship patterns of the mothers of both adolescent fathers and non-fathers showed a strong trend for these mothers to have had problematic relationships with men - the majority of whom were the respondents' fathers. Nineteen of the mothers were divorcees and one had remarried following the death of her first husband. In most cases (15) the mothers had neither remarried, nor had been re-engaged in a significant relationship. Thus for the adolescent respondent there was a significant lack of a male adult within the family resulting in a stronger attachment and sense of loyalty to the mother.

In terms of theories of child development which address developmental issues in Psychoanalytic or psychodynamic fashion the trend towards father departure after age seven for the unwed fathers of this study points to these adolescent fathers being abandoned after the so-called Oedipal crisis had been resolved. This absence of the

father during the latency period, when identification with the father, (for the male) is being consolidated, points to the importance of the father's presence and the significance of his absence for this group. Thus an additional hypothesis can be generated that perhaps the absence of the father during this phase of development will have predisposing effects toward unwed fatherhood for the adolescent male in this subculture.

Viewing again the data on both the father as a role model, and role models in general for these adolescents the trend for all these youths was to not spontaneously name their fathers as significant role models (question 13). In only six cases of thirty was the father named as a significant role model. Later when directed to state whether in fact their fathers were role models the trend changed to twenty of thirty youths stating that their fathers were in fact such models (question 30). When left to themselves therefore these youths did not see their fathers as significant adults in their lives.

In keeping with the traditional cultural models of the mother and father within the family the greater loyalties, affection, and attachment to the mother found in these youths mirror the early findings of Fernandez-Marina et al (1958), and shows the continuance of these familial patterns some thirty years later.

In further viewing familial patterns when family members other than the parents were studied, the sibling sub-system took on a much greater importance for these youths than did any other members of the family. Thus, while studies of the Puerto Rican have shown the importance of the extended family for the stability and maintenance of the nuclear family, these youths did not view the grandparental or avuncu-

lar families as being more important than their sibling relationships within the nuclear family.

11 Ethnicity

The variable of ethnicity proved to be a significant fact in differentiating adolescent unwed fathers from adolescent non-fathers in this study. Unwed fathers presented themselves as affiliating more closely with Puerto Rican peers than did non-fathers, and at the same time demonstrated more negative or neutral feelings about their membership in the Puerto Rican ethnocultural group.

A preliminary analysis of this finding seems to point to the findings of Price (1971), and Montijo (1975) concerning the unwed father's and the Puerto Rican adolescent's overinvolvement with their respective peer cultures. However, an alternative view is that the unwed fathers of this study have more negative or possibly ambivalent feelings of Puerto Rican ethnocultural membership with a subsequent need to affiliate more closely within the culture so as to try to resolve this ambivalence. Adolescent non-fathers appeared more secure (positive) in their feelings of ethnocultural group membership and thus were capable of affiliating outside of the culture. A possible explanation could be the differentiation of the two adolescent groups with regards to their sense of control over their lives with unwed fathers feeling more powerless, and subject to fate than non-fathers given the reality and responsibility of their experiences as young fathers. Thus the unwed fathers turn to the familiar - the culture as a means of securing some control within prescribed ethnocultural norms

of sexuality (Rosenberg and Bensman, 1973; Padilla, 1958; and Preble, 1968).

III Intimacy

Intimacy found points of congruence and difference between the two adolescent groups. Both groups had had the experience of having an intimate, sharing relationship with an adolescent female who generally was an Hispanic. All of the unwed mothers for example were Hispanic.

The desire for intimacy coupled with the factor of pregnancy, whether real or hypothetical, led to a further re-evaluation of the reactions of these youths toward unwed mothers and adolescent girls in general.

The majority of the unwed fathers (N=12) felt that one significant relationship with an adolescent girl was of more importance than having many such relationships. For the non-fathers there was a more even split with slightly more than half feeling the need to have many relationships as opposed to having one exclusive relationship with an adolescent female.

The factor of pregnancy was also studied to determine whether in fact adolescent fathers had some relationship post-pregnancy with the adolescent mothers, and whether non-fathers could project their attitudes onto a post-pregnancy situation. The following responses to Question 24 ("If a girl becomes pregnant what would her boyfriend do? (For UF) Since your girlfriend became pregnant have you had any relationship with her?") are indicative of actual post-pregnancy

relationships and hypothetical ones which largely fell into negative, neutral, or positive relationships.

