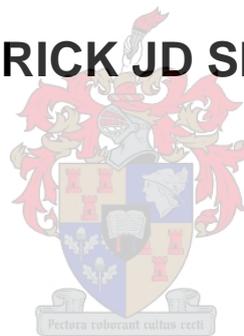


# **SOCIAL WORK INTERVENTION FOR UNMARRIED TEENAGE FATHERS**

by

**PATRICK JD SMITH**



**Dissertation presented for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work  
at the University of Stellenbosch.**

**Promoter: Professor Sulina Green**

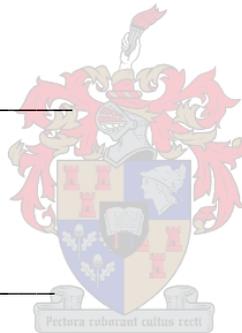
**April 2006**

# DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own work and has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

Patrick JD Smith

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Signature



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Date

## SUMMARY

The study aimed to explore and describe the experiences, perceptions and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers and to assess the attitudes and attentiveness of selected social workers and organisations that provide services to adolescent parents.

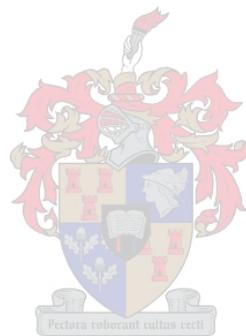
In view of the position in which teenage fathers find themselves and with regard to stereotyping and the disregard for their role as fathers, no concerted attempt is made by organisations to provide services to them. They are marginalized and despite changes in legislation and a Bill of Human Rights their needs are not attended to.

A mixed research methodology was employed in conducting this exploratory-descriptive study. The study was advertised in the waiting rooms of relevant organisations, in consultation with pregnancy help centres, social work agencies and youth services. Those who responded were interviewed according to inclusion criteria for the study and those who did not qualify were referred to appropriate services. Confidentiality was assured and consent to participate in the study was discussed. A non-random sample of 32 participants was identified, ranging from 13 to 19 years were located of who 15 agreed to participate. Further attrition resulted in the sample being reduced to 12. Interview schedules were used to facilitate the discussion and to ensure that all participants were asked the same questions.

The second part of the study explored the attitude and attentiveness of services to adolescent parents. All organisations providing such services were invited and seven eventually agreed to participate. Of these, four indicated that they were participating in their personal capacity. Interviews were guided by an interview schedule which aimed to explore attitude, attentiveness and capacity to provide services to unmarried teenage fathers.

The findings of the study revealed that teenage fathers want to be involved with their children, but social stereotyping, unrealistic expectations of partners

and family, and social discrimination militate against them. However, the support of family and the natal partner and her family, are factors that determine continued involvement. Services were perceived and experienced as negative and dismissive of their role as fathers.



## OPSOMMING

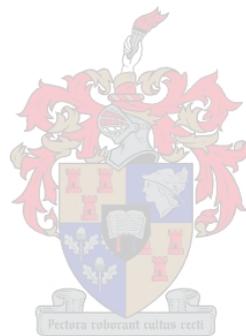
Hierdie studie stel ten doel om die ervaringe, persepsies en behoeftes van ongehuide tienervaders te ondersoek en te beskryf. Voorts ondersoek die studie ook die houding en opmerkzaamheid van maatskaplike werkers en diensorganisasies jeens tienervaders en hulle behoeftes.

In die lig van die omstandighede waarin tienervaders hulself bevind ten opsigte van stereotipering en die minagting van hulle rol as vader, word geen daadwerklike poging deur instansies aangewend om hulle van hulp te wees nie. Hulle word gemarginaliseer nieëtaanstaande veranderende wetgewing en 'n handves van menseregte.

'n Gemengde navorsingsontwerp en metodologie was gebruik in die uitvoer van hierdie beskrywende-verkennende studie. Die studie was adverteer in die wagkamer van bepaalde instansies, en deelnemers was identifiseer in oorlegpleging met swangerskapberadings- en voorligtingsdienste en maatskaplikewerk organisasies. Onderhoude was gevoer met diegene wat reageer het ten einde te bepaal of hulle aan die insluitingskriteria vir die studie voldoen. Vertroulikheid was verseker en toestemming vir deelname in die studie was verkry. 'n Nie-ewekansige steekproef was gebruik en 32 deelnemers was uiteindelik geïdentifiseer wat in ouderdom gewissel het van 13 to 19 jaar. Uit hierdie aantal het 15 aangedui dat hulle aan die studie wou deelneem. Deur verdere selfuitskakeling het 12 deelnemers aan die studie deelgeneem. Onderhoudskedules was gebruik om die onderhoudsgesprekvoering te fasiliteer ten einde te verseker dat alle deelnemers dieselfde vrae gevra word.

Die tweede deel van die studie het die houding en die opmerkzaamheid van diensorganisasies jeens tienervaders bepaal. Alle organisasies wie dienste lewer in die veld was gekontak en genooi om aan die studie deel te neem. Sewe instansies het daartoe ingestem, maar vier deelnemers het aangedui dat hulle in hulle persoonlike hoedanigheid deelneem. 'n Onderhoudskedule was gebruik om die gesprekvoering te fasiliteer.

Die bevindinge van die studie dui daarop dat tienervaders graag betrokke wil wees met hulle kinders, maar dat maatskaplike stereotipering, onrealisties verwagtinge van hul natale maats en dié se familie en diskriminasie grootliks teen hulle tel. Die ondersteuning van hulle gesinne van herkoms die ondersteuning van die moeders van hul kinders en hul gesinne is faktore wat voortgesette betrokkenheid grootliks beïnvloed. Met betrekking tot hul rol as vader en hul behoeftes word maatskaplikewerk en ander beradingsdienste in die geheel word as ontoeganklik beleef en in 'n negatiewe lig beskou.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

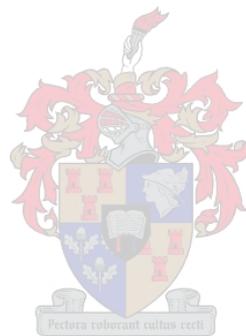
My sincere appreciation to the following people and institutions that helped to make this study possible:

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- Dr Vivian Gadsden, Director of the National Center for Fathers and Families in the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania for sharing her expertise and for access to the resources of the institute;

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<sup>1</sup> Four of the seven individuals/organisations who agreed to be interviewed advised that they were doing so in their personal capacities and not as representatives of their organisations.

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# SOCIAL WORK INTERVENTION FOR UNMARRIED TEENAGE FATHERS

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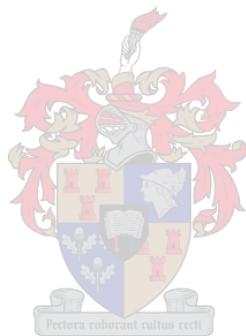
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**Fatherhood has a very long history,  
but virtually no historians.**

**- J Demos,**

*Past, present and personal:  
The family and the life course in American history.*

*New York: Oxford University Press.*

1986

## Chapter 1

### Introduction to the study

#### 1.1 Introduction

Parenting has been the subject of scholarly investigations in many disciplines of humanities and social sciences. Motherhood, however, has enjoyed the attention of policy makers, researchers, the academic and services providers as 'parenting' has been equated with 'mothering' and fathers were viewed as being less important in the process of child development (Robinson & Barret, 1986: ix). With the rise of feminism and feminist studies in the 1960s, when gender roles were re-evaluated, 'men's issues' in general and fatherhood in particular became an arena of renewed interest and research. It generated a counter-balance in the parenting equation and emphasis was placed on the fathering role as a cornerstone of family life.

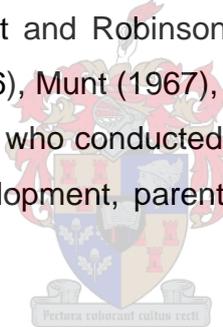
Robinson and Barret (1986) summarise the attitude towards and the experiences of fatherhood until the 1970s as having been taken for granted. Fathers were accepted as necessary ingredients in family life, but few people really expected them to be deeply involved in day-to-day parenting activities.

The erstwhile comment by Margaret Mead (cited by Parke et al, 1980: 1) that "fathers are a biological necessity but a social accident" aptly describes the limited role expected of men in families at that time. However, the age of 'paternal rediscovery' led to a flood of research on fathering that started in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Unmarried teenage motherhood likewise has also enjoyed the attention of social services from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the earlier part of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Guibord, 1922; Kammerer, 1918; Leffingwell, 1892; Lowe, 1927; Mangold, 1921). Research into and services for teenage mothers have

continually been investigated in various contexts e.g. child development, feminist and family and parenting studies. In contrast, little or no attention was devoted to teenage fathers. The earliest study which focused on the problems and psychological consequences of unmarried paternity, was a study done by Reider in 1948.

Generally, however, research about single or unmarried fathers has focused attention mainly on fathers after divorce (Atkin & Rubin, 1976; Galper, 1981; Gatley, 1979; Hetherington et al, 1978; McFadden, 1974; Woody, 1978) or as widowers (Hanson & Bozett, 1985; Lamb, 1986; LeMasters, 1957; Parke et al, 1980). The focus on unmarried teenage fathers is a phenomenon that only gained attention from approximately the 1970s. Authors such as Allen and Doherty (1996), Allen and Doherty (1998), Applegate (1988), Backett (1987), Baldwin and Cain (1980), Barnett (1997), Barret and Robinson (1981), Barret and Robinson (1982a), Barret and Robinson (1982b), Barret and Robinson (1985), Elster and Lamb (1986), Munt (1967), Robinson (1986), and Robinson and Barret (1986) are authors who conducted research about teenage fathers - from inter alia human development, parenting, service delivery and policy perspectives.



Many myths and stereotypes surround adolescent fathers. Generally they are considered to be 'trouble-makers' with 'uncontrollable hormones' or depicted as 'shadowy' and 'irresponsible individuals' who are more concerned with proving their masculinity or establishing a reputation within the community as opposed to being actively involved with parenting (Parke et al, 1980). Connolly (1978) espouses this perception when he describes adolescent fathers as self-centred and irresponsible males who take advantage of young women without thinking of the consequences of their behaviour. According to Robinson and Barret (1986: 172) "... the consequences of being a teenage father are further complicated by the stereotype ... [of being] an irresponsible, perhaps even reckless youth, who got himself into a bad situation because of an inability to control his sexual desires". This stereotype of teenage fathers

by society explains in part why they are often not considered seriously and hence excluded from social work services available to adolescent parents.

Until the 1980s most of the research on adolescent parenting has focused on teenage mothers (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1979; Furstenberg, 1980). Apart from the stereotyping and reservations expressed about teenage fathers, reasons for the attention being focused on teenage mothers can be ascribed to:

- (a) Them being willing and available subjects for research (Elster & Lamb, 1986);
- (b) The consequences which early child bearing has on premature parenthood and the economic, marital and child bearing careers of young mothers (Furstenberg et al, 1989: 315-6);
- (c) The sympathy society has for teenage mothers due to being deprived of opportunities in life; and
- (d) The vulnerability and welfare stigma associated with single mothers (Ladner, 1988; Jarrett, 1996).

A review of literature on adolescent fatherhood was undertaken to gain a worldview of the experiences of unmarried teenage fathers. Literature was drawn from social work and cognate disciplines - inter alia sociology, psychology, education, and nursing. There seems to be a general paucity of literature about the phenomenon of adolescent birth fathers. The majority of authors are in the United States of America and focus primarily on African American or Latino teenage fathers (Allen & Doherty, 1996; Barret & Robinson, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1985; Butts, 1981; Cervera, 1989, 1991; Christmon, 1990; Elster & Panzarine, 1979, 1980, 1983; Harrison, 1988; Hendricks, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1988; Hendricks & Fullilove, 1983; Hendricks, Howard & Caesar, 1981; Hendricks, Robinson-Brown & Gary, 1984; Ladner, 1988; Munt, 1967; Rivara, 1986; Rivara, Sweeney & Henderson, 1986; Sachs, Poland & Giblin, 1990; Wilson, 1986). Ladner (1988) asserts that the singular focus on Black teen pregnancy obscures the bigger problem and context

since it transcends racial, economic, geographic and sub-cultural boundaries. Although white teenage pregnancy rates in the United States of America have increased at a faster rate than for Blacks as a group, the specific problems posed by Black teen pregnancy emerge from the fact that most teenage mothers remain poor, unmarried and dependent on welfare.

Initial research done on teenage fathers were mainly of a quantitative nature with research by Battle (1988) and Parke and Neville (1987) being the first to emphasise demographic information on young fathers and their behaviour. Subsequently several researchers conducted qualitative studies on adolescent fathers. However Allen and Doherty (1996) pleaded for research that integrates both objective and subjective aspects that would allow a comprehensive understanding of the lives and experiences of these young men.

Contrary to the research undertaken in particular in the United States of America, a search for literature on teenage fathers in South Africa revealed that no specific information has been recorded except when cursively referred to in relation to teenage mothers (Bezuidenhout, 2004; Burman & Preston-Whyte, 1992; Howes & Green, 1997; Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA), 2003). Although similarities can be expected to exist in terms of human development and sociological factors i.e. attitudes, educational levels of teenage fathers, poverty, being a member of a single parent family, family "traditions" of pregnancy out of wedlock, etc., no research on this topic has been conducted in South Africa.

The high teenage pregnancy rate in South Africa (Burman & Preston-Whyte, 1992; Howes & Green, 1997; Human Sciences Research Council, 1997; PPASA, 2003) highlighted the need for, inter alia, social work services to teenage fathers. This can be viewed as a priority since the factors that lead to an unplanned pregnancy are exceedingly more complex than the highly simplistic "raging hormones" theory. Factors such as age, level of emotional maturity, lack of relationship stability, financial dependence, values and fears

about the future can compound the problem. Young fathers are also subject to the pressures by a wide range of significant others e.g. parents, teachers, youth-, religious- and community leaders, peers and their partners. Such social pressures are often very subtle but powerful.

The young adult male experiences biological change, sexual unfolding and engages in relationship and social experimentation and is also exposed to social and cultural pressures, norms and stereotypes that impact daily on young people. When the adolescent becomes a teenage father he must negotiate all of these developmental facets and tasks and adjust to the role of being a father. Often teenage fathers also try to take on the role of being a father as per the dictums or stereotypes of society. This results in an “overload” of roles and in a collapse of either one or all of the roles, which he must or wants to fulfil. In addition to the covert or overt pressures that teenage fathers must contend with, e.g. limited or no contact with their child, they often lose interest and affirm the perception of being the irresponsible “boy”.

From a service perspective it has been the experience of the researcher that helping professionals, especially social workers, fail to recognise the needs of unmarried adolescent fathers. Reasons that could explain the apparent disinterest are (a) teenage mothers have more direct needs that must be attended to and (b) apportioning blame - “boyfriends” could have or should have acted more responsibly. Health care personnel seldom consider the “boyfriends” as being the fathers of the infants – a dismissive attitude that could result in the teenage father distancing himself from the punitive, authoritarian staff of some organisations. These attitudes are further exacerbated by the fact that teenage fathers seemingly do not have any *locus standi* as opposed to older unmarried fathers who are financially independent and who can even apply to adopt their children (Adoption Matters Amendment Act, 1998). The current practice is for either parent/s of the teenage father to assume responsibility for the maintenance of the infant or the teenage father assumes responsibility for the maintenance of the child once he is gainfully

employed. These arrangements result in teenage fathers remaining in the background and hence contribute to a lack of knowledge and an attitude of ignorance on the part of social workers regarding the needs of the teenage father.

## **1.2 Motivation for the study**

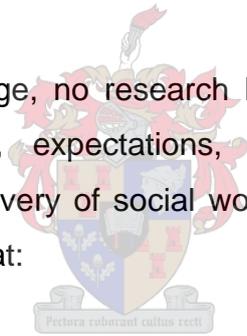
As a social work practitioner with extensive experience in the field of child and family welfare services, the researcher became aware of service limitations and widespread discrepancies in dealing with problems pertaining to, emanating from or associated with teenage pregnancy. Traditionally social workers, at best, attempted to secure the future of the child by mediating between the two families and offering counselling to the parents of the teen mother; advise and at times assist with arrangements for antenatal care. If the mother is of school-going age they would have negotiated with schools for the mother's return after the birth of the child or if the child is to be placed in foster care or be given up for adoption, they would counsel and facilitate with such placements. In contrast, determining the need for the presence or the involvement of the father often elicited an indifferent, almost dismissive attitude - especially if parents are teenagers. Services are still seldom rendered to teenage fathers. Commissioners of Child Welfare sometimes consider adolescent fathers important enough to involve them in decisions about the future of the child whilst others consider them as minors, thus not having a say in the matter pertaining to their child.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) that includes a Bill of Human Rights requires that the position of unmarried fathers also be reconsidered. This was highlighted when the Constitutional Court ruled that legislation regarding the adoption of children born out of wedlock be amended. Subsequently the Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock (Act 86 of 1997) was passed by Parliament and served as interim legislation until 1998 when the Adoption Matters Amendment Act (Act 56 of 1998) was promulgated. However, neither of these

Acts acknowledged the teenage father per se. Although the latter Act requires that the consent of birth fathers, including teenage fathers, be obtained when a child who is born out of wedlock is to be adopted, the practice has not been consistent. In fact the overall message relayed to teenage fathers by the judiciary, social work, health, and other service professions, is that they are not important. Professionals have insufficient knowledge about teen fathers - they are ignorant of their attitudes, perceptions, needs and expectations of fatherhood.

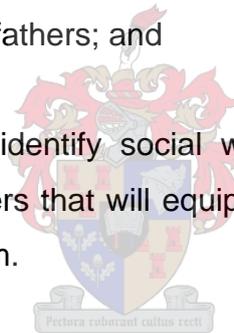
Thus there is a need to research the experiences of unmarried adolescent fathers - in particular their attitudes towards and role perceptions of paternity, their psycho-social needs and their responses to social work services so that more substantive insights can be obtained and more focused services be developed for this sector of the population.

To the researcher's knowledge, no research has been conducted in South Africa on the experiences, expectations, and attitudes of unmarried adolescent fathers or the delivery of social work services to them. Through this research it is assumed that:



- (1) The misunderstanding and ignorance of young men in this position, which is often a source of emotional trauma and compounds guilt and blame, be alleviated through improved insights, appropriate counselling, support and referrals;
- (2) The prejudice-nuances in the literature e.g. fathers are unimportant, that they have already done their "damage", and that they are not wanted, continue to enforce the assumptions about how birth fathers will and should act. The vicious circle of blame, pressure and isolation leads to internalisation of guilt, role confusion and even maladaptive behavioural patterns. This could be challenged and brought out into the public arena for more informed debate;

- (3) The prejudice towards unmarried adolescent fathers can be dispelled so that they can be educated and empowered to act, assume and fulfil their responsibilities as parent as opposed to being pressured into a guilt-ridden and often highly restrictive role which leads to frustration, feelings of isolation and even “psychiatric problems” (Greathead, 1988: 31);
- (4) The risk-taking behaviours to which adolescent fathers expose themselves reduce their opportunities in their adult lives. They face the prospects of low educational achievements, early entry into the work force, low paying jobs, increased family stress, poor adjustment to parenting and parental responsibility, and a higher divorce rate;
- (5) More information about the experiences of birth fathers could be used in preventative/educative programmes that may lead to a decrease in the incidence of adolescent fathers; and
- (6) This research aims to identify social work intervention strategies for unmarried teenage fathers that will equip social workers to render more effective services to them.



An international literature search was undertaken from 1997 to 2002 – particularly of social work literature and of cognate disciplines including psychology, sociology, education, psychiatry and nursing. In the main, a paucity of literature on the topic exists in most countries around the world - the exception being the United States of America and Canada where a growing volume of literature dating back to the 1970s exists.

An initial search of the Social Science Index, Psychology Abstracts and Social Work Abstracts (previously Social Work Research and Abstracts) was conducted at the JW Jagger Library of the University of Cape Town. The search was expanded through the Human Sciences Research Council and subsequently a computer search was done through the use of the indices and abstracts on CD-ROMs at the JS Gericke Library at the University of

Stellenbosch. By using a more extensive series of key words, i.e. teen fathers, unmarried teen fathers, teenage fathers, adolescent fathers, young unmarried fathers, young fathers, a significantly larger pool of articles and resources were located. The researcher subsequently started corresponding with some of the key authors and more related information was accessed.

The researcher also spent his sabbatical in 1999 from the University of Cape Town at the University of California, Berkeley where extensive literature searches were done. During this time the researcher had the opportunity of consultation with Dr Vivian Gadsden, the director of the National Center on Fathers and Families, in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania in the United States of America.

From October 2002 to May 2003 the researcher held the position of Geier Visiting Scholar at Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee from where he was able to consult widely with service organisations that endeavour to reach out and provide services to unmarried adolescent fathers.

The literature used in this study is mainly secondary sources of information, though some primary sources have been found - mainly from the United States of America.

This study will replicate some of the core questions raised by Allen and Doherty (1996; 1998) and Christmon (1990a & b) but will also consider the perceptions and experiences teenage fathers may have about social work services.

### **1.3 Aims and objectives of the study**

The following aims and objectives inform the study:

### 1.3.1 The aims of the study

The **main aim** of the study is to elucidate the experiences, perceptions and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers in order to centralise them and to make recommendations regarding social work strategies for unmarried teenage fathers so that policy makers, programme developers and service providers can recognise them as a population worthy of services.

The **secondary aim** of the study is to survey the programmes and assess the attitudes of and attentiveness regarding the needs of adolescent fathers by a sample of organisations that provide services to adolescent parents.

### 1.3.2 Objectives of the study

The following objectives inform the aims of the study:

- (1) To review the literature on unmarried adolescent fatherhood and fathering;
- (2) To explore unmarried teenage fathers' attitudes towards and perceptions of their roles and responsibilities of teenage paternity;
- (3) To examine the effects of unplanned pregnancy for unmarried teenage fathers on a personal and family level and in a societal context;
- (4) To synthesise and construct a knowledge base that will facilitate and enhance services to unmarried teenage fathers.
- (5) To investigate and describe the nature and extent of social work programmes for service delivery to adolescent fathers; and
- (6) To make recommendations to service providers to comprehensively manage adolescent parenting.

## 1.4 Literature review

The researcher wishes to highlight that from the literature searched, it is evident that there is not a single theory that addresses the whole being of being an adolescent father. The biological, psychological and social and economic dimensions are researched as separate areas of the teenage parents. The repetitious nature of the literature is therefore necessary as it encapsulates the context and circumstances of the teen fathers.

## 1.5 Research design and methodology

This study investigated the perception, attitudes, needs and expectations of unmarried adolescent fathers and surveyed the services offered by selected agencies working with adolescent parenting. As the study has a main aim and a secondary aim, the research design of the study was therefore conducted employing two distinct research methodologies in pursuance of the stated objectives of the study.

The main thrust of the study aims to examine the circumstances and experiences of adolescent fathers, hence this study being **exploratory-descriptive** in nature. Therefore it allows for the application of a mixed research methodology - combination of approaches for data collection. The qualitative approach used symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1969; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993) as a conceptual framework and a life history methodology to explore adolescent fatherhood (Plummer, 1983).

The secondary aim of the study is to survey the attitude and attentiveness of social work organisation towards the needs of teenage fathers. The survey method was used to explore the attitude of social workers and ascertain the attentiveness of social work services toward teen fatherhood.

### **1.5.1 Research approaches**

In view of the fact that this study is the first reported study undertaken in the South African context, it lends itself to qualitative inquiry which "... reflect the world of the subjects" (Mouton, 1996: 130) or as stated by Yegidis et al (1999: 17): "Qualitative research designs seek to understand human experiences from the perspective of those who experience them". This study therefore reaches conclusions through both inductive and deductive logic and generalisation. Padgett (1998: 2) asserts that qualitative methods "seek to discover, not test, explanatory theories". Therefore, hypotheses are not formulated beforehand - they evolve as data collection occurs. According to Yegidis et al (1999:18) sample representivity is not a major concern, but that we should be aware of the fact that "... generalizability of qualitative research findings is often vulnerable to challenge". From the outset the researcher wishes to emphasise that this study does not purport to be generalizable.

#### **1.5.1.1 Investigation of adolescent fathers**

In investigating the perceptions, attitudes and needs of the unmarried adolescent fathers, this study adopted a mixed methodology research design in order to gain comprehensive understanding and knowledge about unmarried adolescent fathers. Notwithstanding the apparent tension and debate that exist among these research processes, both Schwartz and Jacobs (1979) and Allen-Meares and Lane (1990: 452) assert that by combining the mentioned approaches, three important lessons can be learnt viz. "it recognises the limitations and validity of each, understand that there are different ways of knowing that yield different types of data, and appreciate that comprehensive studies use a combination of methods". A combination of the methods provides for methodological triangulation as it enhances data obtained.

#### **1.5.1.2 A survey of service providers**

Selected organisations were surveyed to ascertain their attentiveness regarding the needs of teenage fathers in terms of their philosophy, service policies and services regarding these target populations.

### 1.5.2 Qualitative research

According to Padgett (1998:2-3) qualitative studies convey:

“... the complex worlds of participants in a **holistic** manner using ‘thick description’ rather than pluralistic categories and variables. Furthermore, they assume a **dynamic reality**, a state of flux that can only be captured via prolonged engagement with participants. Whereas the “heart” of a quantitative report is its statistical findings, a qualitative report is a **bricolage**, a pieced together, tightly woven whole greater than the sum of its parts”.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2, cited by De Vos, 2002: 240) state that:

“... qualitative research is defined as a multi-perspective approach (utilising different qualitative techniques and data collection methods) to social interaction, aimed at describing, making sense of, interpreting or reconstructing this interaction, in terms of the meanings that subjects attach to it”.

According to De Vos (1998) qualitative research entails interpretation or construction of lived experiences of subjects. Put simply, qualitative research describes human behaviour. Mouton (2001: 194 & 195) adds to this view of De Vos (1998) when he states that the strength of a qualitative research paradigm is that it studies people and gives an “insider perspective”. It focuses on the experiences of the individuals, as they experience their situation and how they perceive their relationships in the situation. This is relevant for the adolescent father who is in relationships with his biological family, his natal partner and her family and social workers or (pregnancy advice) counsellors. All these relationships will influence their ability to relate in future relationships, understand their situation and respond to it.

The objectives of this study allow for the partial use of a qualitative method of inquiry. According to Epstein (1988:185) qualitative research methods are used to seek the essential character of social and psychological phenomena.

According to Mouton (1996: 166) the “... qualitative approach is based in symbolic interaction, which is a sociological tradition that has its roots in a rejection of the basic tenets of a positivist view of social reality”.

### 1.5.3 Quantitative research

Quantitative research enables the researcher to extract information from statistical data – hence it provides an opportunity for deductive learning (Leedy, 1985; 92). In the construction of the interview schedule, the researcher included items that made provision for the quantification of data obtained. The purpose for including quantitative measures in the study was to strengthen the inductive analysis of data obtained and to avoid simplification.

### 1.5.4 The research population

The study comprised two samples of participants, namely

- (a) Unmarried teenage fathers, and
- (b) Social workers employed in child and family welfare organisations or pregnancy advisory services.

In both samples the researcher aimed to obtain a cross section of participants who represent diverse socio-cultural and religious perspectives.

### 1.5.5 Sampling

“The choice of a particular sampling plan is naturally related to a study’s overall strategy” (Polansky, 1975: 105). Participants for both samples of the study were selected by means of **non-probability purposive sampling** which, according to Collins (in McKendrick, 1990) is appropriate “... In early stages of knowledge development, when insights that leads to the discovery of variables or when hypothesis formulation is the intent, purposive sampling may be employed”. Cases were selected for their likelihood of providing stimulating insights. In such research, the position is taken that the sample’s representativeness is not the issue. The selection made is a selection of “insight-stimulating’ cases, situations, or individuals” (Selltiz et al., 1959, cited by Polansky (1975: 105).

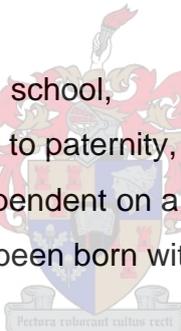
### 1.5.5.1 Adolescent fathers

The study of adolescent fathers was undertaken with urban youth in the greater Cape Town area and used a **non-random, purposive sample** (Padgett, 1998: 51) – i.e. selecting participants for their ability to provide the required information of unmarried teenage fathers.

In addition to being able to provide information, the researcher also tried to locate a sample that presented a diversity of socio-economic status, religion, education, and family structures. These are further discussed in Chapter 5.

An initial group of 32 unmarried adolescent fathers, ranging in age from 13 to 19 years, was located through non-governmental and community based organisations. The participants had to meet the following inclusion criteria to participate in the study:

- The participants attended school,
- The participants admitted to paternity,
- The participants were dependent on a parent/s or care giver/s, and
- The offspring must have been born within the preceding 24 months.



After an initial interview, the pool of participants was narrowed down to 18 and through a further self-selection and attrition process, 15 participants finally agreed to participate in the study. However, due to the poor quality of the data collected, three of the participants could not be included in the study.

### 1.5.5.2 Service providers

Counsellors and social workers employed in non-governmental and community-based organisations in the Cape Town metropole were approached with the two-fold purpose of (a) locating unmarried teen fathers to participate in the study, and (b) to enlist their own participation in the study.

Agency personnel who met the following criteria were invited to participate in the study:

- (a) Participants must have been employed in the mentioned service field for at least three years; and
- (b) They must be experienced in intervention with teen parents.

## **1.6 The research instruments and data collection procedures**

Two interview schedules were constructed to collect data relevant to the aims and objectives of the study.

### **1.6.1 Interview schedule: adolescent fathers**

The interview schedules (see **Annexures G and H**) used for collecting data from the adolescent teen fathers was constructed around aspects identified in the literature. The researcher also used items from the interview schedules used by Christmon (1990) and Allen and Doherty (1996; 1998). (These authors granted permission telephonically in November 2002, when the researcher was a Visiting Scholar at Middle Tennessee State University, on condition that they are acknowledged.) The semi-structured interview schedule consisted of pre-determined themes and items and open and closed ended questions



Some items were repeated but phrased in a way so that, through inversion, content triangulation was possible.

The interview schedule was pilot-tested and minor revisions were made in order to ensure understanding by the diverse participants who comprised the sample population.

### **1.6.2 Interview schedule: service agencies**

The interview schedule (see Annexure I) for service providers aimed at obtaining knowledge of organisations' philosophy, *raison d'être*, the services provided, agency personnel, and the changes to be made if services were to be expanded to serve unmarried adolescent fathers. The interview schedule

was pilot tested and the changes consisted mainly of rephrasing two questions in order to eliminate any ambiguity.

Additional to the data gathered during interviews, the researcher also collected pamphlets, profiles, service programmes and annual reports of organisations to verify and triangulate the information gathered.

## **1.7 Research process**

### **1.7.1 Unmarried teenage fathers**

Participants were initially interviewed to explain the purpose of the study and given a chance to decide if they wanted to participate in the study. It was explained that data would be gathered through interviews. Initially it was anticipated that interviews would last approximately sixty to ninety minutes and if more time were needed, follow-up interviews would be scheduled at a time and place that suited the participants.

The interviews focused on the following aspects:

- (1) establishing rapport with the participants and gathering demographic data on young fathers, their natal partners, and their children;
- (2) exploring participants' relationship with the child; and
- (3) focusing on participants' perception of and the meaning they attach to fatherhood – thus elaborating on information gathered during the initial interview. An interview schedule was used to facilitate the discussion and to ensure that all participants were asked the same questions.

The duration of interviews with the 12 participants can be summarised as follow:

**Table 1.1: Interviews with participants**

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Number of interviews</b>	<b>Average duration of interviews</b>
P1	1	125 minutes
P4, P6, P10, P11	3	95 minutes
P2, P3, P7, P12	4	80 minutes
P5, P8, P9	5	80 minutes

The researcher interviewed seven participants, two Xhosa-speaking field workers interviewed three participants, and two participants were interviewed by a social worker attached to a pregnancy advisory service.

The researcher wishes to point out that the participants were made aware of the research being undertaken through pamphlets that the researcher distributed through the respective service providing agencies. On reading the pamphlets the participants volunteered their participation. However, the participants requested that the research interviews be led by their counsellors. The researcher was present for all interviews conducted and participated in the interviews. Once rapport was established with participants, the researcher conducted all follow-up interviews. Although, in the case of the Xhosa-speaking participants, the initial contact was facilitated by the Xhosa-speaking interviewers, the participants felt comfortable and adequately proficient in English to continue the interview process with the researcher only.

### **1.7.2 Social workers and counsellors**

Fourteen organisations in the Cape Town metropole were telephonically contacted to inform them of the research and to ascertain their willingness to participate in the study. Four invited the researcher to visit them for further discussions, several organisations declined outright to participate while a third cohort wanted to review the questions before deciding whether they would participate. A fourth group of organisations indicated that approval to participate would have to be obtained from their respective boards of management.

Seven organisations finally agreed to participate and to be interviewed while three agreed to respond in writing to the questions contained in the interview schedule. Irrelevant information, viz. annual reports and brochures were received from three organisations - these were not considered relevant to the study. Of the seven individuals from within organisations who agreed to be interviewed four advised that they were doing so in their personal capacities and not as representatives of their organisations.

## **1.8 Strategies for rigour**

Strategies for rigour in qualitative research are necessary since qualitative research methods are easily misunderstood. Marshall and Rossman (1995) and Rodwell (1998) assert that qualitative research should defend its soundness in terms of the following questions: How credible are the findings and the criteria for rigour; will a similar investigation yield findings congruent with the original study; how replicable are the study's interpretations given the same set of data; and are the study's findings valid representations and not simply concocted by a biased researcher?

The rejection of conventional scientific terminology by most qualitative researchers underscores their independent stance in defining their research aims and procedures (Padget, 1998). Thus, concerns about internal validity – i.e. the ability to rule out alternative causal explanations of an outcome - do not apply to qualitative studies. External validity (generalizability) may or may not be seen as desirable by qualitative researchers while similarly, reliability and objectivity may be viewed as unattainable (or irrelevant).

In this study the researcher applied the following strategies for enhancing rigour.

### **1.8.1 Prolonged engagement**

Prolonged engagement helps to ameliorate the effects of reactivity and participant bias. It also makes withholding information or lying by participants

less likely. A trusting relationship between the researcher and participant reduces the motivation as well as the opportunity for deception (Rodwell, 1998; Padgett, 1998). In this study each interview concluded with the researcher making the offer to participants that should they wish to discuss any aspect related to the questions further, they could contact him. Several participants took up the offer – often to discuss concerns about not being able to fully support the child.

### 1.8.2 Triangulation

The term triangulation refers to using two or more sources to achieve a comprehensive picture of a fixed point of reference. Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 482) assert that triangulation is widely practised as a valuable means of enhancing rigor in qualitative research. In this study the researcher used the following forms of triangulation:

1. **Theory triangulation** - the use of multiple theories or perspectives to interpret a single set of data;
2. **Methodological triangulation** - the use of multiple methods to study a single topic combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study
3. **Observer triangulation** - the use of more than one observer in a single study to achieve inter-subjective agreement; and
4. **Data triangulation** - the use of more than one data source (interviews, archival materials, observational data).

### 1.8.3 Peer debriefing and support

The researcher met at intervals with the field workers to offer support, to receive and give feedback and to enhance their understanding of participants' behaviour. Peer debriefing guards against bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

### 1.8.4 Audit trail

'Leaving an audit' refers to a spirit and practice of openness and documenting each step taken in data collection and analysis (Schwandt & Halpern, 1988).

In pursuance of transparency and credibility, the researcher evaluated each interview conducted as a measure of auditing the interview process (see **Annexures F & G**).

## **1.9 Process of empirical research**

### **1.9.1 Unmarried teenage fathers**

Child and family welfare, pregnancy advice and community based organisations in the Cape Town metropole were approached with the two-fold reason viz. (a) to enlist their assistance in locating unmarried adolescent fathers, and (b) to invite them to participate in the survey of service providers. Those who were willing to participate were given an abridged proposal of the study and invitations (see Annexure A and B) to unmarried teenage fathers, indicating the criteria for participation and assuring them of confidentiality.

Participants who met the criteria listed under **Adolescent teenage fathers** (see **1.5.5.1**) were contacted and interviewed telephonically and a first appointment was made to discuss the matter of informed consent. Those who did not meet the criteria for participation in the study, were directed back to the referring or other agencies where their concerns could be dealt with, since ethically, the researcher had a responsibility to non-qualifying participants by virtue of the open invitation extended (Padgett, 1998: 33-44).

After the informed consent (see **Annexures C and D**) was obtained, interviews were arranged with each participant which aimed to:

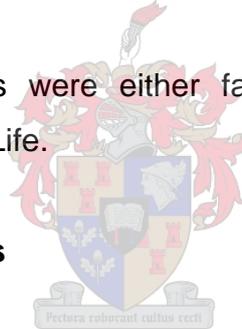
- (1) establish rapport with the participants and gather demographic data on young fathers, their natal partners, and their children;
- (2) explore each participant's relationship with the child; and
- (3) focus on each participant's perception of what fatherhood means to him - building on the demographic and experiential information gathered.

All interviews were recorded. The majority of the interviews with participants were conducted manually as the participants were not comfortable with the use of audio-recording equipment. Extensive manual notes were taken. The researcher transcribed these manual notes and the audio-recorded interviews, and entered the data into a pro forma interview data bank. A report on the interview (see **Annexures E and F**) was also compiled to enable the researcher to triangulate the data.

### 1.9.2 Service agencies

Appointments were arranged with the seven organisations or individuals who finally agreed to participate in the study. A set of questions aiming to obtain information about its guiding philosophy, services, target populations, *modus operandi* and personnel were put to all the participants. In addition participants also provided annual reports, programmes and pamphlets.

Several of the organisations were either faith-based or affiliated to the organisation Africa Cares for Life.



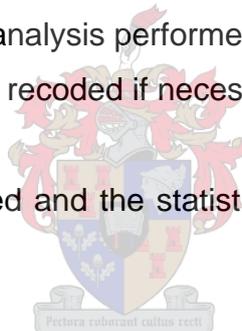
### 1.10 Data analysis process

The study adopted a mixed methodology research design for the interviews with participants. For analysis of the qualitative aspects the study used Tesch's (1990) eight-step framework for the analysis of data. These steps are as follows:

- (1) Read through the all recorded information in data bank carefully and jot down ideas as they come to mind;
- (2) Select the most interesting interview and go through the questions, while reading, thinking about the underlying meaning of the information. Also write down thoughts that come up, in the margins;

- (3) Make a list of the topics and cluster similar topics and form into columns that might be arranged into major topics, unique topics and leftovers;
- (4) Take the list of topics and return to the data. The topics are abbreviated as codes and the codes written next to the appropriate segments of the text. Try to figure new categories and codes that emerge;
- (5) Find the most descriptive wording for the topics and turn them into categories to show interrelationship;
- (6) Make a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetize the codes;
- (7) The data material belonging to each category is then assembled in one place and a preliminary analysis performed; and
- (8) The existing data can be recoded if necessary.

**Quantitative data** as analysed and the statistical inferences were presented descriptively.



## 1.11 Ethical issues

The following ethical aspects were heeded in conducting this study:

### 1.11.1 Deception and disclosure

The issue of deception and disclosure arise from the question whether participants should be informed about either that they are being observed or the true purpose or nature of the study (Padgett, 1998). The researcher spent time with each participant explaining the purpose of the study, how the information would be applied as well as the fact that it would provide participants the opportunity to review and contextualise their own experiences. If the need for further counselling was indicated, the researcher undertook to assist with the necessary referral. Each participant was also informed that

should they feel that they wished to end an interview, it would be done. In the process of conducting the interviews it was never necessary to end interviews prematurely – the opposite is in fact true. Several participants requested more time or interviews lasted a lot longer than the time indicated during the initial contact phase of the interview.

### **1.11.2 Informed consent**

Informed consent is necessary due to the close, personal and interactive nature of the research (Padgett, 1998). Consent can vary depending on the population studied. Each participant was provided with a written description of the study, full identification of the researcher's identity and information for future contact, an assurance that participation is voluntary. Also, participants were made aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time, and were assured of confidentiality, and information of any risks or benefits associated with participation in the study.

Ethically it is necessary to obtain consent for studies involving children or adolescents under the age of 18 years from their parent/s or guardian/s and verbal consent from participants themselves. This aspect presented some difficulties as some participants under the age of 18 years were not prepared to discuss their involvement but expressed a need to "talk". Only one participant requested that the researcher discuss his participation in the study with his parents who verbally consented.

The father of a "middle class" participant contacted the researcher and requested a copy of the proposal and interview schedule since he wanted it to be scrutinised by his attorney. His request was acceded to, but he never contacted the researcher again. The participant subsequently informed the researcher that he wanted to go ahead to tell his "story" since his parents "take no notice of and have no interest" in his child.

Consultation with social science researchers leaned towards parents providing consent while participants were not prepared to involve their

parents. The researcher subsequently resorted to seeking legal counsel who advised that if the encounter with the researcher is of a therapeutic nature and the participant is 14 years and older, then parental consent can be dispensed with in terms of the provisions of the Child Care Act Amendment Act (No 96 of 1996).

In South Africa opinion among Commissioners of Child Welfare differ in terms of whether a teenage-parent is a child as per the definition of the Child Care Act (No 74 of 1983) as amended or is emancipated or discharged from the provisions of the said Act. This vagueness is further compounded by the fact that when a teen-parent is discharged from the provisions of the Act, it will inevitably be the mother who is emancipated.

In conducting the study the researcher obtained written consent from each participant. (See **Annexures C & D.**)

### **1.11.3 Confidentiality and privacy**

Participants were informed about the confidential nature of the study – especially in view of the fact that some natal partners were under the age of 16 years. Privacy was ensured by giving the participants the option of choosing a pseudonym and venues for interviews.

### **1.11.4 Risks to the researcher: emotions and moral ambiguity**

When conducting research the researcher has a moral responsibility to protect participants from harm. While conducting the interviews for the study, the researcher consulted with the study leader who provided the opportunity for reflection.

## **1.12 Reflexivity**

The following reflexivity is based on Plummer's (1983) checklist of dimensions of bias. The following discussion reflects the researcher's observations and difficulties encountered during the research process.

### **1.12.1 Life history informants**

Information provided by participants was informative, honest and considering the emotionality of information shared, it was evident that all participants used the interviews to express feelings that were not previously shared. With the exception of Participant 1 who initially tried to create a very macho image, none of the other participants tried to please the researcher.

### **1.12.2 Social scientist research**

The researcher entered into the interview process with an open mind and a willingness to gain an understanding of the life experiences of teenage fathers.

The researcher met with the field workers, prepared them through role playing and also dealt with potential ethical dilemmas regarding managing the emotions and information obtained. Debriefing was done in a group context so that the containment offered greater support.

No problems were encountered with the participants despite the age difference between the researcher, and the participants. The researcher felt that the participant's prior contact with agency counsellors did not affect the interview process.

### **1.12.3 The interaction**

Interaction with participants occurred in places and times convenient for the participants. The interview venues ranged from offices being used, to the homes of participants, to selected public places. If a public place was used, the time of the interview was decided by how busy the facility would be at the appointed time. All interviewers reported that no undue disturbances occurred and that communication channels were clear and direct. No signs of disinterest were expressed through body language.

### 1.13 Limitations of the Study

This study has several limitations. The most significant of these are:

- (1) The study only focuses on unmarried teenage fathers who are still attending school – thus excluding a population of participants who could have provided information to gain a more holistic understanding of adolescent fathers;
- (2) The results may not be generalizable due to:
  - The inclusion criteria for the study of only birth fathers who are still dependent - thus a population with limited choice and scope to assume responsibilities of fatherhood; and
  - The small non-probably sample size;
- (3) The external validity, the extent to which the results are applicable to a broader group, will be limited to those who can relate to the experiences of the unmarried teenage father;
- (4) Social workers and social service agencies were not very open to participating in the study; and
- (5) The literature consulted is mainly secondary sources of information from the United States of America, due to a paucity of literature on unmarried adolescent fathers from elsewhere.

### 1.14 Explanation of concepts

- ◆ **Adolescent** refers to a person in the phase of adolescence.
- ◆ **Natal partner** means the mother of the teenage father's child.
- ◆ **Responses** include attitudes, values, viewpoints, emotions, coping mechanisms, and actions taken with regard to the role as teenage father.
- ◆ **Social worker** refers for the purpose of this study social worker shall mean any person registered in terms of the Social Service Professions Act (No.

110 of 1978) and employed in the public or private welfare sectors rendering child and family welfare services.

- ◆ **Teenage father** means the birth father or biological father of the child. Teenage father is used synonymously with adolescent father.
- ◆ **Teenager** refers for the purpose of this study to any person between the ages of thirteen and nineteen who still attends school.

### 1.15 Outline of the study

This study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the reader to the research problem and provides a background to the study. The researcher gives a brief account of the importance of the study, conceptualises the study, and discusses the methodology employed in the study.

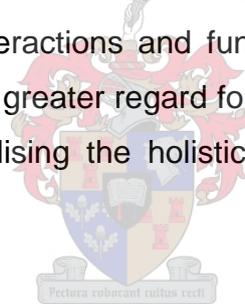
Chapters 2, 3, and 4 elucidate the theoretical perspectives underpinning this study. Chapter 2 examines some contextual considerations of adolescent parenthood from the literature; Chapter 3 explores the transition from adolescent to teenage father, and in Chapter 4 the author explores the needs, expectations and role perceptions of unmarried teenage fathers. Chapter 5 provides a profile of the participants and the findings and discussion of the data is presented. Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter that summarises the salient aspects of the study and offers recommendations for social work intervention strategies with unmarried adolescent fathers.

## Chapter 2

### Adolescent parenthood: Some contextual considerations from the literature

#### 2.1 Introduction

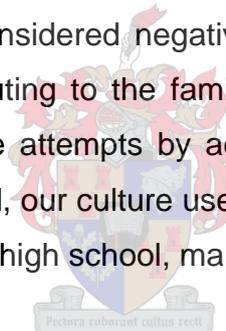
Social scientists have identified a diverse range of factors that are linked to adolescent parenthood - one of it being adolescence itself. Adolescence is a phase of important developmental changes and transitions. According to Dyk (1993) the changes occur in the spheres of cognitive, emotional and social functioning and most evidently, in physical stature and body shape. During the two decades preceding Dyk's research there was renewed interest in the bio-psychosocial dimensions, interactions and functioning of adolescents. This change can be attributed to a greater regard for adolescent sexuality as social scientists were re-conceptualising the holistic nature of this developmental stage.



In this chapter the researcher presents and reviews contextual and circumstantial factors that enhance our understanding of unmarried teenage parenthood. The literature examined, spans a period of approximately thirty years, and report mainly on the experiences in the United States, and some experiences reported in Britain and South Africa. This study provides insights from these countries about adolescent sexual unfolding, individual economic and socio-cultural aspects related to teen parenting, contraceptive behaviour, knowledge about reproduction, a review of causal theories of adolescent parenthood, and conclude with a review of research conducted in South Africa.