Negative Pregnancy Relationships

Alex, 17 years-6 months old, a non-father: "Mainly (the) guy would leave I guess, or give her to have an abortion. I'd be scared shitless."

Louis, 19 years-7 months, non-father: "Probably panic."

Tony, 19 years-7 months, adolescent father: "Right now (we) recently broke up. After the birth - sure, but (I) lost a lot of feelings towards her. Kept pressuring me to get married, (it) didn't get better, didn't get better. We moved into an apartment and lived together for a a year and a half."

Neutral Pregnancy Relationships

Jose, 20 years-3 months, non-father: "Depends on people. Most of the time the guy cuts out. Sometimes (they) marry, or sometimes (he) tells the girl to have an abortion."

Juan, 17 years-7 months, father: "Yeah the same we used to (be). She calls me and I go see her in the Bronx."

Rolando, 19 years-7 months, father: "Yeah, (I) keep in touch with her."

Positive Pregnancy Relationships

Mark, 18 years-6 months, non-father: "Me, for myself, I would sit down with her parents. First talk to her, I wouldn't get upset or mad. If she told me I'd give her the choices of either (an) abortion or babies. I don't have money to support her or me. Her parents wouldn't force us to get married."

Eric, 17 years-6 months, father: "We (are) still together! (I) see her every day. (I'm) planning to get married with her next year. That's how well it's going!"

As Mitchell (1972) postulated the need for intimacy was found within the entire study with unwed fathers being stronger in the exclusivity of this relationship, probably culminating in the pregnancy of their girlfriend, and subsequent birth of their child.

The most significant differences were found in the realms of sexuality and contraception with unwed fathers being significantly more sexually active than non-fathers. Indeed, unwed fathers engaged in sexual intercourse some four times more frequently than did the non-father group. Contraceptive use patterns were equally poor for both groups with an overall contraception use rate of only ten percent (10%) for the entire sample.

However, non-fathers utilized contraception twice as often (16%) than did the unwed fathers (7.5%). Furthermore both groups differed significantly in their attitudes toward contraception use, with non-fathers having more positive attitudes towards contraception than did the unwed fathers. The negative attitudes of the adolescent unwed fathers in this study toward contraception is somewhat at variance with the finding of Hendricks (1982) and his study of Black adolescent unwed fathers who were more positive about contraception, but in agreement with Robbins and Lynn's findings cited earlier (1973). Again the smallness of the sample may have had skewing effects. The study shows that adolescent non-fathers whether due to attitudinal reasons or to postponement of gratification were much less likely as a group to themselves become unwed adolescent fathers. The unwed

fathers on the other hand were at great risk to father repeat out-of-wedlock children.

IV Fatherhood

The fatherhood variable pointed to a significant shift in attitude between the unwed father and non-father groups in the study. The real perceptions of the two groups in terms of authoritarian (cultural) fatherhood did not significantly differ with both groups having moderately high perceptions of authoritarianism in fatherhood. However, when asked to project their expectations of the ideal father there was a significant shift in attitude with unwed fathers maintaining the same high levels of authoritarianism, but non-fathers shifting to lower, less authoritarian expectations of fatherhood.

It appears that both in real and ideal viewings of fatherhood the adolescent unwed fathers maintained the same attitudes concerning the fatherhood role - one of high authoritarianism. This is found to be in keeping with the ethnocultural role of the Puerto Rican father found in those studies cited in Chapter Two (Maldonado-Sierra, et al, 1960; Leavitt, 1974; and Hoffman and Fishman, 1971). For the unwed adolescent father the adoption of the ethnocultural father role, a traditionally highly authoritarian one, is projected as being the principal model followed in his development as a father.

Problems and Limitations

There were a number of problems and limitations that were encountered in the implementation of this study which should be considered when interpreting these data.

One of the major problems of the study was the smallness of the sample size of the population due to the difficulties in obtaining the unwed adolescent father respondents. These difficulties mirror the same problems that the adolescent pregnancy programs in the New York Metropolitan area appear to encounter in including the adolescent father in their programming and planning.