## 2.2 Adolescent sexuality

Diamond and Diamond (1986) allude to the fact that adolescent sexuality must be considered in the context of adolescence - the stage when they search for independence and positive feelings of self-reliance. Sometimes, however, the reach for independence exacts an unfortunately high price for both the adolescent and society and this must be understood since “physical maturation does not in and of itself insure social maturation and knowledge”. According to the authors **puberty** signals the transformation from the immature boy or girl to the physically mature man or woman when they are capable of reproducing while **adolescence** is the social transition phase between childhood and adulthood. It follows the onset of puberty but it is a protracted period that extends into the early 20s. Certifying adulthood is difficult. Teenage pregnancy, truancy, running away are some of the behaviours which is often considered negative attempts to prove adulthood while earning merits, contributing to the family income, or volunteering to a worthy cause, are all positive attempts by adolescents to gain adult status. While physical signals abound, our culture uses social cues to mark adulthood e.g. matriculation and leaving high school, marrying or becoming a parent.



### 2.2.1 Puberty

Puberty starts later in boys than in girls, but pubertal development of boys occurs with much more variation in pace and variety. Although the growth spurt starts at about 10 or 11 years, the genitals only reach adult size by about the age of 15 or 16. Generally there is a pre-occupation with genitals in boys who continue into their adult years (Diamond & Diamond, 1986; Jordan & Franklin, 2002).

These authors further state that puberty also brings with it maturation of two processes that start early; the first is the solidification of a teenager's sexual identity **as** male or female and secondly the realisation of an erotic preference **for** males or females. Variations in individual growth patterns are the norm and puberty and adolescence are times for intense interest in how self

compares with others. Peer pressures and desires to conform are often in conflict with the realities of the body and the mind (Diamond & Diamond, 1986; Jamiolkowski, 1997; Kiselica, 1995, Allgeier & Allgeier, 2000).

In keeping with their body changes and following normal hormonal urges, the pubescent-adolescents often, despite strong social pressures, increasingly turn their attention to romance and sexual desire. Peer pressure often encourages coitus. Society's messages to young adolescents are simultaneously complex and contradictory. Teenagers are told to "hurry and grow up but only in certain ways." Boys are told by society to curb their sexuality, but peers - and often role models, exalt when they "score". Girls are told to be modest and reserved, yet peers - and often mothers - encourage popularity by being "just a little sexy" (Diamond & Diamond, 1986: 12; Sarrel & Sarrel, 1979).

Decisions concerning reproduction, whether among adolescents or adults, affect all dimensions of human life, from the individual, the couple, the family, to the community, the nation and the world. As personal as these decisions may appear to be, fertility and its management has social implications that touches realms as diverse as medicine and ethics, science and religion, psychology and economics, and even politics. According to Zabin and Hayward (1993: 1)

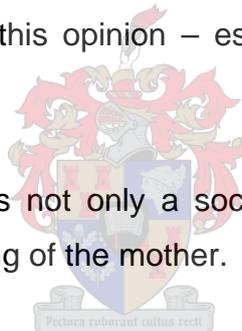
“... An individual adolescent's decision about sexuality and fertility is constrained by the customs and sanctions of a particular cultural group”.

Whether for moral, economic or social reasons, the normative life schedule is to complete schooling, gain employment, get married and then undertake parenthood. Although families in most socio-economic, ethnic and cultural settings will voice that norm and aspire to it, the strength of this ordering varies according to the perceived rewards of conforming to it and the perceived penalties of diverging from it. In most societies, out-of-wedlock

pregnancy and childbearing in adolescence violate this optimal pattern. The behaviours are not problematic, but the timing is.

It is primarily the age that makes the adolescent's transition, coital activity and conception problematic. Childbearing and the desire to experience sexual contact are biologically normal once physical maturation has occurred. For this reason, premature sexual activity is unlike the socially unacceptable behaviours with which it is often grouped. Illicit drug use, alcohol abuse, and delinquency are damaging at whatever age they occur and never considered normative by society at large. As regards teenage pregnancy, it is the **age** at which early sexual onset and pregnancy occurs, which is problematic. By placing them generally outside marriage and interfering with what is perceived as a normative progression of life events, defines them as "problem" or "high-risk" behaviour (Zabin & Hayward, 1993). Osofsky et al (1973a, 1973b) and Johnson (1974) concur with this opinion – especially with the great risks it poses medically.

Adolescent pregnancy is thus not only a social problem, but also poses a threat to the physical well being of the mother.



### 2.3 Teenage parenthood

In examining this phenomenon of adolescent parenthood in general one can ask the question: What are some of these changes, phenomena or influences that play a role in teenage sexuality and parenthood?

Teenage pregnancy and parenthood cannot be attributed to any single factor. At best it can be considered as a multi-causal phenomenon i.e. it is linked to a variety of factors including personal or individual, economic and socio-cultural factors. According to De Anda (1983: 33) the degree to which the adolescent pregnancy is viewed as a social problem varies with the age of the adolescent i.e. the younger the adolescent, the greater the perceived risks and costs. Research in the mid-1970s on future outcomes with teenage mothers (Bacon,

1974; Furstenberg, 1976; Johnson, 1974) indicate that young adolescent mothers are more likely to have limited educational and occupational achievement and therefore, poorer economic prospects.

According to Dryfoos (1982) since the mid-1970s increased attention in the United States has been directed towards the problem of adolescent pregnancies which, at that time, accounted for more than 1 million pregnancies to women under the age of 20. At the time of conducting her study, however, it was found that there were 50,000 fewer births to teenage mothers than during the previous decade. Unintended pregnancies may be attributed to the marked increase in early initiation of sexual intercourse. Dryfoos (1982) further attributes the heightened level of interest in adolescent pregnancy to the fact that adolescents who become mothers are more likely than ever to be white, very young and unmarried. Black youth have long suffered the consequences of out-of-wedlock motherhood: poverty, educational and occupational disadvantage, marriage instability and other negative outcomes. Society has dealt with the problem of black illegitimacy by attributing it to "their culture"; it was assumed that the so-called black matriarchy would absorb the children into existing units. As white teenagers experience earlier sexual initiation and discover the negative consequences, early adolescent childbearing achieved problem status.

Zabin and Hayward (1993: 8-26) claim that adolescent pregnancy focuses attention on the fact that this phenomenon has "deep roots in the past and will have ramifications for years to come". In the same vein Hayes (1987) espouses that the United States has a long history of relatively early childbearing albeit in the context of early marriage. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, the social, economic and cultural contexts of adolescence changed. Within this altered societal context, adolescent pregnancy and childbearing were given new parameters and their occurrences became more overt although they were not necessarily more common.

### 2.3.1 Teenage parents in South Africa

Studies conducted in South Africa affirm the aforementioned view of research being racially demarcated. Unlike the United States where comprehensive situational and longitudinal studies have been conducted on teenage pregnancy, no longitudinal research has been undertaken on teenage pregnancy and parenting in South Africa. Macleod (1997) reviewed teenage pregnancy in South Africa and indicated that research and popular literature only started to appear in the 1970s. Publications prior or subsequent to this time, however, had a strong racial focus. This is also evident from research published in the series on **Marriage and Family Life in South Africa: Research Priorities** (Human Sciences Research Council (1996-7). Some of the researches undertaken with a race specific orientation are:

**Table 1.2: Research with race specific orientation**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Researchers</b>
<b>Whites</b>	Cronje (1960); Venter (1959); Warnich (1971); Steyn (1979); Venter et al (1960); Rubinsztein (1992).
<b>Coloureds</b>	De Kock (1980); Roux (1968); Snyman (1971); Van Regenmortel (1975); Van Regensmortel & Van Harte (1977); Preston-Whyte & Allen (1992); Mostert (1978); Preston-Whyte & Allen (1992); Howes & Green (1997); Carolissen (1993); De Villiers (1985).
<b>Blacks</b>	Preston-Whyte (1987); Preston-Whyte (1991); Preston-Whyte & Zondi (1992); Rip & Schmidt (1977); Boulton & Cunningham (1991); Cameron, Richter, McIntyre, Dhlamini & Garstang (1996); Fouche (1992); Makheta (1996); Mkhize (1995); Mukasa (1992); Ncayiyana & Ter Haar (1989); Ntombela (1992), Richter (1996); Zama (1991)
<b>Indians</b>	Ramasar (1967); McNamara (1992)

Research conducted prior to the 1970s mainly investigated “illegitimacy” as a religious and moral dilemma. Other research done in South Africa focused on

teenage pregnancy as a sociological phenomenon (Anagnostara, 1988; Bezuidenhout, 2004; Boulton & Cunningham, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Dlamini & Mackenzie, 1991; Van der Walt, 1981), from a health care perspective (De Villiers, 1985, 1991; De Villiers & Clift, 1979; Goldberg & Craig, 1983; Greathead, 1988; Gunston, 1986) and within a legal perspective (South African Law Commission Project, 1984).

Although teenage pregnancy has been extensively researched, little if anything, however, was said about teenage fathers. The publication, **Premarital and Extramarital Sex and Cohabitation**, report attitudes towards premarital and extramarital sex and cohabitation among the different population groups in South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 1997). In **Questionable Issue: Illegitimacy in South Africa** (Burman & Preston-Whyte, 1992) considered to be a monumental publication on children and parenting out-of-wedlock, authors share perspectives on teenage pregnancy in the Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Islamic, White, Coloured and African communities.

The **Status of the Youth Report 2002** (National Youth Commission, 2002, 60) report on unwanted pregnancy and abortion and the way forward – by acknowledging the need for proactive and interventive strategies. The proposed strategies all emphasise accessibility to services – though for females, but do not place the same emphasis on teen males.

Generally teen males do not enjoy the same privileges in policies and services as teen mothers. In South African literature scant reference is made to teen fathers. During the past eight years some recognition has been given to them – especially the fact that their social-emotional experiences are similar to that of teen mothers (Bezuidenhout, 2004; De La Rey & Carolissen, 1997; PPASA, 2003;).

### 2.3.2 Incidence of teenage pregnancy

Statistics reporting incidence of teenage pregnancy differ greatly. In the United States some researchers report on very small studies, others use documentary sources for their studies while others base their studies on the interpretation of statistics of national studies. Several international studies published in **Adolescence** which attempt to compare teenage pregnancy, fall short due to researchers either ignoring socio-economic, education, religion and aspects of morality.

According to de Anda (1983) the birth rate in the United States for all age groups, including older adolescents, declined between 1967 and 1976. However, the birth rate for adolescents 17 years and younger increased (Chilman, 1979). A concomitant growth in the illegitimacy rate has also been noted in this population, having increased 60% since 1965 and 300% since 1942 (Bolton, 1982). A statement by the American Academy of Pediatrics (1979: 796) corroborates these findings when it revealed that:

“illegitimacy is being concentrated in the teenage years; 85% of births to 15-year-old or younger girls are out of wedlock compared with 23% of births to 19-year-old girls”.

*Pectus roburant cultus recti*

Robinson and Barret (1986) however found that, according to Planned Parenthood Foundation statistics, adolescent pregnancy is occurring with greater frequency and in epidemic proportions, whilst Abbott (1978) reports that boys under 18 years, are becoming fathers while still in junior and senior high school. The National Center for Health Statistics (1988) estimated that teenage males are responsible for 1.1 million pregnancies each year. This Center's 1988 publication reported that in 1986, 12.6% of mothers giving birth were under the age of 20, but only 2.7% of the fathers were teenagers. Again it must be emphasized that these statistics reflect the trend in the late 1980s which was the incidence reported at the time.

A study conducted in the United States by the National Center for Health Statistics (1988). However on reviewing the registration of birth documents it

was found that many registrations - especially regarding children born out of wedlock, provided scant or incomplete information about paternity. Sonenstein (1986) revealed that 32% of birth documents of children born to teenage mothers did not list the father's age. This may be a common problem in countries where information about paternity is either not compulsory or required.

According to Hardy and Zabin (1991) who used birth certificates as the primary source of information in their study in Baltimore, USA found that in 12% of all births, both parents were teenagers; in 14% of the cases the mother was a teenager and the father older, and in only 2% of all births was the mother 20 years or older and the father a teenager. Overall the study also found that 14% of the fathers were under age 20 - more than four times the national figure of 3% at the time. An observation made during their study is that white fathers are generally older than black fathers and are on average 4 years older than the mothers. Among black teenagers there was, on average, only a 2-3 year difference between mothers' and fathers' ages.

In his study Robinson (1988a) reports the statistics of the Alan Guttmacher Institute (1981) which estimated that 7 million teenage males and 5 million teenage females are sexually active at the average age of 16 years. Adolescent fathers are responsible for a portion of the 1.1 million unintentional teenage pregnancies each year while adolescent pregnancies account for 46% of all out-of-wedlock births and 31% of all abortions in the United States.

These statistics are supported more recently by The Annie E Casey Foundation (1999) which determined that the teen birth rate (births per 1000) for females aged 15-17 years increased from 31% in 1985 to 34% in 1996.

In South Africa, statistics of children born out of wedlock are not readily available since South African Statistics ceased to publish them after 1982 (Burman, 1992). Rip and Bezuidenhout (1984) reported that statistics on teenage pregnancies in South Africa have been increasing gradually over the

preceding 30 years. They reported that between 1974 to 1980 teenage pregnancies in the White population increased by 8%; for the Coloured and Asian groups the corresponding period the increases were 6% and 1% respectively. The statistics for Black teenage pregnancies indicated an escalation of 13-25% (Ncayiyane & Ter Haar, 1989).

Burman (1992), however, cites statistics of the Department of Health of the then Western Cape Regional Services Council which reported in 1988 that 46.6% of the births within its area of operation were out of wedlock. The figure for 1990 was 48.4% which reflects a growth of 1.6% over a two year period. An analysis, according to the categories of population classification, reported the following incidence of live births to teenage mothers per population group in South Africa:

**Table 1.3: Live births of teenage mothers**

<b>Population Group</b>	<b>%</b>
Asian	07.3
Black	69.8
Coloured	44.0
White	19.6

Preston-Whyte (reported in Burman, 1992) and Howes and Green (1997) refer to statistics of the Development Bank of Southern Africa which compiled a profile of teenage births in the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa in relation to various indicators. According to the selected population development programme indicators per province, it was established that the average number of children born out of wedlock per 100 live births was 14,6. The Western Cape province had the lowest average viz. 11,8 and the Northern Province the highest viz. 16,4. These authors also refer to the Ministry of Welfare and Population Development (1995) which determined that 33% of children were born to teenage mothers. Budlender (1998) reported that in 1995, 46% of Black and 37% of Coloured children were living in families without their fathers being present while a survey conducted by the

PPASA in 2003 found that in a sample of 800 teenagers, 40% of all the country's pregnancies involved girls under the age of 19 and 35% of all teenage girls had a child by the age of 19 (<http://www.thestar.co.za/general/article.php/fArticle=293483>).

In the light of the reported incidence of teenage pregnancy in the United States and South Africa, it is evident that despite the current policies and services to address the phenomenon of teenage parenthood, it can only be assumed that the policies are not implemented in a meaningful way or that the motivation to providing such services, keep consumers at bay.

### **2.3.3 Factors contributing to teenage pregnancy**

The phenomenon of teenage pregnancy and childbearing must be measured against a range of factors, including inter alia historical, sociological, psychological, personality factors, socio-emotional needs and availability of methods of prevention e.g. contraceptives and abortions. It is therefore necessary to explore factors contributing to teenage pregnancy and the many variables relating to risk behaviours.



#### **2.3.3.1 Socio-economic and cultural factors**

Adolescent pregnancy and fertility vary according to socio-economic status (SES). Research undertaken in the USA found that lower-income adolescents, particularly those who live in poverty, and those with less educated parents initiate sexual activity earlier and have higher pregnancy rates and birth rates than do higher-status teens according to Furstenberg (1991), Moore et al (1986) and Voydanoff and Donnelly (1990). Miller and Moore (1990: 1030) point out that this effect may be due to a “perceived lack of options and desirable alternatives for the future” and to differential “community norms and supervision practices” of families in different socio-economic strata. Voydanoff and Donnelly (1990) claim that a whole series of conditions correlated with poverty are tied to sexual activity among young people. Poor families are likely to be headed by a female and to be large.

These conditions contribute to reduced parental supervision of dating activities and thus more opportunities for sexual initiation and activity.

Jorgensen (1985) found that adolescents from lower socio-economic backgrounds tend to have lower educational and occupational aspirations, and to experience more problems in school than do others. This leads to a relatively limited range of perceived life opportunities and to a greater propensity to engage in sexual activity, to employ contraception less often and less effectively and to experience a greater probability of becoming pregnant (Furstenberg, 1987; Hayes, 1987). Abrahamse et al (1988) found in their **Adolescents in the High School and Beyond** study that teenagers who reported lower educational aspirations, more problem behaviours in school and more episodes of depression were more willing than others to consider having a child outside of marriage. Furstenberg (1987) notes that disadvantaged youth lack the motivation for actively seeking ways to prevent pregnancy.

Views on cultural factors relating to teenage parenthood come from predominantly African American scholars who locate the bases of their discussions in historical contexts (Dore & Dumois, 1990). Ladner (1988: 296-7) asserts that teen pregnancy is not a recent occurrence in the Black family. It existed since slavery in the USA, but has only in recent years become a serious threat to the stability of the Black family living there. In the period of slavery when, in a legal or technical sense, all births occurred outside the boundaries of marriage since slaves could not marry. However, the inadmissibility of marriage did not prevent slaves from placing a high value on the sanctity of marriage - they found ways to overcome such barriers. As a solution, slaves wishing to marry would "jump the broom", a ceremonial tradition imported from Africa. After emancipation, many slaves married - which demonstrated their strong desire to bear children in wedlock. This sentiment, according to the author, is further expressed by the so-called "shotgun marriage" i.e. when a girl falls pregnant and gets married, since the

community bestows respectability on persons who are willing to legitimise their child's birth.

Hogan and Kitagawa (1985) investigated the impact of social status, family structure and neighbourhood on the fertility of Black adolescents. The authors found that residence in poor neighbourhoods increased the risk of becoming pregnant compared to teen pregnancy in affluent neighbourhoods. These authors assert that being trapped in a maze of poverty curtails the opportunity for upward mobility – hence falling pregnant is often a way of gaining control over some aspect of their lives. Jones et al (1985) cited by Zabin et al (1993) question this assumption of lack of opportunity and hope for the future as they found no significant differences between teenagers' years of education and unemployment in a comparative study of Europe and the USA. A point of criticism to be highlighted against comparative studies of this kind is the fact that researchers tend to identify what they perceive to be similar target groups but fail to identify the contextual differences.

In South Africa illegitimate birth has many definitions, depending on the legal and religious context (Burman, 1992). For reasons of heterogeneity it is difficult to offer a contextual analysis of the socio-economic and cultural contexts as each population group has its own markers. Bezuidenhout (2004), De La Rey, Duncan, Shefer and van Niekerk (1997), PPASA (2003) and draw attention to the fact that an array of socio-economic and cultural factors play a role in teenage pregnancy – which range from subtle acceptance through material and emotional support, caring for the child, and providing financial and medical support.

### 2.3.3.2 Contraceptive behaviour

Adolescent pregnancy risk is determined by two clusters of behaviour: **sexual activity** which includes the timing of the first intercourse, the frequency of subsequent sexual encounters and the number of sexual partners and **contraceptive behaviour** which includes contraceptive decision making at first intercourse, the frequency of contraceptive efforts during subsequent

sexual encounters, and the effectiveness of any contraceptive measures that are employed. Pregnancy risk varies as a function of these two behavioural domains; the higher the level of sexual activity and the lower the frequency of effective contraceptive use, thus enhancing the pregnancy risk (Jorgensen in Gullotta et al, 1993).

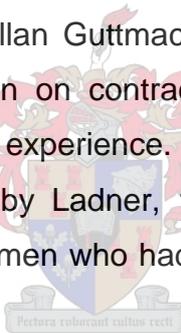
Scholars in the USA (Stern, 1994; Hanson & Bozett, 1985; Sussman & Hanks, 1996) assert that contraceptive behaviour cannot be appreciated without understanding its historical dimensions. Families who migrated to the United States believed that large families would provide physical protection for its members in times of conflict, support, and continuity regarding family name, customs and traditions, religious beliefs and race. For this reason ***coitus interruptus*** was the most commonly used contraceptive method practised by migrants. For centuries this method has remained the contraceptive method of choice as few, if any, alternative methods of contraception was available.

Black scholars (Allen & Doherty, 1996; Dryfoos, 1982; Hendricks, 1982; Hendricks & Fullilove, 1983; Johnson & Staples, 1979; Ladner, 1987) in particular have explored the use of contraceptives versus the practice of coitus interruptus in their studies of teenage parenting. Harrison (in McAdoo, 1986) asserts that the fertility rate among blacks in the African-American context showed a significant decline between 1880 and 1940. Demographers attributed this decline to health factors - especially venereal disease. However, inquiry suggests that blacks used birth control at a much higher rate than demographers believed. Contraception and induced abortion were practised in tribal Africa and among slaves. Black women therefore had some knowledge of techniques to control conception. After World War II, increased health and medical services, urbanisation and improved living conditions impacted on birth control use among blacks. Higher educational levels also impacted on family size. Urban black middle-class females preferred smaller families and used the most effective available control methods i.e. pills and Intra-Utero Devices (IUD) which resulted in lower fertility rates. In contrast, urban and rural poor females who preferred smaller families, were using less

effective birth control methods e.g. preparations available at chemists and condoms which resulted in higher conception rates than desired.

On the other hand adolescent sexual activity was occurring at younger ages and the use of contraceptives occurs haphazardly (Finkel & Finkel, 1983). According to the Carnegie Corporation, premarital sex is a norm for American male adolescents, with 10 million young men between the ages of 14 and 21 being sexually active. In some communities, the average age of the first sexual encounter is 12 years. More than half of all teenage boys do not use contraceptives at the time of the first intercourse (Meyer & Russell, 1986).

In a national survey conducted by the Alan Guttmacher Institute (1981) it was found that two-thirds of sexually active teenagers have never practised contraception or have used a method inconsistently. Ladner (1988), in analysing the findings of the Alan Guttmacher Institute of 1981, found that adolescents seeking information on contraception do so approximately 14 months *after* their initial sexual experience. In relation to unplanned teenage pregnancy Moore (1985 cited by Ladner, 1988) found that half of all first pregnancies occur to young women who had intercourse in the preceding six months of their pregnancy.



Zelnik and Kantner (1980) studied sexual activity, contraceptive use and pregnancy among metropolitan area teenage males during the period 1971-1979. The survey results for teenage males in 1979 indicate that 56% of 17-year-olds, 66% of 18-year-olds and 77.5% of 19-year-olds had experienced sexual intercourse. However, contraceptive use was irregular. Reasons offered by teenagers for the infrequent, irregular or non-use of contraceptives are that sex is largely irregular or unplanned so little provision is made in advance. Participants also indicated that they were too embarrassed to buy condoms. Finkel and Finkel (1975) who also conducted research into sexual and contraceptive knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of male adolescents, found that a large percentage of males did not use contraception because planning for sex is too premeditated and it takes the joy and spontaneity out of

sexual intimacy. Another belief was that contraception is the female's responsibility

Most sexually active adolescents have used some form of contraceptive during their brief sexual encounters - even though infrequently. In their study conducted in 1979 the Alan Guttmacher Institute (1981) found that:

- 33% were using pills and IUDs;
- 20% were using diaphragms, condoms or foam;
- 17% were using the least effective methods i.e. withdrawal, rhythm, douche; and
- 30% were using no method at all.

Although this study is dated, there is a likelihood that, due to the spread of sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS, and the influence of the media and the impact of available services and/or programmes, the profile reported above would have changed considerably over time.