This difficulty in securing a large enough representative sample may have had significant effects upon the results of the present study since a larger sample of Puerto Rican adolescent unwed fathers may have significantly different responses to the variables under study. In replicating the study it is recommended that future investigators consider radio advertising in order to utilize the large audience of youth that radio advertising reaches. The use of adolescent peers as "word of mouth" carriers could also facilitate larger dissemination of the study's existence to the targetted adolescent populations.

The need to pay for respondent participation in the study from the investigator's own resources proved problematic because other means of attracting the unwed adolescent fathers were unsuccessful. The studied adolescent unwed fathers posed a sense of financial/vocational urgency not anticipated by the investigator due to their needs to support their new family. Without the aid of a concrete job or educational service the investigator was often stymied in attempts at attracting respondents. It is recommended that future investigators become affiliated with agencies or organizations which would defray the financial burden, or else contribute a job referral or job skills enhancement service for the adolescent unwed father.

The lack of male workers or researchers in the field of adolescent parenting coupled at times with a less than sympathetic attitude towards the unwed father often led the investigator to be thwarted in attempts at utilizing the existing teen pregnancy agencies as possible resources. This often resulted in initial suspiciousness and rejection of the investigator's study without allowing for a more thorough understanding of the study's purposes. Recommendations are for a pre-investigation survey of those agencies addressing adolescent pregnancy and planning so as to be able to focus research efforts more adaptively, or else lay some educational groundwork as to the merits of a similar study.

Restriction to the Puerto Rican population is a limitation of the study as it restricts the generalizability of findings to non-Puerto Rican adolescent unwed father groups. Replications of this study should plan to expand the respondent population so as to test the hypotheses with different ethnocultural groups.

Practical Implications

There were a number of findings derived from the study which may have practical implications for others involved in research or applied practice in the area of adolescent unwed fatherhood.

The practical implications of the study relate directly to the adolescent family system. Workers in the field of adolescent parenting should focus their efforts upon the new family system with programming directed at engaging both adolescent father and adolescent mother in the planning process. One major way of engaging the adolescent father is by offering him concrete, job related services whether

by developing a vocational training component, or else by referring him to a job referral or youth employment service. This is to maximize his desires to provide financial support to his new family and thus be a functioning member of the new family system.

The poor contraception usage of both groups indicates a need for a renewed emphasis on birth control methods beginning in the junior high school. This is to have educators whether through health classes or the regular physical education program begin early to emphasize again and correct misconceptions concerning prophylactic use and the need to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

There is a decided need for more male workers in the field of adolescent parenting. The present study indicated that the bulk of the sample came from single parent, mother homes. More male workers could help the adolescent male deal more adaptively with his twin dilemmas of developing a more secure sense of adult male identity and resolving the anxiety provoking pressures of premature fatherhood.

Since adolescence is a heavily peer-oriented developmental stage adolescent parenting programs could utilize adolescent peer groups to engage the adolescent in reality planning for his new family, as well as provide a supportive environment in which the peer group could help the adolescent father deal with the pressures of trying to be a contributing, caring father, and thus lessen the changes of adolescent family disruption.

Future Research

Areas of future research derived from the study could include: first, the investigation of the relationship of the adolescent unwed

father to his own mother. The study indicated that the position of importance of the mother in the family of the adolescent father was unquestioned. By looking at this relationship more intensively investigators could determine whether maternal dynamics contribute as yet unstudied influences upon the adolescent unwed father.

The departure of the father during the latency stage of development indicates an area of further study. Exploring more intensively with the adolescent father his paternal memories, paternal contacts, and family myths concerning his departed father could further the study of the psychological impact upon the young adolescent father of his absent father. This would help determine whether if indeed latency is a crucial period for the future development of unwed adolescent fatherhood.

Measuring in more detail ethnic identity formation and feelings concerning ethnocultural group membership is another area of future investigation. This is especially germane as unwed adolescent fatherhood cuts across all ethnicities. Are there cultures which are more conducive to unwed adolescent fatherhood, and if so how can workers in the field utilize ethnocultural understanding to forestall unwed adolescent fatherhood?

Determining where and how unwed adolescent fathers obtain contraceptive information and determining the biasing factors which mitigate against its use is another area of further investigation. This study indicated more negative, or neutral feelings concerning contraception. Where these attitudes are learned and how they can be changed is germane to future research and planning.

Finally looking at the entire relationship of the unwed adolescent parents, father and mother, pre-pregnancy and post-pregnancy in terms of the relationship's significance and the impact upon adolescent parents could gain insight into the key nodal points during which both adolescents become especially at risk for unwanted pregnancy. Efforts could be undertaken at an adolescent parent study in which unwed adolescent parent couples could be studied in depth as to attitudes, biases, and their psychological development in parenthood. The relationship of the adolescent unwed fathers of this study to the mothers of their children proved intense. This relationship proves to be the crux of the entire adolescent unwed parent issue.

Appendix One

I Puerto Rican Adolescent Questionnaire (PRAQ)

Name (Nombre)

DOB (Fecha de Nacimiento)

Place of Birth (1) NYC _____ (2) PR _____ (3) Other _____

Years in NYC (Consistent or Time Spent in PR)

Address (Dirrecion)

School (Escuela)

Last Grade Completed (Ultimo Grado Completado)

I

- (1) Could you make up a family tree? Just your immediate family and put yourself in it with ages of members. (Use back of form)
- (2) Are your natural parents living together? (If No) With which parent do you live?
- (3) How old were you when your father/mother left?
- (4) Does anyone else live in your home?

II

- (5) When people meet you do they know you're Puerto Rican?
(If Yes) How is it they know? (If No) How is it they don't know?
- (6) How many of your male friends are White? black? Puerto Rican?
(Number and Percentages)
- (7) How many of your female friends are White? Black? Puerto Rican?
(Number and Percentages)
- (8) Which do you feel most relaxed with, Puerto Ricans? Others?
All? None? (Why?)
- (9) Do you feel uncomfortable or uptight with any of the above groups?

(Which and Why?)

- (10) What feelings do you have about being Puerto Rican?
- (11) Have you ever had fantasies about being in another racial or ethnic group? (If Yes) Which one(s) and why?
- (12) Does a Puerto Rican man act differently than other men?
(If Yes) In what way? Positive? Negative?
- (13) Is there any Puerto Rican man you are close to, admire, or would like to be like? (If Yes) Who? Why? Where meet? Contact?
(If No) Why is that so?

III

- (14) Do you have or have you ever had a girlfriend? (For UF) Before the pregnancy did you have other girlfriends?
- (15) Is it important to have one girlfriend or lots of girlfriends?
Why?
- (16) From what group are/were your girlfriends? (For UF also)
From what group is your child's mother?
- (17) If an opportunity to have sex with a girl arises is it necessary for a guy to take advantage of that opportunity? Every time?
- (18) Do you know if any of your male friends have ever had sex?
How do you know?
- (19) Have you ever had sex with your girlfriend(s)? (For UF) Before the pregnancy how often did you have sex with the mother of your child?
(If Yes) How many times in all? (If No) What prevented you from having sex?
- (20) From what group are/were your sexual partners?
- (21) When you have/had sex do/did you use any birth control or

contraception?

(If you did have sex would you use any birth control or
contraception?)

- (22) How many times did you use birth control?
- (23) Do you think contraception should be used during sex?
- (24) If a girl becomes pregnant what would her boyfriend do? (For UF)
Since your girl became pregnant have you had any relationship
with her?
- (25) Have you or your friends gotten a girl pregnant? (If yes)
What did you/they do? (For UF) Was the pregnancy planned?
- (26) Is there any difference between a guy who gets a girl pregnant
and one who doesn't?

IV

- (27) What does the word "father" mean to you?
- (28) How does a father act?/How should a father act?
- (29) Is/was your father like that?
- (30) Is/was your father someone you'd like to be like or someone
you admire? Why? Why not?
- (31) Is a Puerto Rican father different from fathers in other
groups? (If Yes) How?
- (32) Are you the father of a child?
- (33) How would/do you as a father act towards your child?
- (34) Was your father an unwed father himself?