The safety and effective use of contraceptives among adolescents are subjects of considerable controversy. The following myths and stereotypes could influence effective use of contraceptives: scary stories about the pill, inadequate information on the use of contraceptives, perceived attitudinal problems/indifferences on the part of the attending health care staff, especially regarding informed consent, long waiting periods, no special treatment, wanting to receive services without "hassles", lack of privacy and confidentiality. A review of special programmes for teenagers recommended the strengthening of the counselling component in family-planning clinics. They found that most clinics offered counselling that was limited to information and education about birth-control methods, a medical history review or update, preparation for pelvic examination and selection of contraceptive method. Additional components recommended included more in-depth counselling to identify problems and assist teens with their concerns about contraception, sexuality, and their lives in general, and to strengthen teenagers' decision-making skills in resolving their problems. The majority of parents rejected the idea of parental consent before teenagers go to clinics;

the parents feared that some teenagers would be deprived of needed services (Guttmacher Institute, 1981).

During the intervening twenty years since the mentioned studies were conducted, views, practices and attitudes may have changed. However, the researcher is of the opinion that embarrassment may still play a role in situations where prospective users acquire contraceptives for the first time or where the community's values and views appear restrictive e.g. in a small rural community.

In South Africa it has been found that contraceptive behaviour differs according to the socio-economic standing of youth. PPASA (2003) found among lower income groups that participants expressed concerns about the side effects, lack of information, partner disapproval and cultural taboos. De La Rey and Carolissen (1997) report misconceptions and myths as contributing to the non-use of contraceptives. Bezuidenhout (2004) cites Sapire (1986) who found that a great deal of misinformation can be ascribed to contraceptives either not being used or used incorrectly.

The coercive nature of some relationships, reluctance to use contraceptives and sporadic intimacy are factors that make it difficult to plan the use of contraceptives (De La Rey & Carolissen, 1997; Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa, 2003; Bezuidenhout, 2004).

Among youth from higher income groups better planning for becoming sexually active, greater openness and determination to negotiate responsibilities in relationships and access to resources can partially explain the lower incidence of teen parenting in this group (Rubensztein, 1992).

#### **2.3.3.3 Knowledge of sexual and reproductive health**

Unintended pregnancies, occurring more frequently among younger unmarried women, can result from the failure of seemingly effective contraceptive methods, the use of ineffective methods or the lack of

contraception. In order to use contraception effectively, it is necessary to have at least a rudimentary knowledge of reproduction and contraception.

An important determinant of unintended pregnancy is sheer ignorance. Dryfoos (1982) states that the level of knowledge about reproduction among adolescents is inadequate to ensure protection against unwanted pregnancy. Only two out of five adolescent women know the time of the month when they are at the greatest risk of falling pregnant; low income parents are often not better informed than their children and can therefore not guide them, while well-educated parents are reluctant to talk to their children about sex. The lack of sufficient knowledge to initiate and maintain adequate fertility control appears across a broad spectrum of young people. This is ironic in a society where everyone is exposed to blatant and overt sexuality at very young ages.

The determinants of childbearing associated with low-income families are not the same as for abortion-seeking associated with middle class families. With regard to low-income teenagers Chilman (1980) and Mindick and Oskamp (1982: 141-143) assert that race and poverty are predictors of early parenting. Teens from low-income families tend to have lower self-esteem and do not perform well at school. According to these authors it is not clear whether those who become teen parents drop out of school because they are pregnant or become pregnant so that they have an excuse to drop out of school, or drop out of school first and then become pregnant.

With regard to knowledge of sexuality and reproductive health the PPASA (2003) found in its study that adolescents and teen parents identified adolescent pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and STIs as the main sexual and reproductive health problems. Rape, crime and sexual abuse were identified as significant social issues.

Adolescents from middle class families in both the USA and South Africa have better knowledge of their health status and demonstrate adaptive coping that are likely to lead to the successful practice of birth control (Buga, Amoko &

Ncayiyana, 1996; Chilman, 1980; Macleod, 1999). Attributes, which have been isolated to explain the success, are (a) early relationships with members of the opposite sex; (b) positive socialisation processes; (c) a positive self-concept; (d) the disposition to cope cognitively; and (e) to plan future goals.

#### **2.3.3.4 Naivety**

Despite the information programmes and services offered to teenagers about the perils of unprotected sexual activity and the imminent dangers associated with it - especially in the face of the increasing incidence of HIV/AIDS, it appears that the outcomes to date are not yielding the expected results. This could largely be attributed to the myths and misconceptions.

Allen-Meares (1984) identify developmental transitions as being another reason for teenage pregnancy. She offers the reason that teenagers are preoccupied with their own immediate needs of accepting their bodily changes, constructing personal values and forming identities. As a result, sexual intercourse may be sporadic and lack thoughtful planning. Sonenstein (1986) on the contrary refers to the misconception among teenagers in communities that place a high premium of fertility, that he/she is sterile if pregnancy does not occur during the first few sexual experiences and is therefore more likely not to use contraceptives. Mindick and Oskamp (1982: 143) assert "The unholy trinity of poor knowledge, underestimation of pregnancy risk and the lack of conscious decision making, are especially typical of those who experience unwanted pregnancy".

In the South African context various authors (Bezuidenhout, 2004; Burman & Zondi, 1992; De La Rey & Carolissen, 1997; PPASA, 2003) highlight the belief that for low-income adolescent females it is important to prove their fertility prior to marriage.

#### **2.3.3.5 Premarital intercourse**

In 1980 it was estimated that four out of 10 unmarried adolescent girls had experienced sexual intercourse at least once (Dryfoos, 1982). While it was known from the studies conducted by Kinsey (1953) that premarital coitus occurred among certain subsets of the population, early sexual initiation is

now the norm among teenagers. Zelnik and Kantner (1980) found that a major shift had occurred in the 1970s. In 1971 about 27% of unmarried adolescents reported that they had experienced intercourse compared to 42 % in 1979. During the same period, the mean age of first sexual intercourse namely 16.2 years decreased as younger teenagers became sexually active. In the sample, the most significant increase was among white teenagers. In both the studies of Dryfoos (1982) and Zelnik and Kanter (1980) it is reported that percentages of Black teenagers had increased from 51% in 1971 to 63% in 1979. Among White teenagers the percentage over the same period increased from 21% to 40%.

Male adolescents have not been studied with the same thoroughness as females but Zelnik and Kantner (1980) estimated that males are about 10% points higher than their female counterparts. The researchers also draw attention to the fact that the definition of a “sexually active person” cannot be equated with having had sexual intercourse once. The term “sexually active” will have to consider frequency and number of partners. Among Black teenagers it was found that they have fewer partners while white teenagers reported higher frequencies and more partners. Nguyet, Maheux, Béland and Pica (1994) conducted a study of sexual behaviours and condom use in suburban male adolescents in Canada. The study comprised a sample of 1 312 adolescents aged 12 to 19 years with a response rate of 98,8%. The study found that the percentage of sexually active adolescents increased from 10 to 20% in the early 1960s to approximately 50 to 60% by the late 1980s. The findings were consistent with those studies done by Brooks-Gunn and Furstenberg (1989), Centers for Disease Control (1992) and Santé Québec (1991).

Santé Québec (1991) reports her findings of adolescents who experienced a premarital pregnancy. According to the author 22% became pregnant within one month of initiation to sexual intercourse and 50% within 6 months. The inference is the more inexperienced the girl, the shorter the time-span between initiation and pregnancy while the more experienced the girl the

greater the time span before falling pregnant. An explanation for the variation is that many teenagers do not use contraception at the time of the first intercourse. Sometimes the time lapse between intercourse and contraceptive use is more than one year. The rationalisation for not using contraception is that they did not expect to have intercourse.

### 2.3.3.6 Age at first sexual experience

The sexual experience of teenagers is an important aspect to consider when contemplating causative or contributing factors to teenage pregnancy. In a study done in the USA, Miller, Christopherson and King (in Gullotta, et al. 1993, 63-66) report on early sexual experiences and behaviour in adolescents and conclude that heterosexual dating relationships in adolescence progress along a continuum of dyadic commitment – ranging from casual acquaintances to “going steady”. The earlier the dating experiences begin for an adolescent, the more likely the chances that teenagers will become involved in one or more steady, committed relationship/s and the greater the likelihood of sexual experiences. Sexual intercourse is more likely to take place within a committed dating relationship, than in one with little or moderate commitment. Adolescents who are steadily dating one person, have the highest levels of sexual activity and those dating occasionally, have the lowest incidence of sexual activity.

Hofferth et al (1987) plotted the ages at first sexual intercourse of black and white women in two different national studies in the United States. They found that the total percentage of young women, aged 15 to 19 years, who reported sexual intercourse experiences, increased from 47% in 1982 to 53% in 1988. Sonenstein et al (1989) researched **age variables** and **experiences** in an adolescent male population and found that about 5% only of adolescent males had sexual intercourse by age 13, compared to over 80% of 19-year-old males. The authors, however, conclude that the age of first sexual intercourse is influenced strongly by race. In contrast with the findings of the study of Sonenstein et al (1989), the **Results of the National Survey of Adolescent Males** (1986) found that 20% of black males indicated that their

first intercourse was prior to age 13, compared to only 3% of white and 4% of Hispanic males. Nguyet et al (1994) found in their study sample of 1312 participants that by age 12 one in ten boys had at least one sexual intercourse, by 13 years, the figure increased to one in four, and by age 17 two out of three males would have had intercourse. One-third started having sexual relations between the ages of 10 and 13, with the average age being 13,9 years.

Studies conducted in South Africa did not specifically report on age variables and age variations but several (Cameron et al, 1996; Makheta, 1996; Mkhize, 1995; Mukasa, 1992; Ncayiyana & Ter Haar, 1989; Ntombela, 1992; Preston-Whyte & Zondi, 1992; Zama, 1991) indicate the ages of partners of teen mothers as ranging between 14 to 47 years while a comprehensive study conducted by the PPASA (<http://www.sabcnews.com/Article/0,2160,69725,00.html>) found that more than 70% of South African teenagers are sexually active by the age of 14.

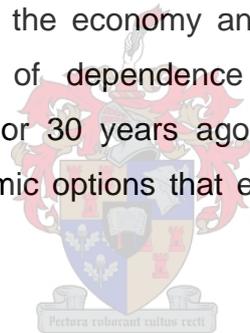
### **2.3.3.7 Maturation and marriage**

Adolescence is a socially defined phase insofar as a particular culture acknowledges such a period at all and as long as it limits male-female contact to prescribed interactions from puberty to marriage. According to Furstenburg (1981) and Harris (1998) the average age of menarche in the USA has declined over the years to 12,5 years since the time the first sexuality research was done in the 1940s. At the same time the average age of marriage has risen from 20 to 23 years for men and marriage patterns are less homogenous. So while the age of physical maturation has shifted downward, the normative age of marriage has shifted upward. The reasons for this phenomenon include the changing roles of women, their participation in the labour force, the cost of maintaining a conjugal home, the increased role of cohabitation both as a precursor to marriage and independent from marriage, the cost of childbearing and the growing importance of a prolonged education (Hayes, 1987).

With the changing socio-demographic profile of South Africa over the last twenty years, the same views would hold.

### **2.3.3.8 Education and employment**

The economic systems into which young people are absorbed require a longer educational incubation, at a time when inequalities in access to economic and educational opportunities have increased. This has led simultaneously to a need for longer educational careers and to pockets of intractable urban poverty where education is often truncated - in other words, the configuration of the labour force has changed and the market for unskilled labour has contracted. In the United States, the tertiary education enrolment has increased with more whites than blacks enrolling for such education. According to Hayes (1987) 6.3 million teenagers are employed - either part-time or full-time, giving them entry into the adult world and entitlement to adult behaviour. The demands of the economy and the availability of education have extended the period of dependence for most young people in comparison with that of 20 or 30 years ago, and have left some groups without access to the economic options that encourage them to prepare for the future.



### **2.3.3.9 The sexual revolution**

During the 1960s and 1970s many aspects of sexuality, sexual behaviour and fertility were altered - including the norms surrounding premarital intercourse. Rates of sexual initiation rose with teenagers experiencing coitus at younger ages. Adolescence became a longer and more complex period of life and sexuality outside of marriage gained acceptance.

Concurrently, sexual norms across society have altered. These trends have an effect on the length and the quality of teenage years and more specifically on the nature and risks of the transition to adulthood. Their sequencing has become more complex as the conflicting demands of each transition coincide with the other. Thus young people must wait longer to begin the shift to adulthood but face more complex decisions when they do (Hayes, 1987).

In a letter to the editor of **Science**, Klerman and Jekel (1978) assert that adolescent pregnancy is an important social problem - one that deserves to be carefully studied, but points out that there has been no epidemic of adolescent pregnancy.

Whether or not teenage pregnancy has reached epidemic proportions, a number of concerns emanate from the phenomenon of teenage childbearing. A number of studies have focused on lost opportunities - either economically or educationally, or others have paid attention to health issues (Card & Wise, 1978; Furstenberg, 1976; Furstenberg & Brooks-Gunn, 1986; Klerman, 1986; Rothstein, 1978; Wattenberg, 1989). However, the social cost of teenage pregnancy for the teenage father only became a social concern in the 1970s (Elster & Lamb, 1986; Heath & McKenry, 1993; Pirog-Good, 1996; Upchurch & McCarthy, 1990). A comprehensive profile of teenage parenthood is only now being formed.

Teenage pregnancy has been extensively researched and various practice approaches have been developed - though at both levels these have either revealed little or no impact, or services have been short-lived or unsustainable. A factor that could have contributed to the perceived "failure" is due to the fact that research was conducted to benefit specific client populations - either racially or in terms of a particular religious practice.

In South Africa several studies have been conducted which affirm this view. The Human Sciences Research Council (1997) in its series entitled **Marriage & Family Life in South Africa** focused *inter alia* on the theme "**Premarital and Extramarital Sex and Cohabitation**". The publication explores attitudes and practices towards premarital and extramarital sex and cohabitation among the different population groups in South Africa i.e. Motshologane (1997) among Blacks, le Roux (1997) among Whites, September (1997) among Coloureds and Ramasar (1997) among Indians.

## 2.4 Causal theories of adolescent parenthood

Attempts to explore the causal theories of adolescent parenthood present a maze of confusion. Earlier studies, according to Mindick and Oskamp (1982), indeed attempt to locate the theoretical thrust for adolescent parenthood in the realm of psychopathology to explain out-of-wedlock pregnancy. However no conclusive outcomes were found, since critics questioned the research methods used to justify the generalisations drawn. More recently Steyn (1997) examines different theoretical frameworks regarding causative factors explaining "illegitimacy". The author describes parenting child out-of wedlock as subconscious but purposive behaviour. She asserts that unmarried mothers have a subconscious desire to give birth outside of marriage in order to punish a dominating mother or father. A second theoretical perspective espoused by Steyn (1997) is a causal theory which locates the explanation in the domain of sociology where social disorganisation, home background, individualism, cultural relativity, religion, education, sex education, existing norms with regard to premarital and extramarital sex and social control play a role. The results of studies using the above variables are largely contradictory in nature. The contradictory results indicate that illegitimacy is a complex phenomenon and that many variables may combine in different ways and in different societies.

Vincent (1962) endorses the notion of combining variables and concludes that illegitimate motherhood is not the result of any personality type or intra-family relationships or social conditions. The causal importance of personality, family, and social factors combine and configure in the experiences of the individual unmarried mother. According to the author this configuration of factors is related to the degree to which this configuration either prevents the internalisation of traditional sex norms or minimises the effectiveness of such mores after they have been internalised. According to Vincent, this generalisation is especially relevant in the highly industrialised urbanised type of society, where women are exposed to a large variety of value systems,

through the mass media and multiple reference groups that may influence the effective internalisation of norms.

The debate of whether or not adolescent parenthood is or can be considered as either a psychopathological condition or whether it is best explained in terms of sociological/cultural theory, is summarised by Herzog (1966).

## **2.5 The risks and consequences of teenage premarital pregnancy and childbearing**

The risks and consequences of adolescent pregnancy and childbearing manifest in several facets of the adolescents' lives. This section will explore the consequences of the risks associated with early childbearing.

### **2.5.1 Psychological consequences**

Card and Wise (1978) and Heath and McKenry (1993) consider adolescent pregnancy as an abrupt intrusion in the courtship process; the pregnancy does not follow a normal developmental process. Most adolescent fathers will eventually marry - either the mother of their child or another woman. For adolescent parents, the birth may affect the marriage because the child may become a stressor that lowers the quality of the marriage. If the adolescent father marries the mother of his child, he must immediately and simultaneously assume husband and father roles and responsibilities. If, however, he marries another partner, he is still financially responsible for the child. This may affect his "new" family. The same applies to the mother when she enters into a new relationship. Contact with the father of her first born may be perceived as a threat to her new union. Moreover, the new marital relationship may be affected if the birth father seeks visitation of his child. In addition, the financial demands of young fatherhood are often exacerbated by low occupational status.

The adolescent father who does not marry and only assumes minimal responsibility for his child, may still experience negative psychological

consequences (Heath & McKenry, 1993). Having a child as a teenager can be described as a non-normative experience in intimate relationships. This may lead to unrealistic expectations about intimate relationships and immature behaviours, perhaps resulting in increased instability in future relationships.

Zabin and Hayward (1993) cite studies by Boxill (1987) and Frank (1983) which point to emotional isolation of adolescent mothers. They experience feelings of emotional poverty: first, they perceive failures in their own parents and an inability to communicate with them; second, they feel a lack of satisfactory relationships with peers and difficulty in establishing close relationships. According to Zabin and Hayward (1993) psychological explanations suggest that premature parenthood may be part of a cluster of deviant, or at least detrimental, behaviours or that it may represent a transition to adulthood for those for whom alternative means of making that transition are lacking. Most convincing are contextual or environmental explanations for adolescent childbearing, which may in fact include aspects of each of the other descriptions, especially in communities where early, single parenthood has become normative.



Ladner (1988), referring to her research of black teenage parenthood, espouses that the consequences of long-term poverty have a corrosive effect on many of the youth. Some may suffer from low self-esteem and do not envision that they can become successful adults. The lack of opportunity and a lack of training and education will often produce a person with no conceptualisation of the future. Babies become fantasised partners and are expected to provide love and affection. Having children may be the only way of establishing “masculinity” and “femininity” or of achieving an adult role.

### **2.5.2 Educational consequences**

Ooms (1987) and Zabin and Hayward (1993) highlight the following consequences for education:

- Generally teen parents have a poor record of educational attainment compared with later childbearing peers. Research conducted by Upchurch and McCarthy (1990) report that adolescent parents have a record of chronic absence from school which generally predates the conception of a child. This suggests that low achievement is in a causal relationship with both school dropout and childbearing. The birth infant rarely interrupts an intact educational career.
- Single parenthood and insecure partnerships are also more common among those who become parents in adolescence. Fathers of babies born to teenagers, whether they are teenagers themselves or not, are likely to be poorly educated and dependent on their own families, a situation that increases the probability that their children will live in deprived and transient circumstances.
- Dependency is likely to increase not only for the young mother but also for her primary family if she and her child remain with them.

Baldwin and Cain (1980) conclude that children of teen parents usually suffer educational and cognitive deficits. They tend to have lower IQ and achievement scores than the children of older parents. They also tend to repeat at least one grade in school. For Ladner (1988) becoming a teen parent imposes severe restrictions of educational and job opportunities. Parents who live in poverty cannot provide the necessary support for them to remain at school, hence the cycle of poverty is perpetuated.

Card and Wise (1978) found in a national survey in the United States that both mothers and fathers, who became parents before they reached 18, were less likely to complete their schooling.

These consequences should be viewed in tandem, as one impact on the other. The contradictions discussed with regard to the psychological and educational consequences in teenage pregnancy are two-fold:

- Does the pregnancy interrupt the educational and career opportunities;  
or
- Was the dependent tendency in existence prior to the pregnancy.

### **2.5.3 Consequences for physical health of teen mothers and infants**

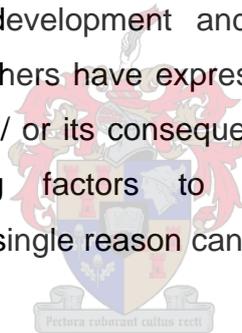
Teenage pregnancy is characterised by a late entry into the prenatal care system; however, early maternal care is associated with a more favourable outcome for both mother and infant (Dwyer, 1974). The American Academy of Pediatrics (1979) reveal two major complications that pose potential adverse complications, viz. pre-eclampsia – a condition in pregnancy when the blood pressure rises to a dangerous point and there is a risk of a seizure which cause damage to both the mother and the unborn child, and excessive low-birth-weight infants (6-20% of births in cases of mothers with a gynaecological age of 12 years or less). All other potential ill effects of teenage pregnancy appear to be dependent on the socio-economic class of the teenager, rather than adolescence itself, and whether or not she has access to the health care system. Other risk factors e.g. socio-economic class, cigarette smoking, use of alcohol and drugs, and nutrition, are not age related but affect all pregnancies. Increased child abuse and neglect, and delinquent behaviour have been reported among adolescent mothers. The pregnant adolescent, who has not yet completed her own development, frequently is subjected to several unfavourable psychosocial hazards. She is usually economically dependent, is forced to interrupt her schooling, and frequently deserted by the father of her child. Considering the anger and distress engendered in the family by the pregnancy in a young, unmarried daughter, it is apparent that these girls bear an awesome social burden. The postponement of childbearing would improve almost all the adverse factors for both the adolescent mother and her infant.

Ladner (1988) alludes to the following problems associated with teenage pregnancy. These include high rates of infant mortality, underweight infants, restriction of educational and employment opportunities, welfare dependency,

low achievement among children born to teens, and a high divorce rate. Babies born to teenage mothers are more likely to be underweight than those born to 20-29-year-old mothers. She also refers to findings of the Alan Guttmacher Institute (1981) which found that teen mothers are more likely to give birth to a premature and low-birth-weight baby. Low birth weight is a major cause of infant mortality, as well as a host of serious childhood illnesses, birth injuries, and neurological defects, including mental retardation.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Various perspectives on teenage pregnancy exist and whether it is a cause for concern for policy makers and service providers. The literature reviewed on adolescent sexuality indicates that prior to the 1960s limited research was conducted on the sexual development and behaviours of adolescents. However, since then, researchers have expressed concern about the sexual behaviour of adolescents and/ or its consequences. What we have learnt is the fact that contributing factors to adolescent parenthood are multidimensional and that no single reason can adequately explain adolescent parenthood.



In Chapter Three the transition from teenager to adolescent fatherhood will be investigated.

## Chapter 3

### The transition from adolescent to teenage father: A developmental double-bind

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the developmental consequences of premature parenthood for young unwed fathers. While recent literature (Biddulph, 1998; Huber & Spitze, 1988; Jordan, 1999; Morrell, 2001) examined the role of adult men within the family context and the parenthood timing outcomes for adult women, scant attention has been given to the impact of parenthood timing on adolescent fathers. The developmental challenges facing young fathers affect their abilities to parent responsibly.

As policy and practice begin to focus on strengthening the familial contribution of young fathers, both financially and socially, several questions are posed. How capable are young unwed fathers of meeting their parental responsibilities and society's expectations? What contributes to the failure of many young fathers to meet their obligations?

This chapter addresses such questions by looking at developmental theories for possible explanations for the failure of many young men to effectively meet the challenges of fatherhood. The first part of the chapter examines perspectives of developmental transitions from adolescence to young adulthood according to "classical theorists". In the subsequent section a developmental theory description of normative transitions to parenthood for adult fathers is presented. These two sections are linked to the exploration of the developmental "double-bind" faced by young fathers, as they simultaneously face young adulthood and parenthood. The developmental theory perspective sheds light on why young fathers do not always live up to

expectations of society, policy-makers and service providers – especially with regard to their responsibilities to their children.