Appendix Two

II Family Ranking Scale (FRS)

Directions to be Read aloud:

I'd like you to rank the people in your family in the order of importance to you with a one (1) given to the most important person, two (2) to the next most important person, and so on. For example, if you felt that your uncle was the most important person to you in your family you'd put 1 uncle(s). Please rank all of the following:

- ____ Mother (Madre)
- ____ Father (Padre)
- ____ Sister(s) (Hermana)
- ____ Brother(s) (Hermano)
- ____ Grandparent(s) (Abuelo)
- ____ Uncle(s) (Tio)
- ____ Aunt(s) (Tia)
- ____ Other(s) (Others) Who _____

Appendix Three

III Authoritarian Father Scale (AFS)

Directions to be read aloud and given to respondent:

The following statements are about fathers. If you Agree Strongly with a statement place a 5 on the line. If You Agree with a statement place a 4. If you have No Opinion place a 3. If you Disagree place a 2. And if you Disagree Strongly place a 1. For example for the statement "A father acts stern" if you Agree with the statement you would place a 4 after the statement on the line like this 4. Now do all of the following statements:

5 - AGREE STRONGLY

4 - AGREE

3 - NO OPINION

2 - DISAGREE

1 - Disagree Strongly

Fathers act bossy, like they're the rulers. _____

A father protects or overprotects his wife and children. _____

A father gives orders and sets rules. _____

A father acts stern. _____

A father has to be macho. _____

A father is mean when you do something bad. _____

A father teaches you right and wrong. _____

A father is strong and never shows weakness. _____

A father has the right to hit the mother on occasion. _____

It is alright for a father to have another woman. _____

(AFS PART B)

5 - AGREE STRONGLY

4 - AGREE

3 - NO OPINON

2 - DISAGREE

1 - DISAGREE STRONGLY

The ideal father acts bossy, like he's the ruler. ____

The ideal father protects or overprotects his wife and children. ____

The ideal father gives orders and sets rules. ____

The ideal father acts stern. ____

The ideal father has to be macho. ____

The ideal father is mean when you do something wrong. ____

The ideal father teaches you right and wrong. ____

The ideal father is strong and never shows weakness. ____

The ideal father has the right to hit the mother on occasion. ____

It is alright for the ideal father to have another woman. ____

Bibliography

- Anderson, U. M., Jenss, R., Mosher, W. E. & Richter, V. The medical, social, and educational implications of the increase in out-of-wedlock birth. American Journal of Public Health, 1966, 56(11), 1866-1873.
- Araoz, D. L., Male Puerto Rican parental self-image (How Puerto Rican men in New York feel about being fathers). (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1969). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1969 30(4), 1629A-1630A. (University Microfilms, No. 69-16, 784).
- Barglow, P., Bornstein, M., Exum, D. B., Wright, M. K., & Visotsky, H. M. Some psychiatric aspects of illegitimate pregnancy in early adolescence. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1968, 38(4), 672-687.
- Bem, S. L. The measurement of psychological androgyny. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1974, 42(2), 155-162.
- Berle, B. B. Eighty Puerto Rican families in New York City (reprint ed.). New York: Arno Press, 1975.
- Bernstein, R. Unmarried parents and their families. Child Welfare 1966, 45, 185-193.
- Billler, H., & Meredith, D. Father Power. New York: NeDavid McKay, 1974.
- Billingsley, A. Black families in white America. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Bogardus, E. S. Measuring social distances. Journal of Applied Sociology, 1925, 9, 299-308.
- Braen, B. B., & Forbush, J. B. School-age parenthood: A national overview. Journal of School Health, 1975, 45(5), 256-262.
- Chenoweth, A. D. Editorial: The school-age pregnant girl. Journal of School Health, 1971, 41(7), 347-348.
- Clark, A. L. The crisis of adolescent unwed motherhood. American Journal of Nursing, 1967, 67(7), 1465-1469.
- Colon-Edgar, M. The Puerto Rican family. Paper presented at a forum of New York State Bar Association: Family Law Section, New York City, January, 1969.
- Departamento de Salud, Oficina de Estadísticas, Análisis y Control de Información, Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico, Informe Anual de Estadísticas Vitales, 1977.