### **3.2 Normative transitions from adolescence to young adulthood**

A better understanding of the challenges of young fatherhood is gained by looking at the normative developmental periods of adolescence and young adulthood. Young fathers, regardless of chronological age, are either struggling with the issues of adolescence or the transition to young adulthood. The crisis of premature parenting causes many to get “stuck” at the adolescent stage or to have a difficult transition to young adulthood.

#### **3.2.1 Adolescence**

Adolescence is universally accepted as the life period between the ages of 13 and 18 years. Conceptually, adolescence was not considered a life stage until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the onset of the Industrial Revolution (Hall, 1986). Today adolescence still appears to be a phenomenon of post-industrial societies (De Anda, 1983).

Adolescence is a period of major biological-, psychological-, cognitive- and social development. It was previously considered a stormy period for all, but researchers believe that the “storm und drang” is not universal. Nevertheless the period of adolescence and subsequent transition to young adulthood is not problem-free (Ketterlinus et al, 1991).

#### **3.2.2 Biological development**

One clear marker of the onset of adolescence is the physical maturation that takes place for both males and females. The rate of physical change a pubescent adolescent undergoes is second only to the period of infancy (Boshoff, 1976; Margow, 1993). At different ages both girls and boys experience dramatic increases in height and weight. This period of rapid growth brings with it the development of primary and secondary sexual characteristics. The secretion of hormones initiates new feelings, sensations

and emerging sexual impulses (Ausubel, 1977; Boshoff, 1976; Gitterman, 2002; Papalia & Olds, 1985).

The biological changes brought on by adolescence can be emotionally overwhelming because of a fluctuating balance of hormones. An adolescent is faced with the task of coping with irritable, physical conditions, e.g. acne, itchy skin rashes, as well as the task of accepting his or her body image (Steinberg, 1985).

### 3.2.3 Psychological and social development

Although psychosexual theorists are precise about the onset of adolescence, there is less clarity as to its termination and transition to the next developmental period. Blos (1979: 406) suggests that:

“ ... neither the completion of physical growth, nor the attainment of sexual functioning, nor the social role of economic self-support are, by and in themselves, reliable indices for the term of the adolescent process”.

It would appear that the major task in post-adolescence, the transition period between adolescence and adulthood, is to focus on life goals.

In describing a possible problem within the transition between adolescence and young adulthood, Blos (1991) refers to this arrested transition as prolonged adolescence. For young people locked in this stage, attempts to fulfil adult roles are considered pseudo-actions. They are incapable of mature and reciprocal intimacies although they may become emotionally attached to a partner of the opposite sex.

Freud (cited by Levinson, 1978) views maturity as the capacity for working and loving. However, his work did not specifically focus on adult development. He regarded adulthood as a period during which early unconscious conflicts were re-enacted, as opposed to viewing it as a distinct period of continued development.

Erikson (1950), a life stage theorist, views adolescence as an important life stage in psychological development. As with every stage, this period is characterised by a major crisis and presents a specific task to be achieved. During adolescence, individuals are faced with an identity crisis and the primary psychosocial developmental task is identity formation. Although identity formation is a lifelong process, it is during adolescence that Erikson (1968) believed identity has its own normative crisis. An adolescent has high psychological and social growth potential. According to Erikson (1968), once an individual successfully masters the identity crisis posed by adolescence, he is ready to face the tasks of adulthood. Bocknek (1980) claims that Erikson (1950) was one of the first writers to use the term young adult, differentiating the developmental difference of the early stages of adulthood. Erikson (1968) further specifies that following the first crisis of identity, is the crisis of intimacy.

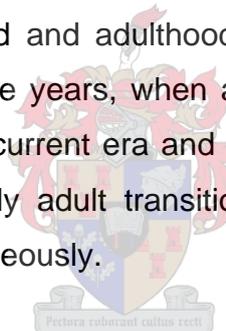
Achieving intimacy implies a sense of security of one's ego boundaries, which allows the young person to interact with another without risking a loss of his or her own identity (Bocknek, 1980). During the crisis of intimacy, the young person begins to develop the capacity to engage in mature and intimate relationships with others. If the young person is not capable of successfully achieving intimacy, he or she is faced with isolation.

If identity is not successfully formed, the task of achieving intimacy cannot be successfully undertaken. The young person who is unsure of his or her identity will either shy away from interpersonal intimacy or will engage in acts of intimacy which are promiscuous, but without true union (Erikson, 1968).

Following the attainment of intimacy, the individual progresses to the developmental life stage Erikson (1950) describes as "generativity versus stagnation". According to Erikson, only at this point is a man emotionally ready for fathering. At this stage, the transition to parenthood also has regressive pulls, but a mature adult is more emotionally enabled to handle the conflict.

Jung (cited by Levinson, 1978), referred to as the father of the modern study of adult development, gives particular attention to adult development in the “second half of life”. Jung had an appreciation for the struggle between adolescence and young adulthood. He understood that young adults are emotionally caught between the conflicts of childhood and the pressure of young adulthood, which include family, work and the community. Jung believed the personality could not attain its full growth by the age of 20. He theorised that individuation just begins at this point and may extend over the last half of the life cycle.

Research by Levinson et al (1979) views this period of the early twenties as a transition stage between the era of childhood and adolescence (0-22) and early adulthood (ages 17-45). This early adult transition is considered a bridge between pre-adulthood and adulthood. They believe the transitions between eras take four or five years, when a “boundary zone” is created in which a man terminates the current era and initiates the next. An individual who is experiencing the early adult transition is bridging two eras and is therefore part of both simultaneously.



Levinson (1978: 21) contends that early adulthood may be the most dramatic of all eras. Of the transition period to early adulthood he states:

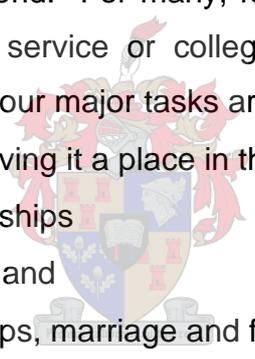
“Like all cross-era transitions, it is a crucial turning point in the life cycle. During this period the growing male is a boy-man; he is terminating his pre-adult self and his place in the pre-adult world, and at the same time starting to form his first adult self and to make choices through which he establishes his initial membership in the adult world.”

It is during this period of the early twenties that a young man forms a preliminary adult identity and begins to make the first major life choices regarding marriage, occupation, residence and lifestyle. Through these choices he defines his place in the adult world. Levinson (1978: 71) affirms that, “a young man needs about fifteen years to emerge from adolescence,

find his place in the adult society and commit him to a more stable life". However, current influences on the adolescent, especially through the media, may challenge this statement of Levinson.

Levinson (1978) considers young men in this stage as "novice adults" and thus as novice lovers, husbands and fathers. He acknowledges that this early period of adulthood can be especially trying and is further complicated by the financial and social demands created by having children. This increased stress arises from the young man's limited earning power and capacity for fulfilling responsibilities.

Two tasks to be completed during the early adult transition is advocated by Levinson (1978), namely to separate from the family of origin and to form a basis for living in the adult world. For many, forming a basis for living in the adult world involves military service or college. During the novice phase (spanning ages 17 to 33) the four major tasks are:

- 
- forming a dream and giving it a place in the life structure
  - forming mentor relationships
  - forming an occupation, and
  - forming love relationships, marriage and family.

Gitterman in Roberts and Greene (2002: 106) concurs with Levinson when he states that: "developmental transitions, such as adolescence, impose new demands and require new adaptations and coping. While puberty is biological, adolescence is a social construction".

Levinson (1978: 102) warns that those who decide too quickly on an identity, such as forming an occupation choice without sufficient exploration, will often regret it. The delay in making the choice is equally costly. As he states, "one of the great paradoxes of human development is that we are required to make crucial choices before we have the knowledge, judgement and self-understanding to choose wisely".

Eastwood (1994) and Levinson (1978) do not discuss premature parenthood in relation to the life course, but emphasise that most young men are not ready to make an enduring inner commitment to a wife and family. Early marriage, before the early adult transition is completed, may be complicated by unresolved dependencies within the mother-son relationship.

Blos (1979) considers the psychological development of adolescence a second individuation. It is not unlike the separation-individuation process in the first three years of life. Although this second individuation is regressive, Blos sees it as normative and essential. Conceptually, he divides adolescence into three phases: early adolescence, adolescence proper and late adolescence. Each phase consists of a typical drive and ego modification, an integral conflict to be resolved, and a developmental task to be fulfilled. Each contributes to personality development. Blos, in contrast to traditional psychosexual theorists, believes the presence of a supportive environment is essential to successfully fulfilling the developmental task. Throughout the phases of adolescence, Blos views the primary task of personality development as becoming independent, becoming a member of the adult community, and society at large.

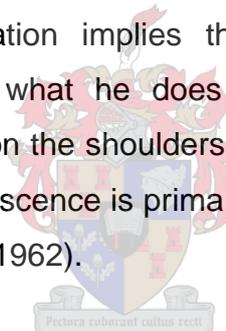


During this period, there is a regressive pull within adolescent males towards longings of passivity and dependency. This is often experienced as threatening because of its feminine identification and thus can result in exaggerated phallic masculine behaviour (Applegate, 1988). During adolescence, pre-oedipal and oedipal issues are also reawakened. Hence this period is often referred to as the genital stage.

The regressive struggle adolescent's face can result in pseudo-mature sexual involvement, focussing on need gratification rather than mature mutuality. For young men who are cognitively immature, potency and fertility may be equated. Sexual activity at this stage might also fulfil the regressive need for skin closeness and related nurturing interactions (Applegate, 1988).

In dealing with oedipal issues, an adolescent male may defend the homosexual connotation of the negative oedipal complex by turning forcefully to the opposite sex. Later, when entering the competitive stage of the positive oedipal complex, he may impregnate a girl to prove he is his father's rival (Osofsky, Osofsky & Diamond, 1988). Although sexually capable, adolescent males are incapable of mature heterosexual love.

Responding to the emergence of the ego crisis of adolescence, psychosexual theorists like Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud and Blos, set forth two tasks to be mastered in order to attain psychological maturity: detachment from the opposite sex parent as an incestuous love object and the establishment of a non-antagonistic, non-dominated relationship with the same sex parent (De Anda, 1983). Essentially, the oedipal conflicts must be resolved. Additionally, maturation during late adolescence depends on individuation. According to Blos (1979: 148), "individuation implies that the growing person takes increasing responsibility for what he does and what he is, rather than depositing this responsibility on the shoulders of those under whose influence he has grown up". Late adolescence is primarily a phase of consolidation and stabilisation of the ego (Blos, 1962).



Not all adolescents achieve maturation and task attainment successfully. Blos (1979: 39) postulates a syndrome he refers to as prolonged male adolescence, which is "a static preservation in the adolescent position". Instead of the adolescent moving towards adulthood, he clings to the adolescent crisis with "persistence, desperation and anxiousness". Under normal circumstances, prolonged adolescence is considered time-limited and transitory, but for some it represents an arrested transition.

To accomplish the task of establishing an individual identity and consolidating a social role an adolescent should:

- Separate or individuate from parents
- Define self in relation to the larger culture
- Experience competency or achievement
- Form a sense of sexual identity and learn to relate with others in mature and intimate ways

- Develop a positive self-esteem.

Adolescents experiment with many roles and work to **consolidate their personal, occupational and ideological identity** (De Anda, 1983). They must achieve success and be confident in their accomplishments in order to accrue ego identity in a meaningful way (Erikson, 1980). If adolescent experiences repeated failure during role testing, it may lead to a sense of hopelessness and psychological distress. Self-esteem is integral to self-identity. A lowered sense of self may impact significantly on an adolescent's motivation and commitment to valued roles.

During this phase of individuation and identity formation, an adolescent begins to **separate from his or her family** in order to assert independence. This process is often characterised by rebellion and can be difficult for both the family and adolescent. There is less dependence on and less acceptance of parents' emotional support, as well as decreased influence of their attitudes and values. Separation does not occur overnight; instead many adolescents experience a double bind of needing independence but longing for security.

In defining themselves within the larger culture, the **peer group** takes on a new meaning. The adolescent's social development is directly linked to his or her psychological development, particularly identity formation and the need for intimacy (De Anda, 1983). The peer group effectively replaces the family as the source of support and identity conformation. Although an individual identity is the goal, peers conform to the group norms as they experiment with their new sense of self.

An adolescent must also form a **sense of sexual identity** in preparation for mature and intimate relationships. This begins in early adolescence with experimentation between those of the same sex and later turns to heterosexual experimentation. Subsequently, intense emotional relationships are formed in late adolescence and deeper levels of intimacy are explored, sometimes leading to premature pregnancy.

Although this identity formation is initiated in adolescence, it is often not completed until young adulthood (Montemayor, 1986). If an adolescent does not form an identity then role confusion, or more seriously what Erikson (1980) describes as identity diffusion, results. Role confusion is characterised by self-doubt as to one's personality and sexual identity and often results in acting out behaviour such as premature pregnancy (Allgeier & Allgeier, 2000; McClusky et al, 1983;). Role confusion can also occur when an individual settles on an identity prematurely, such as parenthood. Identity diffusion, at its extreme, is when the individual experiences serious doubts about his or her identity, and can result in delinquent and outright psychotic incidents (Erikson, 1980).

### **3.2.4 Cognitive development**

In addition to biological and psychological development, the adolescent is also developing cognitively. Piaget (1972) theorises that adolescence is a period when logical, abstract and adult thought processes emerge. He calls these "formal operations". With formal operations a person can:

- Evaluate one's own thoughts and be able to conceptualise
- Evaluate motivations of self and others
- See potential consequences of thought and action
- Problem-solve by generating and evaluating alternatives.

From a cognitive point of view, the major task of adolescence has to do with the conquest of thought (Elkind, 1974). The adolescent who has achieved formal operations is capable of considering the possible and able to envision hypothetical alternatives. In contrast one who is operating concretely is tied exclusively to the "here and now" (Gordon, 1990).

Once formal operations are achieved, there is an increased capacity to plan and a scope to anticipate the future. Formal operators are capable of holding on to disparate thoughts while comparing and contrasting them. Additionally, they are able to take the perspective of others, to consider and understand needs other than their own (Gordon, 1990). All of these abilities will be discussed again in the context of premature parenthood.

Although formal operations are initiated during adolescence, it is a gradual process and is often not mastered until late adolescence or early adulthood. Research has found that even if formal operational thinking is developed, an adolescent or young adult does not always employ this higher level of thinking in every situation (Parke & Neville, 1987). In fact, it has been found that many people do not reach the level of formal operations, rather they continue to think at the level of concrete operations (Bocknek, 1980).

Elkind (1974), also a cognitive theorist, postulates that the resurgence of egocentrism during adolescence contributes to two other characteristics of adolescent thought that he calls the “imaginary audience” and the “personal fable”. The concept of imaginary audience places the adolescent in the centre of his own universe. An adolescent believes that others are as preoccupied with appearance and behaviour as he is, which explains the self-consciousness and self-admiration during this period.

In respect of personal fable, the adolescent constructs a tale of personal uniqueness about him and believes he is invulnerable to harm (McClusky et al, 1983). This thinking often leads to risk-taking behaviour. Elkind (1974) postulates that many adolescent girls fall pregnant because their personal fable convinces them that although pregnancy will happen to others, it will never happen to them and so they need not take precautions.

A theme that recurs throughout the psychosexual-, psychosocial and cognitive development is that although a “stage” might begin in adolescence, actual developmental accomplishments may only be reached in early adulthood. Many young fathers in their early twenties may not have successfully completed the tasks of adolescence, thus making chronological age somewhat irrelevant. A study by Nakashima and Camp (1984: 454) reports that “the older man who pairs with an adolescent girl is more like the adolescent father than he is like the older man who pairs with an older woman”. This supports the clinical impression of inadequacy in the older man who chooses the adolescent woman and raises the question of developmental arrest in these men.

The primary tasks of adolescence and the transition to young adulthood are to separate from one's family of origin, to form a sense of individual identity and to begin preparing for life as an adult. Exploration of roles is expected and premature settling of a role seems more fraught with peril than delaying the decision.

### 3.2.5 Young adulthood

According to life-stage theorists, once an adolescent has established a sense of personal identity, he/she makes the next life transition to young adulthood. Less is known and understood about this life period than the period of adolescence. The chronological age of onset of young adulthood is less differentiated, but generally occurs during the early twenties.

There is no biological marker for this life stage; no clear demarcation of the end of adolescence. Instead, becoming a young adult is defined by social roles and responsibilities and status attainments (Jessor et al, 1991). Today however, there may be even less of a verified social passage into young adulthood than for generations past. As Littwin (1986: 132) points out in *The*

#### ***Postponed Generation:***

“There is blurring of the lines between adulthood and adolescence. The ceremonies don't happen on schedule, and even when they do, they are not followed by a dramatic passage to another phase of life. The 22 year old and even 30 year old, continues living in his parents' home or in some other, more subtle way remains a child, financially and emotionally dependent.”

In contemporary society fewer young people seem to be getting married or, in one way or another, striking out on their own. With a fluctuating economy, many young people are choosing to remain in the security and dependency of the family home. For these young people, it becomes less clear as to when they made this transition to young adulthood.

There are those however, who are convinced that young adulthood is a developmental period which is qualitatively different from adolescence (Bocknek, 1980).

### **3.3 Normative developmental transitions to fatherhood**

Benedek (1959) conceptualised parenthood as a developmental stage that, like other developmental matters, revives unresolved childhood conflicts. For three decades LeMasters (1957) and others considered parenthood a crisis (cited in Cox, 1985). It was not until 1968 that the notion of “crisis” of parenthood was reframed by Rossi (1989) as the “impact of parenthood”. The transition to parenthood is now considered a normative developmental period for adults, with inherent biological, psychological and social changes. Only a minority of families, perhaps 20%, experiences a true crisis during this transitional period (Michaels & Goldberg, 1988).

Literature on the timing and transition to parenthood focuses primarily on women (Michaels & Goldberg, 1988). The women studied are predominantly white, middle-class and married. The transition to parenthood has been studied in the context of the stages of family development. The focus of this study has been on women’s personal adjustment to their new role (parental self-concept), their changed relationship with their husbands, and their new relationship with their children and the impact that the transition to parenthood has on child development.

More recently, studies conducted by Mackey (1998) and Puster (2001) focus on the male’s transition to parenting and the role of fathering. However, this research is also limited to a White, middle-class, married population. While the results give us an inkling of how men experience this developmental transition, we need to be cautioned against generalising.

### 3.3.1 Changing role of fathers

The fathering role has been seen and continues to experience reformation in our modern society. Fein (1978) and Pleck (1987) described three perspectives on fathering which were upheld during the preceding twenty-five years, namely traditional, modern and the new “emergent” perspective. The **traditional** role was adhered to from the early 19<sup>th</sup> to mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This role conformed to the ideals and realities of the 1940s and 1950s. Its focus was on “breadwinning” and authority, and there was no expectation of actual parenting. The **modern** role surfaced in the 1960s, during the time when the issue of child development was on many research agendas. The expectation of fathering included the child’s development of an appropriate sex-role identity, sound morals and successful academic performance. Father-absence was perceived as a risk factor, especially for boys. The **emergent view**, starting in the 1970s, gave fathers a parenting role equal to mothers. This is otherwise known as “androgynous fatherhood”. This perspective is supported by research into the psychological transition to parenthood for men, the attachment behaviour of infants with their fathers, and the recent influx of non-traditional childcare arrangements assumed by fathers. According to Robinson and Barret (1986) androgynous fathers are likely to share childcare and breadwinner roles on an equal basis. Gadsden and Trent (1995) through their revisionist and post-revisionist paradigms in life transitions concur with the postulations of Robinson and Barret (1986). In 2001 the National Center on Fathers and Families developed the Fathering Indicators Framework (FIF) as a tool to assess the functioning of men as fathers.

There is still some question as to whether fathers’ roles, and especially fathers’ behaviour, have changed so dramatically. LaRossa (1988) writes that there has been no empirical evidence that fatherhood has changed in the USA. He also postulates that the change in the culture of fatherhood has more to do with a change in conduct on the part of mothers rather than fathers. If there has been evidence of change in the parenting behaviour of fathers, it has only been within the middle classes. Although these postulations may hold true, Bill Jordan (1996) observed that the NCOFF

reported that "... the transition to fatherhood can best be described as a set of normative developmental events ... that occurred during the life course. Larger social networks such as extended family, and families of origin affect the process of role change ...".

Others concur, suggesting that both the traditional and the androgynous father-roles are the extremes, with the "typical" father lying somewhere in the middle. No consensus exists on the "ideal" model of fathering, but some balancing of both the nurturing and economic-providing seem to be preferred. As claimed by Robinson and Barret (1986: 46), "there is strength in the diversity of fathering models".

### **3.3.2 The transitional stage of fatherhood**

Despite questions of the actual level of involvement, it has been documented that fathers do experience a transitional period to parenthood, although somewhat differently than mothers (Hawkins & Belsky, 1988). As described by Cowan and Cowan (1985: 453):

"... it seems clear than men and women begin their journeys toward parenthood as if they were on separate trains headed down separate tracks, hoping somehow to reach the same destination – the formation of their family."

One reason for this difference obviously rests in the fact that fathers do not experience the biological and hormonal changes of pregnancy and childbirth and usually play a less active parenting role during infancy. Until recent times, it was barely acknowledged that fathers experience any real emotional or psychological change at the onset of parenthood. However the view is changing and emerging research delineates the developmental tasks fathers face during this transitional period. A summary of some of the thinking on the transition to fatherhood follows.

### **3.3.3 Impact of the timing of parenthood**

A qualitative study of fathers by May (1982) found that a father's readiness for the transition to parenthood (appropriate timing) is determined by four factors:

intention to have children, stability in the couple's relationship, relative financial stability and a sense of closure to the childless period of life. If the man has ambivalence or a problem with more than one of the timing factors, especially the intention to have a child, he will likely distance himself from the pregnancy and have difficulties adjusting to the role of father.

### 3.3.4 Psychological transitional tasks

Barnhill et al (1979) articulate six tasks men must complete in order for the transition to parenthood to be gratifying and rewarding. These six tasks, which are generally sequential, are:

- **decision-making** - either a conscious decision to have a child or an acceptance of the reality that he is going to have one
- **mourning** - related to the perceived loss of personal freedom and a change in the exclusivity of relationship with the mother of the child
- **empathic responding** - supportive and nurturing behaviour toward the expectant mother
- **integrating** - at the end of the pregnancy when the new child must be integrated into the family
- **establishing family boundaries and differentiating from the extended family** - must redefine the sense of family and carve out a defined role for himself as father
- **synergizing** - developing a sense of trust in the adequacy of the child, the relationship with his partner, the family and himself. This is achieved when there is "an affective and intellectual synthesis" of the six tasks.

They add further that these tasks can be organised at two levels: concerns about competency or adequacy in individual family members and concerns about changes in role behaviour.

Robinson and Barret (1986) describe a similar emotional transition to fatherhood in three phases: before, during and after childbirth. The emotional phase before childbirth starts with excitement and then empathy, but is transformed to isolation and anxiety as the birth approaches. During childbirth itself, the father experiences elation although anxiety still persists. After childbirth, the father can share the experience of postpartum "blues" as he and the mother attempt to adjust to the new baby, integrating his

responsibilities of father and partner. This period usually lasts only six weeks followed by a level of normal functioning.

Other research on men transitioning to fatherhood (Fedele et al, 1988) examined the developmental tension between autonomy and affiliation. It was found that the higher the level of autonomy experienced by fathers the greater their emotional well being one year after birth. This supports the view that a separate selfhood is very important to men's well-being. For these men, their familial role was defined first as providers and second as partners and nurturers. Autonomy is central to the role of the provider, whereas affiliation is essential to the other roles.