- Drew, L. R. The psychiatrist and the unwed mother. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1965, 11(2), 123-130.
- Edlin, S. B. The unmarried mother in our society. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Young, 1954.
- Fernandez-Marina, R., Maldonado-Sierra, E., & Trent, R. D. Three basic themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican family values. Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 48, 167-181.
- Fernandez-Mendez, E. La identidad y la cultura. San Juan, P.R.: Instituto de la Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1970.
- Futterman, S., & Livermore, J. B. Putative fathers. Journal of Social Casework, 1947, 28(5), 174-178.
- Giordano, J., & Giordan, G. P. Ethnicity, and community mental health. Community Mental Health Review, 1976, 1(3), 4-14.
- Guttmacher Institute. Eleven million teenagers: What can be done about the epidemic of adolescent pregnancies in the United States. New York: Planned Parenthood Federation of American, 1976.
- Hass, A. Teenage sexuality: A survey of teenage sexual behavior. Los Angeles: Pinnacle Books, 1979.
- Hendricks, L. E. Unmarried black adolescent fathers' attitudes toward abortion, contraception, and sexuality: A preliminary report. Journal of Adolescent Health Care, 1982, 2(3), 199-203.
- Herzog, E. The chronic revolution: Births out of wedlock. Clinical Pediatrics, 1966, 5(2), 130-135.
- Hoeft, D. L. A study of the unwed mother in the public schools. Journal of Education Research, 1968, 61(5), 226-229.
- Hoffman, G., & Fishman, J. A. Life in the neighborhood: A factor analytic study of Puerto Rican males in the New York City area. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 1971, 12(2), 85-100.
- Howard, M. Pregnant school-age girls. Journal of School Health, 1971, 41(7), 361-364. (a)
- Howard, M. Outlook and outreach for the young father. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1971, 41, 294-295. (b)
- Kipp, M., & Griggs, S. A. Special educational centers for unwed pregnant girls. School Counselor, 1975, 22(5), 342-346.
- Kruger, W. S. Teaching parenthood. American Education, 1972, 8(10), 25-28.

- LaBarre, W. The triple crisis: Adolescence, early marriage, and parenthood. Part II - Fatherhood. In The double jeopardy - the triple crisis: illegitimacy today. New York: National Council on Illegitimacy, 1969.
- Leavitt, R. R. The Puerto Ricans: Culture change and language deviance. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1974.
- Lorenzi, M. E., Klerman, L. V., & Jekel, J. F. School-age parents: How permanent a relationship? Adolescence, 1977, 12(45), 13-22.
- Maldonado-Sierra, E. D., Trent, R. D., & Fernandez-Marina, R. Neurosis and traditional family beliefs in Puerto Rico. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1960, 6(3-4), 237-246.
- Maldonado-Sierra, E. D., Trent, R. D., Fernandez-Marina, R., Flores-Gallardo, A., Vigoreaux-Rivera, J., & DeColon, L. S. Cultural factors in the group psychotherapeutic process for Puerto Rican schizophrenics. International Journal of Group Psychotherapy, 1960, 10, 373-382.
- McAdoo, H. Family therapy in the black community. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1977, 47(1), 75-79.
- McGanity, W. J., Little, H. M., Fogelman, A., Jennings, L., Calhoun, E., & Dawson, E. B. Pregnancy in the adolescent: 1. Preliminary summary of health status. American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, 1969, 103(6), 773-788.
- McMurray, G. L. Continuing education for teenage parents. Nursing Outlook, 1969, 17(12), 66-69.
- Minuchin, S., Montalvo, B., Guerney, B. G. Jr., Rosman, B. L., & Schumer, F., Families of the slums. New York: Basic Books, 1967.
- Mitchell, J. J. Some psychological dimensions of adolescent sexuality. Adolescence, 1972, 7(28), 447-458.
- Mizio, E. Impact of external systems on the Puerto Rican family. Social Casework, 1974, 55(2), 76-83.
- Montijo, J. The Puerto Rican client. Professional Psychology, 1975, 6(4), 475-477.
- Murdock, C. G. The unmarried mother and the school system. American Journal of Public Health, 1968, 58(12) 2217-2224.
- Murillo-Rohde, I. Family life among mainland Puerto Ricans in New York City Slums. Perspectives in Psychiatric Care, 1976, 14(4), 174-179.