### **3.3.5 Psychosexual transitional challenges**

A review of psychosexual theory of personality development during the transition to fatherhood concludes that the success of this transition is dependent on the man's early life history. As a boy, a successful identification with his father should have been formed in order for the adult to have a positive identity as a father. This paternal identification must be formed during the boy's first decade (Zayas et al, 1987). However, it is certainly possible for men, who lacked a strong identification with their own fathers, to resolve this in adulthood. They can develop a positive self-image as father and parent.

La Coursiere (1972, cited in Fedele et al, 1988) postulates that intensified dependency needs to re-emerge during this transition to fatherhood. These needs result in part because of the change in the couple's relationship as the mother turns inward to the pregnancy. If the father has a history of unresolved dependency issues transferred onto the mother, then he may experience this transition as a crisis. Participants of this study reported similar observations to the researcher. Hence these experiences are not restricted to a marital relationship but appears to be common to expectant partners.

As the pregnancy progresses, the father may begin to experience the child as a rival. This can result in jealousy and hostility, reminiscent of sibling rivalry. Behaviour in relation to this struggle may appear immature (Zayas et al, 1987). Another regressive struggle during the transition to fatherhood is the reawakening of the oedipal complex.

The stress and tension caused by the unconscious and conscious struggles associated with the transition to parenthood, can result in heightened levels of anxiety, tension and guilt. Some men experience a physical and psychological reaction to their partner's pregnancy known as the "***couvade phenomenon***" i.e. when, with the birth of a child the father is put to bed and treated as if he is physically affected by the birth. This reaction supports the model of parenthood being a crisis (Zayas, 1987).

The developmental transition to fatherhood is generally considered a normative life stage, especially given proper timing and sequencing. As they make the transition, fathers are expected to adapt to a different relationship with their partners and develop a new role as parent. Their parental role encompasses both aspects of being a "breadwinner" or economic provider and of being a nurturer. No one prescribed model of the "ideal" father defines how these two roles can be balanced.

### **3.3.6 Developmental transition to young fatherhood**

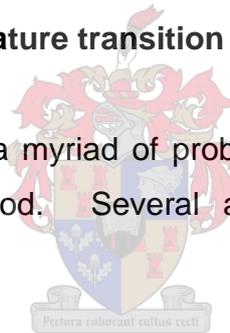
The transition to parenthood for young unwed fathers is complicated by their simultaneous transition from adolescence to young adulthood. This developmental "double bind" can be very challenging and not all young fathers successfully master this period. While the transition to parenthood is now viewed as a normative developmental process for most, it is considered a crisis period for this population (Belsky & Miller, 1986; Elster & Hendricks, 1986). Two factors contribute to making this a crisis or non-normative process:

- The premature time - most young fathers of children born to teenage mothers are themselves in their late teens or their early twenties
- The out-of-wedlock and unplanned status of the birth - as stated earlier two-thirds of births by teenage mothers occur out-of-wedlock.

The stressors a young father might experience during the untimely transition to parenthood can be enhanced, moderated or complicated by the normal developmental tasks of adolescence and young adulthood. These young fathers might be developmentally unprepared to adjust socially and psychologically to parenthood and thus this developmental dilemma may compromise both their own and their children's well-being (Applegate, 1988; Ketterlinus et al, 1991).

### **3.4 Difficulties with premature transition to parenthood**

Teenage fathers experience a myriad of problems in trying to establish and adjusting to young fatherhood. Several areas in which problems are experienced are discussed.



#### **3.4.1 Individuation and identity development**

During adolescence and early adulthood a primary task for a young person is to gradually develop independence from his family - both financially and emotionally. Premature parenthood could affect this emancipation in one of two ways. First, because both adolescence and parenthood have regressive pulls, wishes for- and conflicts about early dependence on caregivers emerge (Applegate, 1988). If the young man is still financially and emotionally dependent on his family, the crisis of premature parenthood may prolong that period of dependence. Even if the young father leaves his family home, it is not uncommon for him to take residence with the young mother in her family home. This living situation can create added stress and conflict for the young family.

Conversely, the young father may hasten his departure from either family home to establish a sense of individual identity and independence. He may desire to “make it on his own” by starting a household for his new family. However, if he leaves home before he is capable of independence, he is likely to experience failure or setback. Even if financially independent from their own families, the young family may find themselves dependent on Assistance to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) – a social security benefit in the United States of America, or other public assistance. This continued dependence on parents or public assistance can create an irresolvable “second rapprochement crisis” (Applegate, 1988).

Individuation and identity development necessitate experimentation with many roles before settling. However, becoming a parent may prematurely close off other opportunities for a young man and result in a concept known as “identity foreclosure” (Montemayor, 1986). This can occur because the role of parent may be inconsistent with the other more typical roles a young man develops, such as that of student or athlete.

In addition, role experimentation typically occurs within the safety of the peer group. Association with the peer group is paramount during late adolescence. Becoming a parent often isolates young fathers from their peers at a time when the peer group is essential in personality development (Robinson, 1998a). Young fathers are unable to get support from their peers, who as non-parents, cannot relate to problems and restrictions associated with parenthood. More typically, peer pressure will be applied to avert parental responsibilities in order to remain “one of the crowd”. If a young man resists this pressure, he may soon find himself without a supportive network of friends. This social isolation can cause resentment from the young father who feels “tied down” with the responsibilities of parenthood and longs to “experiment with his life” (Elster & Hendricks, 1986).

### 3.4.2 Role development: fathering role

In order to successfully negotiate the transition to fatherhood, a young man must embrace the fathering role. He must incorporate the various aspects of this role as he develops his own sense of identity. Two primary aspects of the fathering role in our current culture are those of economic provider and nurturer. Young unwed fathers may well have difficulties or challenges with both.

One study found that 77% of the mothers of teenage fathers were teenage parents themselves (Rivara et al, 1985). With no father present in the home and very few peers in a similar situation, the young father lacks the opportunity to learn by observation. While no definitive research is available, it is assumed that many young fathers (like their partners) come from single parent homes.

Another important obstacle is that some young fathers did not want to become fathers. Although sometimes unconsciously desired, most adolescent pregnancies are unplanned. Once a pregnancy occurs, the young man may play only a limited role in its resolution. Only when the expectant couple has some kind of ongoing and committed relationship does the young man play a more prominent role (Marsiglio & Menaghan, 1990). However, even in these cases, the immature couple may lack the skills necessary to make a decision in partnership. Often the young mother's parents dictate a resolution, precluding the young father from the decision process. Additionally, the decision to carry a pregnancy to term and keep the child has religious and cultural significance.

Unfortunately, a young man who might have preferred abortion or adoption may be forced to adopt a father role. Most likely, this unwilling father will be "absent" and not become involved socially in his child's life. If he chooses not to be actively involved, there will still be social pressure for him to conform at least as the economic provider.

A brief discussion of other developmental difficulties young fathers might face, with specific aspects of the fathering role, follows.

### **3.4.3 Provider**

A source of stress for young unwed fathers is "... the centrality of the breadwinner concept in our (and their) definition of adequate fathering" (Parke & Neville, 1987: 151; Simms & Smith, 1982). Providing, not only has social functions, but can also fulfil psychological needs. It is acknowledged that men may resolve their regressive psychological (ego) conflicts triggered by fatherhood by "providing" for their children (Applegate, 1988).

As stated earlier, young fathers acquire substantially less education than their non-parent peers do. With inadequate education and limited job opportunities, a young father often cannot meet the role expectations of an economic provider. This deficiency can contribute to role confusion. Bowman (1990: 97) postulates that role failure, such as problems with the school-to-work transition, will not only produce failure in that domain, but may also "increase the risk of isolation in the male-female relations, stagnation as family providers and despair in the elderly role". Feeling inadequate, some young men respond to this stress by completely divorcing themselves from the fatherhood role.

### **3.4.4 Becoming the nurturer**

If the young father is still emotionally dependent, he may not be prepared to nurture a child who is wholly dependent on him (Parke & Neville, 1987). This can compromise both the parent and child's psychological well-being. As described by Applegate (1988: 207), "The cognitive and emotional capacities most essential to empathic, mature parenting are likely to be the least available to adolescent boys still engaged in struggles around separation from their own parents".

Additionally, a young father who has not developed a clear sense of identity may find it difficult to fulfil his parental role. Without a firm sense of self, he

may compete with the child for the mother's attention (Montemayor, 1986). This may be heightened if the birth of the child was unplanned or unwanted, which is so often the case.

It is not uncommon for a young father to be spurned by the young mother following the birth of the child. The mother becomes the gatekeeper and thus limits the degree of father involvement. Several factors contribute to the exclusion of the young father. Socially, it may be at the insistence of the young mother's parents (Belsky & Miller, 1986; Parke & Neville, 1987). Developmentally, it may be caused by the mother's regressive over-identification with the infant, as she extends her own dependency need. In this case, the young father is experienced as an intruder to the symbiotic relationship (Osofsky et al, 1988). A young father with limited skills for assertiveness and negotiation, may find himself willing but unable to fill his parenting role.

Even if permitted to be involved in a parenting relationship, some young fathers are cognitively unprepared for the tasks associated with good parenting. They are unable to keep to a schedule and to plan ahead to meet the needs of the child. They are limited in their understanding of babies and developmental needs and they do not possess the cognitive abilities to perceive and correctly interpret the child's cues (Montemayor, 1986; Robinson, 1988a).

The egocentrism of some young fathers make them less attuned to their children's needs. Their cognitive immaturity makes them unable to adopt another's viewpoint which can lead to unrealistic expectations of parenthood (Gordon, 1990). For instance, a young father may frame his child's behaviour only in relation to his own needs e.g. "My child should sleep later in the morning because I don't want to get up".

A young father's developmental "deficiencies" can have a profound impact on his child's development. It has been found that parents who do not properly

stimulate their children and who are insensitive to their children's needs, have infants who develop distrustful, insecure attachments and are more likely to be dependent and socially incompetent as they grow (McGovern, 1990; Osofsky et al, 1988).

### 3.4.5 Role development: role of partner

Belsky and Miller (1986) outlined a minimum of four different levels of relationships young fathers can have with the mothers of their children. The levels are contingent on three dimensions: time - especially duration of the relationship, exclusivity of sexual relationship, and commitment. The four different levels of relationship they describe are on a continuum, not exhaustive but including extremes:

- Enduring relationship with sexual exclusivity and commitment
- Enduring relationship without sexual exclusivity with only modest or low level of commitment
- Short term relationship with sexual exclusivity, but without or a low level of commitment
- No enduring relationship, sexual promiscuity and no commitment.

These differing levels of relationship provide some indication of how open the young father will be to developing his partnership and parenting roles (Belsky and Miller, 1986).

Some fathers do marry or enter into committed relationships with the mother. However, these relationships can often be a result of developmental need rather than maturity and thus not likely to endure. If the young couple has not yet developed individual identities, they are incapable of having a mature intimate relationship based on reciprocity and mutual emotional bonds. As stated earlier, becoming a parent and then marrying before being developmentally prepared results in premature commitments known as **identity foreclosure** (Montemayor, 1986). This can have negative implications for future development. If the couple is more mature, however, it is possible for the marriage to provide role clarification (Robinson, 1988b).

### **3.4.6 Role development: role of social contributor**

Socially, young fathers also find themselves disadvantaged, which can be very emotionally trying. Our society has expectations of the normative timing and sequence of life events, such as high school graduation, job attainment, marriage and parenting. In deviating from this schedule, a young father is often treated to social criticism. Although our society has come to tolerate premature mothering, the same is not afforded to the fathers. Instead, young unwed fathers are blamed as the “victimisers” and society’s attitudes remain punitive and harsh (Elster & Hendricks, 1986; Keener, 1998; Schaufler, 1998).

It is not surprising that so many young unwed fathers are hidden from view. While assumed that they are uncaring and uninvolved, professional experience paints a different picture. Social criticism has caused many of these young men to go underground. Although society desires young unwed fathers to be financially responsible, there is little support for their assuming an active parenting role. Social acceptance, or at a minimum tolerance, is needed for these young men to emerge as responsible parents and partners.

### **3.4.7 Coping strategies and other adaptive behaviours**

Premature parenting for adolescent and young men is assumed to be an emotional and developmental crisis. Caplan (1961) as well as Gitterman in Roberts and Greene (2002) define a crisis as an obstacle to life goals, which at least temporarily restricts the individual’s ability to cope. In crisis the customary methods of problem solving for the individual are ineffective. In the case of young fathers, the crisis of premature parenthood may seem insurmountable because adequate coping skills have not been developed due to their psychological immaturity (Elster & Hendricks, 1986).

Despite the developmental double bind faced by young unwed fathers and the accompanying stress, some are able to cope and adapt well to the challenge. According to Gershenson (1983: 12), in a paper on adolescent mothering, “out of sequence transitions, accelerated transition, or simultaneous transitions should not, however, be confused with incompetence”.

Recent research indicates that high levels of stress do not have an obvious effect on the quality of parenting for adolescent parents (Ketterlinus et al, 1991). A longitudinal study of adolescent mothers by Furstenberg and his colleagues (1987) found that many were able to successfully overcome the adverse consequences of the transition to parenthood. A study of young fathers by Westney and colleagues (1986) found that although over two-thirds of the fathers reported an “unreadiness” for fatherhood, they made an effort at responsible behaviour, both socially and financially.

Panzarine and Elster (1983) studied young fathers involved in their partners’ pregnancies and found that even though young fathers may lack adequate coping skills, those who have emotional support from significant people, are able to cope better with the stress of premature parenting than those fathers who are socially isolated.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

There is no doubt that premature parenting adds additional stressors to the developmental processes of young men. These stressors may present a barrier to the satisfactory transition to parenthood. Identity and role development may suffer from this non-normative crisis. Some young men, however, overcome these stressors and behave responsibly in their paternal role. Any studies regarding paternal responsibility of this younger population of unmarried adolescent fathers must take into account the unique developmental challenges they face. These challenges will be examined in Chapter Four.

## Chapter 4

### Unmarried teenage fathers: Needs, expectations and role perceptions

#### 4.1 Introduction

The transition to fatherhood has no distinct beginning (Mackay, 1998). Fathers to be are often unaware that conception has taken place due to the fact that some pregnancies end in elective abortions. Therefore, according to Belsky and Miller (1986) a teenage male really only becomes a father after the birth of his child compared with husbands who are closely involved from early on in the pregnancy. Although fatherhood for teen fathers may begin with the birth of the child, the actual complete transition into fatherhood is less clear. Belsky and Miller distinguish between fatherhood and fathering with the latter being long-term experience with intensive activities in which father participation is expected.



Robinson (1988a) contends that the adolescent father's initial reaction to the pregnancy is correlated with how well he is coping with the pregnancy at the time of the interview. Robinson also reported that adolescent fathers who have a more difficult time coping with the pregnancy have a tendency to be less well adjusted and have a negative reaction to the pregnancy.

In this chapter the researcher will examine various theoretical expositions of needs, attitudes, expectations and role perceptions of unmarried adolescent fathers. However, we need to heed the observation of Barret and Robinson (1983) who sound a note of caution about the results of research on teenage father's viz. that most of the research focused statistically on black or Latino teenagers and consequently the results cannot be generalized.

## 4.2 Adolescent fatherhood and fathering

Fatherhood is stressful at any age. Adolescents' adjustments, however is reportedly more traumatic because of premature role transition. They not only have to cope with fatherhood, but also with the normal stressors of adolescence; their lives are thrown off the normal developmental path (Rhoden & Robinson, 1997). The abrupt role change interferes with the adolescent's accomplishments of social maturation (Fry & Trifiletti, 1983). The teenager is attempting to form his own identity but this process is hindered by adolescent fatherhood. Because of both the age of the father and the timing of the pregnancy, generally adolescent fathers may experience fatherhood as a major crisis – consequently the problems experienced by these young fathers may be viewed as occurring earlier than is socially acceptable (Elster & Hendricks, 1986).

According to Kaufman (1996) adolescent fathers are often among the highest risk for environments of poverty, racial discrimination, single parent families, unemployment, or underemployment. A positive male role model is often absent and those who are around generally have incorporated the macho image and attitude - a fact that has direct bearing on how adolescent fathers negotiate their changed status.

Kiselica (1995) suggests that the transition into parenthood occurs within dual contexts: the father's family and the mother's family. Once the pregnancy is revealed, each family is faced with a crisis which requires that a decision be made on the pregnancy. However, notwithstanding such turmoil the literature also suggests that despite the fact that adolescent boys are not ready for fatherhood, some of them have strong desires to be a part of their child's and the birth mother's lives (Miller, 1994). Christmon (1990a) found that fathers assuming responsibility for fatherhood were influenced more by their own self-image and role expectations than by the expectations of their partner or parents. Consequently, the young fathers who have a positive sense of themselves and their potential to be good, supportive, involved fathers,

appeared better prepared to tackle the developmental challenges faced as a result of teenage fatherhood (Allen & Doherty, 1996).

Fathering and mothering are complementary processes that evolved within the culturally established family structure (Benedict, 1970: 167 cited by Ontwon, 1987). However, research on men in general and fathers in particular have not featured prominently on the research agenda of scholars, policy makers or service providers – especially when compared with the volume of research conducted on women and motherhood. In the same context we can assert that the circumstances of teen fathers have also been compromised when comparing the voluminous research undertaken on adolescent mothers compared with that undertaken on adolescent fathers.

Many studies on teenage fathers were either of a demographic or quantitative nature (Card & Wise, 1978, Marsiglio, 1986, 1987; Reiss, 1967; Rivara et al, 1985; Rothstein, 1978; Vener & Stewart, 1974; Zelnik & Kantner, 1980). Researchers subsequently realised that quantifying data revealed only average information about ages of teenage fathers, medians of educational levels and types of families of orientation, duration of relationships with the mothers of their children, but little or no information was reported on their subjective experiences. Barret & Robinson (1982a) were two of the earliest researchers who attempted to give a descriptive account of who these fathers are, the status of the fathers relative to school achievement, employment, church attendance, family patterns of teenage fathers, common elements in the sexual experiences of unwed teenage fathers, the relationship of the unwed father and mother, and the involvement the teenage fathers continue to have with their natal partners and their babies.

The literature on paternal involvement has limitations. Literature on paternal involvement with their offspring is limited. Economists and sociologists often gather information on economic and cultural issues when studying fathers, in contrast to psychologists who usually measure family relationships and individual functioning. Few studies collected measures in all of these realms

(Coley, 2001), while most teen state that their main concern is to financially support or make financial contribution to their children's well being. However, provision of food and clothing have often been neglected in involvement research. Evidence of a negative association between family income and adolescent risk behaviours is but one example of how financial contributions may increase positive outcomes for children (Hawkins et al, 1992). Thus, paternal financial support may promote positive consequences for involvement with the child and the natal partner, and appear to sustain a longer-term relationship. To date, involvement is typically conceptualised as behaviours and in ways that are traditionally shown by mothers, thus creating a "mother-defined fatherhood" (Blankenhorn, 1995; Pleck, 1997). This definition of involvement is only one of many possible types of influence that a father may have on his children (Lamb et al., 1986; Levine et al, 1983). Society lacks a consensus concerning the appropriate role of a father, and there is great individual and subgroup variation in fathering behaviours. Most measures do not tap into fathers' emotional involvement with their children, the level of responsibility they take, and the types of activities they engage in with their children (Coley, 2001).

Contradictory research on the roles and involvement of the adolescent father is adequately synthesized in the Fathering Indicators Framework (FIF) categories developed by the National Center on Fathers and Families (NCOFF) (NCOFF, undated) and summarised below:

**Table 4.1: Fathering Indicators Framework Categories**

<b>Fathering Indicator Category</b>	<b>Operational Definitions</b>
<b>1. Father presence</b>	A three-part process involving father engagement, availability, and responsibility in relationship to children
<b>2. Caregiving</b>	Providing nurturance and performing routine tasks necessary to maintain children's emotional well-being, physical health, and appearance
<b>3. Children's social competence and academic achievement</b>	Actively engaging with children and others in developing and enhancing their social competence and academic achievement
<b>4. Cooperative parenting</b>	Fathers, mothers, and other caregivers establishing a supportive, cooperative interdependent relationship aimed at optimal child development
<b>5. Fathers' healthy living</b>	Providing a role model through healthy lifestyle, education, and appropriate social behaviors that teach work and personal ethics, as well as social norms, to help children grow and become productive members of society
<b>6. Material and financial contributions</b>	Engaging in consistent activities that provide material and financial support to children

#### **4.2.1 Teen fathers' perceptions of parenting and fatherhood**

Limited research has been undertaken on teenage fathers' perceptions of and attitudes toward parenting and fatherhood (Pirog-Good, 1996). Studies suggest that teenage males are hesitant, though at times willing, to assume the responsibilities of fatherhood because of either perceived or actual inability to support a family (Adams et al, 1993). Research has shown that adolescent fathers are especially concerned about the following: (a) ability to support the child; (b) health of the child and mother; (c) parenting issues such as whether they will be good fathers and whether they will be able to spend as much time with the child as they would like; (d) interpersonal relationship with

the child's mother and family; and (e) other issues such as legal considerations and general reproductive health.

According to Westney et al (1986), the degree to which the adolescent father perceives himself as a father influences his behaviours relative to the child and mother. Additionally, a father's perception of fatherhood most likely depends on several factors, which include emotional, social, financial, educational, occupational, and perception of his chronological status.

Research conducted by Barret and Robinson (1982a), Fry and Trifiletti (1983), Redmond (1985), Robinson (1988a) and Westney et al (1986) has consistently shown that before the birth of their child, adolescent fathers report intentions to provide financial and emotional support to the child and mother; however, the teenage fathers lack child development knowledge and worry about financial responsibilities, education, employment, and relationships with their partners and parenting. As a result of these concerns the intentions expressed are compromised.

Robinson (1988a) and Rhoden and Robinson (1997) assert that expectant teenage fathers have a wide range of emotions before, during and after childbirth - emotions that were once thought to be solely maternal reactions. These fathers have the same emotional struggle and confusion as teenage mothers. Westney et al. (1986) found in his study that adolescent fathers expressed a range of feelings including, overwhelming fear and sadness, shock and self-doubt. These negative expressions erode the good intentions, as a balance cannot be found between the intentions and the emotions. Another observation reported is that fathers often express a desire to assume the roles of provider, caregiver and decision maker regarding their child's welfare, but are turned away by the child's mother and/or grandparents or because of issues pertaining to negative perceptions of the teen father (Rhoden & Robinson, 1997).

#### **4.2.2 Barriers to adolescent fathers' involvement with their children**

Although some teenage fathers are interested in being involved with their children and natal partners (Redmond, 1985), the fathers often run into barriers that limit or influence their involvement (Allen-Meares, 1984; Barret & Robinson, 1981; Leadbeater et al, 1996). Hendricks (1980), Hendricks and Montgomery (1983) and Hendricks and Solomon (1987) indicate that many adolescent fathers exhibit genuine concern for their children and the mothers of their children, but a complicated set of obstacles contribute to their involvement and responsibilities as fathers.

Hendricks (1988) outlined stress factors that interfere with an unwed teenage father's interest in fatherhood: the nature and outcome of the teenagers' struggle with adolescence, the relationship with the natal partner and her family, and social and economic pressures. Some authors argue that negative stereotypes and financial, educational, and residential circumstances influence teenage fathers' involvement rather than a lack of concern for or commitment to their children (Adams et al, 1993; Elster & Hendricks, 1986; Lamb et al, 1986).

Barret and Robinson (1981) suggest that teen males are psychologically unprepared for adolescent fatherhood – presumably because of their immaturity. Adolescent fathers often have difficulty coping with the knowledge of pregnancy and show signs of depression (Fry & Trifiletti, 1983; Westney et al., 1986). Research has shown that expectant adolescent fathers have a range of emotions prior to and after the birth of their child. These reactions include happiness, acceptance, anger, depression, and denial of responsibility for the pregnancy (Fry & Trifiletti, 1983; Kiselica, 1995; Robinson, 1988a). Their stressors are further compounded by their concerns of financial responsibilities, education, employment, and immediate and long-term relationships with their natal partners (Hendricks, 1980).

Prospective teen fathers must deal not only with the stressors of pregnancy and the responsibilities that accompany fatherhood, but they must reconcile

the contradictory roles of adolescence and fatherhood (Parke et al, 1980). The adolescent father's ability to provide a supportive environment for a child are complicated by his own need as a teenager, which also requires support from others. Additionally, teenage fathers may find it difficult to respond to the needs and wants of a child when as an adolescent himself he is in an intense period of transition from adolescence to parenthood. The stress associated with fatherhood may directly or indirectly affect his involvement with his child (Miller, 1994; Rhoden & Robinson, 1997).

In addition to the father's personal obstacles, they are also occasionally faced with resistance from their natal partners and her parents (Zayas et al, 1987). A study conducted by Allen and Doherty (1996) found that teenage fathers felt strained relationships with their natal partners prevented them from being the type of fathers they wanted to be. The study further pointed out that participants whose relationships were strained generally saw their children less often and were more reticent about any kind of involvement with their children. Family hostilities toward the fathers pose formidable obstacles for them. Under such circumstances, it is likely that intentional efforts will be made to prevent the fathers from visiting the children (Belsky & Miller, 1986). Miller (1994) suggested that fathers' relationships with their child's maternal grandparents might cause extreme stress for them and cause a change in their attitude to parenting.

Teenage fathers "often feel estranged from participation by understandable, yet unbridled hostility from the girlfriends' fathers" (Rhoden & Robinson, 1997: 109). Some maternal grandparents are angry with the father for impregnating their daughter and forbid the father from seeing his child (Cervera, 1991; Kaufman, 1996; Kiselica, 1995). In such cases, the teenage father may feel angry, rejected and powerless and would resign himself to isolation and shuts down his feelings for his child (Kiselica, 1995). Further, if a young father is disenfranchised for an extended duration of time, it is more difficult to persuade him to be involved at a later stage (Allen-Meares, 1984).

Cervera (1991) found that some maternal grandparents might perceive teen fathers a threat to the family's stability and would therefore discourage his involvement with the child or mother. The natal partner and her parents have great influence on whether the father is involved with his child and to what extent.

#### **4.2.2.1 Economic and educational barriers**

Economic and educational barriers also influence teenage fathers' involvement with their children. Elster and Hendricks (1986) suggested that early transition into parenthood adversely affects educational and vocational attainment. Further, under-educated fathers are susceptible to financial difficulties, unemployment or under employment and frequently experience problems with job stability. Adolescent fathers are more likely than their same age peers to leave school earlier and have higher unemployment rates (Breakwell, 1993; Kost, 1997). Research has also shown that vocational and educational concerns are the primary stressors for teenage fathers (Robinson, 1988a).

According to Leadbeater et al. (1996: 207), unemployment limits the likelihood that an adolescent father will become a "long-term source of support to their children". When young fathers are blocked from gainful employment due to personal, racial and structural barriers, they are not able to develop the necessary skills and work habits required to compete in society (McAdoo, 1990). Research further suggests that adolescent fathers are either unemployed or are employed irregularly or in part-time jobs (Adams et al., 1993). Research notes that adolescent males are reluctant to take responsibility for fatherhood because of "perceived or actual inability to support a family adequately". This unstable employment pattern is often considered to be a reluctance to assume responsibility as fathers. However, without gainful employment the young father's sense of inadequacy may affect his relationship with his natal partner, her parents and their willingness to allow him to be an active participant in parenting.

#### 4.2.2.2 Education

Education also serves as a barrier to satisfactory parenting relationships. According to Marsiglio (1986) teenage fatherhood accelerates the transition into parental roles thereby possibly impeding the adolescent father's completion of school and consequent entrance into the labour market. A young father's attempt to reprioritize his responsibilities may change his educational and career plans. One third of adolescent fathers drop out of school by the time they reach their eighteenth birthday (Massey, 1991). Consequently, teen fathers lack the basic academic skills necessary for stable employment (Adams et al., 1993).

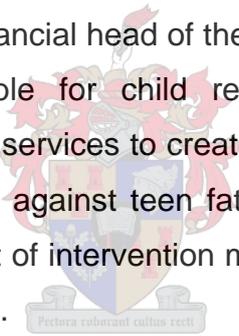
The final barriers to adolescent fathers' involvement with their children are agency, school and community resource hostility and punitive behaviour toward young fathers. Researchers (Allen-Meares, 1984; Kiselica, 1995; Kiselica & Pfaller, 1993) suggested that *societal biases* causes punitive actions against the adolescent fathers. Despite available studies and researchers' acknowledgement that teenage fathers are as much at risk as teen mothers and require the same services, the needs of these fathers continue to be largely ignored (Kaufman, 1996; Kiselica & Sturmer, 1993). Teenage fathers continue to be a "shadow figure cloaked in a fog of prejudice and misinformation" (Fry & Trifiletti, 1983: 219). In South Africa the Natural Fathers of Children Born Out of Wedlock Act (No 86 of 1997) acknowledges paternity out of wedlock. However, in practice, attitudes toward and treatment of teenage fathers differ from the attitudes toward and treatment of older fathers of children born out of wedlock.

Adolescent fathers are at risk for parenting failure, truncated education and low wage income (Christmon, 1990c), yet society expects these fathers to provide for and support their children and to be responsible parents (Kiselica & Sturmer, 1993). In the United States of America the majority of federal, state, and local service programmes have concentrated on the needs of the adolescent mother, while providing limited services to the fathers (Kahn & Bolton, 1986; Kiselica & Pfaller, 1993). This is also the case in South Africa

where many agencies that provide services to teen parents do not include or even consider teen fathers in their service programmes.

Research conducted by Allen and Doherty (1996) identified social institutions as obstacles for teen fathers. According to their study, fathers felt that the teachers, hospital personnel and social service workers hampered rather than assisted their efforts to care for and be involved with their children. Allen-Meares (1984) found that some agencies simply refused to include teen fathers and their families in the needs assessment of their natal partners. When agencies attempted to include the fathers, personnel often adopted punitive and negative attitudes in their interaction and work with the fathers.

Kiselica (1995) contends that the penchant to ignore teenage fathers may be a result of cultural bias toward fathers in general. Historically, western society has considered men as the financial head of the household and women as the nurturers who are responsible for child rearing. Consequently, these assumptions influenced social services to create a gendered climate, services and policies for discrimination against teen fathers as social service clients. Consequently the environment of intervention may diminish the momentum or impact of paternal involvement.



### **4.3 Role performance of adolescent fathers**

The fact that unwed adolescent fathers have been actively involved in their children's lives, have almost been completely ignored (Ontwon, 1987). While some teenage fathers accepted little, if any responsibility, for children conceived out of wedlock, many others have accepted their responsibilities and tried to fulfil them (Nye, 1980). Many adolescent fathers interrupted their schooling in order to provide for their children. Lorenzi et al, (1977) interviewed 180 school age girls who attended the Young Mothers Clinic of the Yale-New Haven Hospital. To participate in the study the girls had to be 17 years old or younger, unmarried and residents of New Haven. The

participants were followed for two years after they delivered. The researchers found that two-thirds of the fathers were contributing to the support of their partners and children three months after the birth of the child.

In a five year study conducted by Furstenberg (1976) the author found that 63% of all fathers were maintaining contact with their children five years after the children were born. Of the 63%, 21% of the fathers were living with their children. Another 20% did not reside with their children but saw them on a regular basis - at least once a week. The remaining 21% maintained an episodic relationships with their children i.e. they visited on an irregular basis. This latter group of fathers provided economic support, but the researcher does not give any information on the level or nature of their support.

Panzarine and Elster (1983) interviewed a convenience sample of 20 unmarried adolescent males who were 18 years of age and younger. Subjects were interviewed once during each trimester of their partner's pregnancy. The average age of the participants was 17.6 years and they were primarily from middle socio-economic backgrounds. The authors found that all the fathers viewed the provider role as a major responsibility of fatherhood. All the participants were involved in some activity to improve the financial position of their natal partners and children. Those who were not working before the pregnancy found jobs. Some left school and sought full-time jobs. Those who were employed sought either a better paying job or started to work overtime. Eighteen of these boys were involved in an activity to help prepare for the baby's arrival. Some of the fathers bought baby clothes, supplies and toys. Others prepared a room or a crib for the newborn.

Since researchers have just begun to examine the role of unwed adolescent fathers, little is known about their parenting behaviour. However, as researchers consider unwed adolescent fathers and their strengths, weaknesses have also been revealed. While these fathers may have regular and consistent contact with their children, their unpreparedness for parenting was very likely to jeopardize the quality of care they were able to give them.

De Lissovoy (1973) interviewed 48 couples over a three-year period in an attempt to research and evaluate married adolescent fathers. The findings of the study were consistent with the observations of unwed adolescent fathers' parenting ability other researchers made. Generally, these fathers were not familiar with the developmental norms for children and infants. Moreover, their general lack of knowledge and experience with children, their unrealistic expectations of a child's developmental norms, their general disappointment in their own lives and their lack of economic resources served to raise their instability and lower their threshold of tolerance (de Lissovoy, 1973: 23). Moreover, the immaturity of the parents, coupled with the fact that they may have been thrust into parenthood before having adequately adjusted to their marriage, increased the likelihood of marital instability. The author further postulated that marital instability and hostility would increase the probability of infant maladjustment.

In short, the circumstances surrounding teenage fatherhood, such as immaturity, and unpreparedness for parenthood may have combined to make many of these men inadequate sources of emotional and financial support that in turn may have adverse effects on the children's development (Elster & Lamb, 1982).

An adolescent father's inability to provide adequate childcare may be explained by social and developmental immaturity. Adolescence is a time when teenagers are very egocentric and they use this time to take on various roles to ascertain their feelings in developing roles with which they are comfortable (Rogers, 1978).

Adolescents anticipate feedback from others as to how they are regarded in their various roles - that is, they depend on and expect feedback from others regarding their performance in fulfilling, and success in negotiating, various roles. They take turns rehearsing in fantasy how they will perform a particular role and trying it out among their peers and others to determine their reactions. As they either receive compliments on the one hand or get

negative feedback, they continuously reshape their efforts and images and adjust their roles accordingly (Rogers, 1978).

The adolescent period is a psychological moratorium or an “as if period” during which the individual can try different roles “as if” he were committed to these roles: however, since it is an “as if period”, he is not really committed and is not held fully accountable (Erikson, 1963: 262). During this period the adolescent experiments with different ideologies, religions, vocations, and may also experiment with various kinds of relationships. As suggested earlier, it is during and as a result of testing various roles that the adolescent finds himself, develops an identity, and emerges with commitments to politics, religion, vocational career, and perspective on the opposite sex (Muss, 1975: 77). Also at this time the adolescent is very preoccupied with himself and unlikely to be highly sensitive to the physical and emotional needs of his partner and child. Though sexually matured, the individual may be more or less retarded in his psychosocial capacity for intimacy and in the psychosocial readiness of parenthood.

Expectant fatherhood is a stressful situation (Caughan, 1960: 30). Caughan (1960) identified five sources of stress for adult fathers – though he did not define stress or provide any theoretical discussion of this concept. The amount of stress the father experiences is related to the perception of his capacity to provide for his child. The first source of stress is the father’s concern about his financial ability to meet the needs of his child. The second source is the father’s anxiety in fulfilling his paternal role. The third source of stress is the enviable baby. His demands include attention, dependency, unrestrained impulsiveness, and such libidinal pleasure as nursing, and being cuddled. The fourth source of stress is the pregnancy itself. Pregnancy arouses prudential conflicts - among them envy of feminine reproduction power (Caughan, 1960: 32). Finally, unwed fathers may experience a higher degree of stress than married fathers (Caughan, 1960: 31). The out-of-wedlock pregnancy is a conspicuous source of stress – especially when

experienced as blame and shame producing stress (Elster & Panzarine, 1981: 47).

The combination of the stress of adolescent fatherhood and a strained psychosocial functioning distinguishes adolescent fathers from adult fathers and places them at high risk for parenting failure (Elster & Lamb, 1982: 150). Adolescent fathers are likely to be more emotionally vulnerable to the stresses surrounding pregnancy than adult fathers (Elster & Lamb, 1982). When role transition occurs and is combined with our own synchrony of expected social standards, the risks of turmoil increase. As indicated earlier, teenagers may experience considerable turmoil as they strive to achieve self-identity. The psychological immaturities of some adolescent fathers not only contribute to the stress which they experience, but also influence their capability to manage that stress (Elster & Lamb, 1982: 150).

In conclusion, all adolescents experience a phase of rapid psychological development - a major component of developing a mature self-identity. Not until this occurs does an adolescent have the self-esteem to deal with the considerable stresses generated by the unplanned pregnancy of the natal partner (Elster & Panzarine, 1981). An adolescent father's parenting ability becomes crucial because of its impact on his natal partner and his child. The services of agencies have an indirect effect of increasing the self-assurance and competence of the mother (Elster & Lamb, 1982). One of the most common ways in which adolescent fathers influence the mother is through their financial support. While the necessities made available by financial support affect the baby, it also increases the mother's feelings of economic security and in turn her interaction with the child. Emotional support from the father is particularly important especially in the light of the high degree of social prejudice extended to the mother. If the relationship between the adolescent mother and her parents become stressed as a result of the pregnancy, the support of the child's father becomes very important in reducing this stress. In turn such a reduction in maternal emotional stress might lead to an increase in her subsequent involvement with her infant.

Parke, Power and Fisher (1980: 98) found that consensus in child rearing attitudes is related to paternal involvement and competence. Conversely, unmarried mothers' feelings of self worth are enhanced through the involvement of the father of their child (Leashore, 1979: 523).

#### **4.4 The needs of unmarried teenage fathers**

The needs of teenage fathers are often clustered; at times these are based on assumptions, other times these are based on specific observations or at times the needs are located on projections of psychosocial development projections.

##### **4.4.1 Psychosocial needs**

What is generally "known" of the character and emotional needs of unwed adolescent fathers is largely based on society's stereotypes viz. they are self-centred and irresponsible males who take advantage of young women without thinking of the consequences of their behaviour. Their disappearance, sometimes shortly after the pregnancy is considered as proof of such irresponsibility; however, this does not consider the fact that in many instances the natal partner's parents prevent them from becoming involved (Connolly, 1978 cited by Barret & Robinson, 1982b: 484). If society seeks out these young men at all, it is usually with a punitive and judgmental intent. Whatever rights they may have, or part they are entitled to play in the decision-making of their child, are generally ignored - except for their financial responsibility (Johnson & Staples, 1979).

It has been suggested that teenage boys who father children have different psychological needs from their contemporaries. Pannor and Evans (1965: 56) state that "... social workers are convinced that out-of-wedlock pregnancies, result from intra-personal difficulties, which manifest themselves in ineffective or inappropriate interpersonal relationships; that both unmarried parents in general are faced with intra-personal and interpersonal difficulties; and that the unmarried father enters into the relationship because of his psychic needs, and not by accident".

Johnson and Staples (1979) suggest that teenage males who are members of minority groups use sexual activity to express their masculinity because more conventional means of doing so are closed to them. However, none of these contentions has been borne out by empirical research. Contrary to the views of Johnson and Staples (1979) research carried out by Earls and Siegel (1980) show that adolescent fathers are psychologically normal and the sexual conduct observed by Johnson and Staples can be considered as a feature of normal sexual unfolding. In this regard the researcher wants to assert that the conflicting views expressed is an example of the lack or absence of a clearly defined context to understand the position of teen fathers from low income communities.

Paulker (1971) asserts that reports of psychological maladjustment among teenage fathers occur because the data is assessed after the out-of-wedlock experience and it is not surprising that depression or emotional conflicts would surface at such a time. He studied scores from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, ACE Psychological Test and the Cooperative English Test on 94 boys who had fathered children when they were between the ages of 13 and 19. In addition, 94 adolescent males of similar age who attended the same school and were from similar socio-economic backgrounds but had not fathered children were selected as a control group. Overall, the teenage fathers were psychologically and intellectually more alike than different from the matched control group.

Contrary to the findings of Paulker's study, other studies provide evidence that adolescent fathers are psychologically inadequately prepared for fatherhood, presumably because of their own immaturity. Rothstein (1978) interviewed 35 lower class teenage males between the ages of 16 and 24 comprising of a nearly equal distribution of young men who were either married to their partners, engaged to their partners, or neither married nor engaged, to determine their readiness for parenting. Considering that the sample was drawn exclusively from a group of young men who were taking steps to avoid

fatherhood via abortion, it is not surprising that the majority of those interviewed (86%) were psychologically ambivalent regarding their readiness to assume the fathering role of provider or caretaker.

In a study done by de Disavow (1973) of rural, working-class teen parents with the average age of females being 16,5 years and that of males 17 years, it was found that the participants were ill-prepared for parenthood; they had unrealistic expectations of child development and a general lack of knowledge and experience concerning children. They were also impatient and intolerant of children and tended toward physical abuse in their child-rearing practices.

When considering the aforementioned information in a context of psychosocial needs of unmarried teen fathers, it is clear that significant programmes and services have to be instituted in order to deal with the extensive range of needs and the accompanying concerns that are evident in this regard.

#### **4.5 Parental responsibilities and involvement of adolescent fathers**

Due to limited research on adolescent fathers' involvement with their children, a review of literature on paternal involvement across age groups is necessary. According to Puster (1994) research on fathering behaviours indicate that involvement is indicated by other characteristics such as warmth, socialization practices, and relationships characteristics (Biller, 1971; Hoffman, 1981; Radin, 1981). Paternal involvement affects the child not only directly but also indirectly through its impact on mothers, siblings, and peer relationships (Belsky & Volling, 1987; MacDonald & Parke, 1984; Volling & Belsky, 1992). The degree of positive paternal engagement and accessibility, as well as an aspect of involvement, has been demonstrated to have positive effects on the child's cognitive functioning, social functioning and competence, empathy, and mental health symptoms (Amato, 1987; Gottfried et al, 1988; Lamb, 1987; Mosley & Thompson, 1995; Radin, 1994). Furthermore, paternal involvement studies show that more accessible fathers have an increased level of acceptance of their children, and those levels of acceptance increase over

time (Almeide & Galambos, 1991). Thus, increased paternal involvement appears to yield enhancements in the quality of father-child interactions.

Paternal involvement has been conceptualized to include three components: (a) direct interaction viz. interactions with the child in the form of caretaking, play, or leisure; (b) availability to his children; and (c) the degree of responsibility - separate from the caretaking behaviours, including financial support and instrumental support for the mother (Lamb et al, 1987). McBride and Mills (1993) expanded the previously mentioned component of interaction to include **play behaviours** viz. child-centred activity for pleasure, **functional behaviours** e.g. performance or assistance with a task that the child could not perform alone, **parallel behaviours** i.e. parent and child involvement in adult-centred activity or in different activities with close physical proximity permitting periodic interaction, and **transitional behaviours** – when parents help the child change activities. Involvement is also influenced by certain psychosocial ecological factors. These factors may be seen as crucial characteristics of the ecology within which fathers make choices about their level of involvement (Lamb et al, 1987).

Lamb et al (1985) and Pleck et al (1986) suggest that paternal involvement is influenced by four factors: motivation, skills and self-confidence, social supports, and institutional practices.

#### 4.5.1 Motivational factors

**Motivation** is defined as the paternal desire to be involved with one's children, which may be influenced by reactions based on a father's developmental history e.g. his experiences with his father and his age, personal characteristics and beliefs (Pleck, 1997), sex roles, child characteristics or other psychological factors (Coysh, 1983 as cited in Pleck, 1997).

Hendricks (1981) found that adolescent fathers, due to the fact that they are more likely to come from large families where they had increased

opportunities for interaction with young children, makes them better prepared for the parenting role compared to men who first fathered as an adult and who were more likely to come from smaller families.

In relation to **skills and self confidence** Christmon (1990), concurs with Lamb et al (1985) and Pleck et al (1986) in his study in which the dependent variable was parental responsibility - which reflects the adolescent father's willingness to be involved in the parenting of his child. The independent variables were **perceived role expectations of others, adolescent father's own role expectations**, and **self-image**. Perceived expectations are those role expectations of parental ability that the adolescent father believes are communicated to him from either his parent/s or partner. The adolescent father's own expectations are the role expectations about parental ability that he has internalised and accepted as being his own. His self-image is an important construct, being the sum total of perceptions, thoughts, and feelings about him.

Cochran (1997:343) refers to a study by Christmon (1990) about adolescent fathers' willingness to assume parental responsibility for their children. The study reported that teenage fathers with good self-image and high role expectations were more likely to accept their responsibilities than were their peers. In a second study of Christmon (1990b) attitudes regarding family of origin, sexuality, and coping skills were found to influence parental responsibility.

Miller (1994) in his study of teenage fathers aged 15 to 20 years found that fathers were involved in the lives of the child and the mother. More than half the participants reported that they discussed with the mother the possibility of keeping the child and other relevant issues e.g. living arrangements and maintaining their relationship. **Emotional and social support** correlated significantly with parenting behaviours. Fathers who took part in decision-making were significantly involved with parenting. Stress had a negative impact on parenting attitudes among the fathers.

The above discussion includes societal attitudes that for the purposes of this study are also considered as **institutional practices**.

#### **4.5.1.1 Father's developmental history**

Literature suggests that a father's experience with his own father significantly affects his paternal involvement. Two hypotheses have been suggested to explain the influence of paternal involvement on the parenting behaviours of the next generation: a modelling hypothesis and a compensation hypothesis. The modelling hypothesis states that fathers directly model parenting behaviours that are eventually adopted by their children. This hypothesis has been supported repeatedly in the literature with studies showing similar styles of parenting between father and son (Manion, 1977; Reuter & Biller, 1973; Sagi, 1982). Support for the transmission of involvement levels is evident in research demonstrating associations between a father's involvement level with his son and the stability of high paternal involvement by the son with his own children (Radin, 1994). In addition, when fathers are more involved with their sons, their sons in turn are more comfortable being actively involved with their own children (Jump & Haas, 1987). Significant correlations have been noted between adolescent fathers' levels of financial involvement with their children and their attachment to their own fathers (Buklin, 1999). Qualitative reports by teen fathers indicate that their experiences with their own fathers are critical in determining their perceptions of fatherhood and their paternal aspirations (Allen & Doherty, 1996).

The compensation hypothesis proposes that fathers attempt to compensate for their own fathers' lack of involvement or flaws in their parenting behaviours (DeFrain, 1979; Eiduson & Alexander, 1978). This has been supported through research showing that many men who plan to be a primary caretaker had fathers with low involvement in their lives (Pruett, 1987). In addition, high involvement fathers report a perception of having received low quality fathering them (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). Interestingly, most men do not view their own father as a positive role model (Daly, 1993; Ehrensaft, 1987). There

are some studies that show paternal involvement and one's own father's involvement as unrelated (Gerson, 1993; Radin, 1994), possibly indicating modelling and compensating are occurring simultaneously.

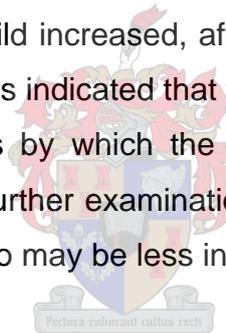
#### **4.5.1.2 Child characteristics**

Fathers generally are more involved with sons than daughters (Amato, 1987; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Blair et al, 1994; Harris & Morgan, 1991; Ishii-Kuntz, 1994; Marsiglio, 1991b) and are more stable over time in their involvement with sons (Radin, 1994). Involvement by both mother and father appears to decrease as children of both sexes age (Marsiglio, 1991b; Pleck, 1985). Fathers have shown more involvement with first-born children (Rustia & Abbott, 1993) and are more involved if the infant is born prematurely (Yogman, 1987). One study found that non-custodial fathers were more involved with younger children than older children (DeLuccie, 1996; Stephens, 1996).