- National Academy of Sciences. Maternal nutrition and the course of pregnancy: A summary report. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1970.
- New York City, Department of Health, Bureau of Health Statistics and Analysis. Total Live Births and out-of-Wedlock births by age of mother and ethnic group, New York City, 1970-1977. (Unpublished).
- Padilla, E. Up from Puerto Rico. New York: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1958.
- Pannor, R. Casework services for unmarried fathers. Children, 1963, 10(2), 65-70.
- Pannor, R. The forgotten man. Nursing Outlook, 1970, 18, 36-37.
- Pannor, R. The teenage unwed father. Clinical Obstetrics and Gynecology, 1971, 14(2), 466-472.
- Pannor, R., & Evans, B. W. The unmarried father revisited. Journal of School Health, 1975, 45(5), 286-291.
- Pannor, R., Massarik, F., & Evans, B. The unmarried father: Findings and implications for practice - Casework aids for reaching and working with unmarried fathers. New York: National Council on Illegitimacy, 1968.
- Pannor, R., Massarik, F., & Evans, B. The unmarried father. New York: Springer Publishing, 1971.
- Pauker, J. D. Fathers of children conceived out of wedlock: Pre-pregnancy, high school, psychological test results. Developmental Psychology, 1971, 4(2), 215-218.
- Perkins, R. F., & Grayson, E. S. The juvenile unwed father. In Effective services for unmarried parents and their children: Innovative community approaches. New York: National Council on Illegitimacy, 1968.
- Preble, E. The Puerto Rican-American Teenager in New York City. In E. Brody (Ed.), Minority group adolescents in the United States. Baltimore: William & Wilkins, 1968.
- Price, J. V. Problems of adolescent fathers. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1971, 41, 294.
- Reider, N. The unmarried father. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1948, 18, 230-237.
- Rendon, M. Transcultural aspects of Puerto Rican mental illness in New York. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1974, 20(1-2), 18-24.
- Robbins, M. B. The dynamics of unwed fatherhood. (Doctoral

- dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975, 36(4), 1647B-1648B. (University Microfilms No. 75-22,858).
- Robbins, M. B., & Lynn, D. B. The unwed fathers: Generation recidivism and attitudes about intercourse in California Youth Authority wards. Journal of Sex Research, 1973, 9(4), 334-341.
- Rosenberg, B., & Bensman, J. Sexual patterns in three ethnic subcultures of an American underclass. In A. M. Juhasz (Ed.), Sexual development and behavior: Selected readings. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1973.
- Rowan, M., & Pannor, R. Work with teenage unwed parents and their families. Child Welfare, 1959, 38(10), 16-21.
- Rowan, M., & Pannor, R. An assertive casework approach to the older unmarried father. Child Welfare, 1961, 40(3), 23-28.
- Siegel, S. Non-Parametric Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.
- Sorensen, R. C. Adolescent sexuality in contemporary America. New York: World Publishing, 1973.
- Torres-Matrullo, C. Acculturation and psychopathology among Puerto Rican women in mainland United States. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1977, 46(4), 710-719.
- U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports. Selected Characteristics of Persons and families of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish origin: March 1972. Series P-20, No. 238, July 1972.
- U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports. Persons of Spanish origin in the United States: March 1975. Series p-20, No. 283, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975.
- U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An uncertain future. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics. Vital and Health Statistics. Trends in Illegitimacy: United States (1940-1965). Series 21, No. 15, Washington D. C." U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974.
- U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Services, National Center for Health Statistics. Vital Statistics of the United States, 1975, Volume I - Natality. DHEW publication No. (PHS) 78-1113, 1978.N.

- Valentine, C. E. Deficit, difference, and bicultural modes of Afro-American behavior. Harvard Educational Review, 1971, 41(2), 137-157.
- Vincent, C. E. Unmarried fathers and the mores: Sexual exploiter as an ex post facto label. American Sociological Review, 1960, 25, 40-46.
- Wessel, M. A. A physician looks at services for unmarried parents. Social Casework, 1968, 49(1), 11-14.
- Wolf, K. L. Growing up and its price in three Puerto Rican subcultures. Psychiatry, 1952, 15, 401-433.
- Young, L. Out of Wedlock, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954.