#### **4.5.1.3 Personal characteristics**

Personal characteristics of fathers reliably affect paternal involvement. Positive involvement with children has been associated with high self-esteem (Blair, Wenk, & Hardesty, 1994; Coysh, 1983 as cited in Pleck, 1997; Volling & Belsky, 1992), overall life adaptation during pregnancy (successful coping at work, positive marriage characteristics) (Grossman et al, 1988), and "parental awareness", of the maturity of parents' understanding of children and the parent-child relationship (Levant et al, 1987). Gender-role orientation studies have demonstrated that involved fathers were more likely to be androgynous or to have higher "female" characteristics (Palkovitz, 1984; Rosenwasser & Patterson, 1984-85; Russell, 1983, 1986). Examining adolescent fathers' personal characteristics, Williams-McCoy & Tyler (1985) found that adolescent fathers showed significantly less interpersonal trust than non-fathers. This lack of trust is hypothesized to create difficulties in establishing and maintaining involvement with their children because of negative interactions with the mother of the child or possibly with the child himself.

Some research has found that older fathers are more involved (Coltrane, 1990; Haas, 1988), but most studies show no effects on involvement associated with age (Ahmeduzzaman & Roopnarine, 1992; Cooney et al, 1993; Gerson, 1983; Grossman, et al., 1988; Marsiglio, 1991b; and Volling & Belsky, 1991). When Cooney et al. (1993) examined paternal age and its impact on fathers' involvement and affective style, the authors found several modal patterns. They were: "early" fathers (age 23 or younger), who had an uninvolved (low) level and positive affect; "on time" fathers (age 24-29), who had uninvolved (low) level and negative affect, and "late" fathers (age 30 or older), who had 2 modal patterns of involved (high) level and positive affect or involved (high) level and negative affect. Marital satisfaction and work hours influenced the degree to which affect was positive or negative in the last group of fathers. The author's interpretation was that as the number of competing roles for these fathers increased, psychological resources decreased, and while involvement with the child increased, affect during involvement became more negative. Overall, results indicated that factors related to age may affect involvement, but the process by which the effects occur is unclear. This highlights the importance of further examination of fathering at different ages, especially younger fathers who may be less involved.



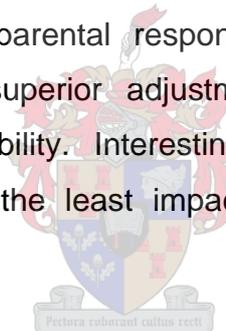
#### **4.5.1.4 Beliefs**

Studies of the impact of beliefs on paternal involvement indicate that paternal endorsement of the importance of the father's role in child development is associated with higher involvement (McBride & Mills, 1993; Palkovitz, 1984). The role of beliefs concerning gender is less clear. Higher involvement has been seen in men with egalitarian beliefs of men and women and their gender roles (Bailey, 1993; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Blair et al., 1994; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Levant et al., 1987). However, nearly as many studies failed to show this relationship (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale, 1987; Marsiglio, 1991b; McHale & Huston, 1984; Pleck, 1985).

Research has examined the construct of "paternal identity" and its relationship to paternal involvement. "Paternal identity" is the set of self-meanings a father

has for the roles and status of fatherhood, a commitment to the paternal role, and the individual's model of himself as a parent (Abidin, 1992; Hawkins, Christiansen, Sargent, & Hill, 1993; Ihinger-Tallman, Pasley, & Beuhler, 1993, Snarey, 1993). Having "paternal identity" tends to increase involvement with children.

Research examining adolescent fathers' beliefs and their influences on involvement or a desire to be involved has indicated that parental sense of responsibility is influenced by feelings, attitudes and expectations of the family of origin. In three studies, Christmon (1990a, 1990b & 1990c) found that adolescent fathers' willingness to take responsibility in interacting with their children was increased by positive self-image and positive fathering role expectations. However, with regard to parental responsibility actually assumed by the adolescent father, only self-image with regard to family contributed to changes in parental responsibility levels. When familial questions were removed, superior adjustment was the only significant predictor of parental responsibility. Interestingly, perceived role expectations of the fathers' partner had the least impact on their willingness to take responsibility.



Adolescent fathers tend to report remarkably positive attitudes toward fatherhood, their partner, and the child. While their initial reactions to the information that their partner is pregnant are often negative, most adolescent fathers later report a desire to take responsibility for their child and assist the mother (Moezzi 1998; Suth, 2000; Westney et al, 1986). They also report positive thoughts, feelings, and intentions toward their partner and future roles as fathers (Hendricks, 1982; Hendricks & Montgomery, 1983) and maintain an optimistic view of their abilities and their future. According to self-report data, they generally are willing to live with and support the child and their partner (Redmond, 1985). In fact, they report a desire to be more involved than the female partner is willing to allow (Marsiglio & Menaghan, 1990; Redmond, 1985). In a sample of 173 teen fathers, researchers (Rhein et al, 1997) found that while a stated disinterest in their child most consistently predicted no

involvement in the child's life, the majority of the teen fathers were interested and involved in child rearing.

These motivational findings negate stereotypes that portray teen fathers as unfeeling, uncaring and unwilling to take responsibility for their children. The findings also raise a question: what accounts for lack of involvement, given their stated intentions? Actions and attitudes of the mother and her family of origin may create a gradual rift between father, mother and child. As pressure from the mother and her family increases, fathers may feel less able to live up to the expectations placed upon them, or fathers may be slowly excluded from activities and events. Alternatively, while these fathers have good intentions, they may not have a realistic understanding of what it means to be a parent. Possibly lacking the skills to follow through on their desires and ideas, they may become frustrated and reduce their involvement.

Parenting beliefs and paternal involvement may be influenced by cultural environment, or racial and ethnic practices (Coley, 2001). In studies prior to 1980, no consistent relationship was noted between race and father involvement (Pleck, 1985) and some subsequent studies have still not found differences in Puerto Rican, African-American, and Euro-American fathers (Roopnarine & Ahmeduzzaman, 1993). Since 1980, however, research has indicated that African-American fathers are generally more involved than Caucasians (Allen, 1981; McAdoo, 1988). While African-American fathers show low relative accessibility (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991), their involvement with older children, especially verbal communication and positive interactions, is higher than their Caucasian counterparts (Marsiglio, 1991b).

#### **4.5.2 Skills and self-confidence**

Skills and self-confidence are perceived as real abilities and characteristics of a parent. Institutional factors are aspects that may affect paternal involvement. Such institutions include employers, social service agencies, law enforcement and day care facilities (Lamb, et al., 1982).

As fathers feel more competent and knowledgeable about children, they are more involved in their child rearing. Perceived paternal competence has shown direct relationships with level of involvement in several studies (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; McHale & Huston, 1984). Paternal involvement has also been related to a father's general beliefs of men's competence with children (Russell, 1983, 1986) and a man's ability to be close to children (Haas, 1988). The father's knowledge of child development has been associated with positive engagement but is not considered in routine care (Bailey, 1993). Interventions that increase parenting skills have proven to increase the father's involvement with his child (Cowan, 1988; Klinman, 1986; McBride, 1990).

Examining non-custodial adult fathers specifically, McKerry, Price, Fine and Serovich (1991) found that fathers' perceptions of their influence on their children predicted continued involvement with children after divorce. The ease of being able to see their child and feelings of competence in the role of the father was also associated with participation with the child (Tepp, 1983).

### **4.5.3 Social Supports**

Social supports include both general support and approval of paternal behaviours by significant others such as family, friends, co-workers, and the mother of their child. The latter includes the influence of interactions with the child's mother as well (Lamb, et al., 1982).

#### **4.5.3.1 General support**

Although increased support from others would seem likely to result in increased paternal involvement with children, these supports provide fathers with little encouragement and resources relevant to childcare (Lein, 1979). In fact, involved fathers may actually encounter resistance from friends, acquaintances, and relatives regarding their levels and types of involvement with their children (Hwang, Elden, & Fransson, 1984; Russell, 1983, 1986), especially if they are involved in non-stereotypical ways such as dressing or

diapering a child (Raine & Draper, 1995). Such resistance may be even more relevant for adolescent fathers, as peer pressure reaches peak levels during this time of life. However, since many of these studies were completed in the 1980's or earlier, these findings may not be applicable today as acceptance of father's provision of childcare is increasing.

#### **4.5.3.2 Support from and relations with the mother**

Adolescent fathers often report that their partner and her family view them favourably. They report the need to participate in the life of their child and continue communications with their partner (Barret & Robinson, 1982a). Cox and Bithoney (1995) reported that one of the factors associated with at least monthly contact between adolescent fathers and their children was a supportive relationship between the mother's family and the child's father. Lamb and Elster (1985) examined statistics that correlated support from the natal partner's family and contact with the child and concluded that fathers' engagement and social interactions with their infants were directly related to the number of infant-related conversations held with the teen mother, the amount of joint attention paid by the father and mother to the child, the of positive affect between parents, and the pleasurable activities the parents shared. Composite scores of paternal social interaction with the child were significantly correlated with the mother's report of his financial assistance and assistance with childcare. Hoffman (1995) found that non-custodial fathers' continued relationships with their children could be predicted by general social support for involvement, in addition to support for and co-operation with the paternal role from their ex-wives. This is also seen in adolescent fathers specifically. Allen and Doherty (1996) report that in interviews with 10 African-American teen fathers, the fathers stated that the most apparent obstacle to meeting their aspirations as a parent was a strained relationship with the child's mother. Furthermore, teen fathers are more likely to stay involved with their child's mother (and probably, by extension, the child) if the couple reports an intimate and supportive relationship six weeks after delivery (Cutrona, Hessling, Bacon, & Russell, 1998). Overall, these results indicate that

relations with the mother of the baby have a strong effect on the father's relationship with and behaviours towards his child.

#### **4.5.3.3 Support from and relationship with the mother's family**

The family of the mother is more likely to have negative feelings toward the adolescent father than the mother herself (Cervera, 1991), and while fathers report wanting to maintain communication with the mother, they do not often want to establish or maintain communication with her family. Research on the relationship between adolescent fathers and the mother's family suggests that a reported supportive relationship among these groups leads to an increased likelihood of at least monthly contact between a father and child in the first 24 months of life (Cox & Bithoney, 1995). Researchers have hypothesized that in never-married, adolescent parents, support from extended family members for the mother may decrease her need or desire for paternal involvement (Danziger & Radin, 1990). Because an adolescent parent is more likely to receive assistance from his or her own parents, than an adult parent, a teen father may be gradually or immediately excluded from his child's life without the support of the mother's family. The barriers may begin early in the pregnancy. A negative attitude toward the adolescent father or mother by either set of parents may prolong the initial crisis stage of adolescent pregnancy (Allen-Mears, 1984). As a result, the mother may need to sort through her own emotions and needs before informing the father of the pregnancy, making decisions unilaterally in the meantime. Thus fathers may be initially less involved, setting the stage for low involvement later. In spite of repeated theorizing in this vein, this hypothesis has not received support in empirical work (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1999; Danziger & Radin, 1990).

#### **4.5.4 Institutional factors and practices**

Institutional factors and practices have shown effects on levels of paternal involvement. Unemployed fathers demonstrate increased involvement or quantity of caretaking (Pruett, 1987; Russell, 1983, 1986; Harold-Goldsmith et al., 1988), whereas fathers who spend more hours at work appear less

involved (Marsiglio, 1991b; Ishii-Kuntz & Coltrane, 1992; Pleck, 1985). When a father has or perceives more control over his work schedule, more involvement occurs (Gerson, 1983; Lee, 1983; Winett & Neale, 1980). A father's higher satisfaction or investment in his job yields less involvement or accessibility with children (Grossman et al., 1988; Feldman, Nash, & Aschenbrenner, 1983).

#### **4.5.4.1 Paternal socio-demographic characteristics**

Personal characteristics of the father have been hypothesized to interact with institutional factors to influence the level and type of involvement. However, data on these characteristics provide only partial support for these theories. For example, while several investigators have found higher education results in more involvement (Ahmeduzzaman & Roopnarine, 1992; Blair et al., 1994; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Russell, 1983, 1986), others found no such relationship (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Cooney et al, 1993; Volling & Belsky, 1991). The same can be said for paternal occupational level, as some research suggests higher occupational status is associated with increased involvement (Gerson, 1993; Grossman et al., 1988), but other studies show it is associated with lower levels (Dubnoff, 1978 as cited in Pleck, 1997). Similarly with paternal income, higher income is sometimes associated with more involvement (Blair et al., 1994; Ahmeduzzaman & Roopnarine, 1992), and other times associated with decreased involvement or not association at all (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991; Pleck, 1983).

Each of the previously examined institutional factors may function as a proxy for differences in beliefs and previous experiences. The influence of these may be extended through social supports and the characteristics of fathers' jobs as well as motivation and skill level (Pleck, 1997). Presently, we do not have research examining mediating variables that may be interacting with these characteristics.

#### **4.5.4.2 Ecological factors influencing adolescent fathers and their children**

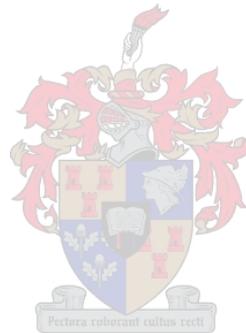
Findings from the adolescent fatherhood literature make it clear that teens are part of multiple systems. Under the street of pregnancy or parenting, adolescent fathers are likely to be even more strongly influenced by the supports and availability of resources or lack thereof (Barret & Robinson, 1990). Ecologically, fathers and the systems within which they function are mutually shaping (Hanson, 1985).

One of the ecological factors is a decreased valuing of education and reduced levels of education on the part of adolescent fathers (Dearden et al, 1992). Compared to non-fathers, adolescent fathers typically complete significantly fewer years of school or drop out more frequently (Hendricks, Robinson-Brown, & Gary, 1984; Marsiglio, 1987; Hendricks, Montgomery, & Fullilove, 1984). Adolescent fathers also show decreased levels of participation in institutionalized religion (Hendricks et al, 1984; Hendricks & Fullilove, 1983) and increased levels of “high-risk” behaviours such as alcohol or other drug use, violent or abusive behaviours, and criminal activity (Bolton, 1987). In addition, adolescent fathers are more likely than non-parent peers to be employed (Hendricks et al, 1984; Hendricks et al, 1984), but most are underemployed (Cervera, 1991).

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The needs, expectations and role perceptions of unmarried teen fathers are influenced by a host of factors – including adolescent developmental experiences, perceptions and influences of society at large, their own life experiences and the attitude and support systems that are available to them. It is evident from the literature that social institutions including social work has been judgemental and punitive and has not been very supportive of teen fathers. The latter observation is of particular concern since the phenomenon

of adolescent fatherhood needs to be accommodated in social work services if responsible parenting is to be promoted in this population.



## Chapter 5

### Discussion of research findings

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the information gathered will be presented and discussed. The thematic categories identified in the literature had been used as a framework to demarcate themes and sub themes in this analysis. The reasoning is deductive and tables and statistics are used to manage the volume of information extracted.

#### 5.2 Discussion of themes and sub-themes

The research design and methodology used in this study is discussed in Chapter One. The findings are presented in three parts. In Part A the findings of the research on unmarried adolescent fathers and in Part B the findings of the survey of service providing agencies are presented and discussed.

These findings result from interviews (**Annexures G and H**) conducted with unmarried adolescent fathers and a survey of organisations (Annexure I) that provide service to unmarried adolescent mothers.

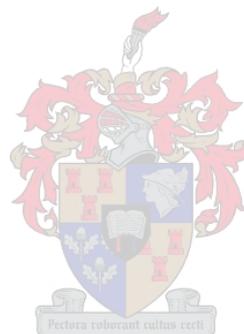
The data obtained from the unmarried adolescent fathers was initially coded according to the pre-determined thematic categories of information that lends itself to qualitative analysis according to the framework of Tesch (1990). This was followed by a consensus discussion of the analysed data between the researcher and an independent coder. The first stage entailed establishing the demographic variables as outlined in the identifying details of the interview schedule.

In **Part A** of the analysis **Perceptions, attitudes, and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers** are discussed and the following sub-themes emerged:

families of origin, development and sexuality, masculinity, natal partners and relationships, and perceptions and experiences of fathering.

The sub-categories of **Part B Participants' perceptions and experiences of social work services**, reported the participants' knowledge of social work, factors that influenced their attitude towards social work services, their experiences and expectations of such service.

In **Part C** the findings regarding **Social work/pregnancy counselling services** were analysed. The framework of analysis for this part of the study is comparative and gauges the attentiveness of service providers.



## PART A: UNMARRIED ADOLESCENT FATHERS

### 5.3 A profile of the participants<sup>1</sup>

In this section the researcher presents a profile of the participants that provide the background and context that led to them participate in the study. The participants in this study comprised of participants who represent diversity in terms of social, economic, educational and religious circumstances.

Table 5.1 provides a profile of participants that reflect age, race, level of education, area of residence and chosen pseudonym.

**Table 5.1: Profile of participants**

Participant	Age	Race	Education	Area of Residence	Pseudonym
P1	19	Black	Grade 12	Khayelitsha	Sands
P2	18	Coloured	Grade 12	Mitchell's Plain	John
P3	17	Asian	Grade 11	Cravenby Estate	Ravi
P4	16	Coloured	Grade 10	Eerste River	Johannes
P5	20	Black	Grade 11	Khayelitsha	Mpho
P6	18	Moslem	Grade 12	Rondebosch East	Igshaan
P7	18	Coloured	Grade 12	Goodwood	Matt
P8	16	Coloured	Grade 10	Manenberg	Jethro
P9	17	Coloured	Grade 11	Bonteheuwel	HR
P10	17	White	Grade 11	Parow	Schalk
P11	19	White	1 <sup>st</sup> year*	Panorama	Derik
P12	19	Black	Grade 12	Mowbray	Benji
N=12	Ave. 17.8		Mode Grade 12		

\* For statistical qualities "1<sup>st</sup> year" was given a rating of 13

The information in Table 5.1 provides details as at the time of the first interview with the participants in December 2002. All the participants at the time of the birth of their offspring met the inclusion criteria as indicated in chapter one.

<sup>1</sup> The names used in the study are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.

The findings of various studies (Furstenberg, 1976; Merrick, 2001; Moroz & Allan-Mears, 1991) conducted about teenage parenthood indicate that teen pregnancy is more prevalent among lower income families. The following table reflect the socio-economic status of the participants' birth families.

**Table 5.2: Socio-economic status of participants' families**

<b>Socio-Economic Status of Participants' Families</b>			
<b>Participant</b>	<b>Middle Class</b>	<b>Working Class</b>	<b>Lower Class</b>
P1		x	
P2		x	
P3	x		
P4			x
P5			x
P6	x		
P7		x	
P8			x
P9		x	
P10	x		
P11	x		
P12		x	
<b>N=12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>41.6</b>	<b>25</b>

Participants were provided with criteria and asked to assess their birth families' socio-economic status. The highest incidence, 41.6%, of teenage fathers rated their families as working class, with middle class participants being the second highest, viz. 33.3%. Those who rated themselves as being of the lower socio-economic class comprised 25% of the study population. This distribution would have been significantly different had the total number of 32 participants referred to in Chapter One been included. This distribution is only significant for the purposes of this study and no inferences should be made with regard to the incidence of unmarried adolescent fathers generally or in the context of South Africa specifically.

The data in the table below suggests a realistic self-assessment of the socio-economic status of the participants' birth families.

**Table 5.3: Occupations of family members or caregivers**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Father</b>	<b>Mother</b>	<b>Siblings</b>
P1	Works on an oil rig	Works for a manufacturing jeweller	
P2	Driver	Shop assistant	1 Brother in Navy
P3	Teacher	Nursing Sister	1 Brother in IT 1 Sister a teacher 1 Sister Nursing Sister
P4	Not known. Lives somewhere in the Karoo. Stepfather is a labourer.	Works as a char in the mornings	1 Brother is a truck assistant for a courier company
P5	Railway worker	Self-employed – makes clothes and owns a spaza shop.	1 Brother is a waiter
P6	Attorney	Teacher	1 Brother is a dentist 1 Sister is a public prosecutor
P7	Uncle is a baker	Aunt is a housewife	Grandmother is a shop assistant 2 cousins shop assistants.
P8	In prison	Shop assistant	1 Sister is a shop manager 1 Sister is a school secretary
P9	Artisan in building industry	Machinist in factory	2 Brothers are unemployed 1 Sister is a hairdresser
P10	Information technology specialist	Personal assistant to director	1 Sister is a company representative 1 Brother is a co-owner of company
P11	Owner of company	Office manager of family company	
P12	Toolmaker	Nurse	2 Brothers are paramedics

### 5.3.1 Participants

In this section a brief profile of each participant is provided with the view to contextualise their respective situations and experiences.

#### Participant 1

**Pseudonym:** Sands, 19 years  
**Grade:** 12  
**Area of residence:** Khayelitsha

<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, two sisters, girlfriend, child
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Oldest of three children
<b>Partner:</b>	Thobeka

Sands was 19 years when he was first interviewed in December 2002. He is a handsome, self-assured young man who impresses as being a no nonsense person and one who does not tolerate being challenged or opposed. His family is originally from the Eastern Cape but has been living in Khayelitsha for the past eight years. He wrote his matriculation examination in 2002 and planned to find a job so that he can support his children.

Sands frequently referred to the fact that he is the father of two children and that he feels it his responsibility to bring boys into his family as he only has sisters and most of his cousins are girls. His first-born is a girl and she lives with her mother. His second child, the focal child in this study, is a boy and he has taken the child to care for him. His parents assist him to assume this responsibility.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Sands contacted a social worker for advice regarding the change of surname of his child. The social worker, who was approached to participate in the study, referred him to the researcher. He was eager to participate in the study and to "tell my story as we young fathers have no voice – no one to talk to or to listen to us".

### **Participant 2**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	John, 18 years
<b>Grade:</b>	12
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Mitchell's Plain
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, one brother, grandmother, aunt and child
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Second of three children
<b>Partner:</b>	Christolene

John is the second of three children in his family. He is an extroverted young man who, at times, could easily disengage when he was asked questions of a personal nature. He frequently sought affirmation for making the right decisions and being a good father.

John's natal partner was a friend of a girl in his class. One day after school when they were walking home he teased her about not wanting to invite him for coffee. She did and they ended up being intimate. They only became friends after she told him about the pregnancy. He told her parents about the pregnancy and made arrangements with his parents that he would assist her financially by taking another job after school as he was already working weekends at a supermarket.

Their relationship is still continuing two years later and they intend getting engaged early in 2006.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

John spoke to a teacher at school about the fact that he felt his natal partner was probably double dating with someone who was working with her at a local supermarket. He felt extremely threatened and asked the teacher, who knew her as well, to speak to her. The teacher in turn had heard about Options, a pregnancy crisis counselling service, and referred him for consultation at the organisation. After the matter was resolved, he was invited to participate in the study to which he agreed.

### **Participant 3**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Ravi, 17 years
<b>Grade:</b>	11
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Cravenby Estate
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, 3 siblings, grandmother, uncle and his family
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	4
<b>Participant birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Youngest of four children

**Natal partner:** Quanita

Ravi described himself as a member of a traditional Indian family. He impressed as an innocent looking young man whose age belies his appearance. He could easily be mistaken for a 13 or 14 year-old boy. However, in conversation he impressed as a confident person who speaks insightfully about the disappointment of his parents, his relationship with his natal partner and his role and responsibilities as an unmarried teenage father.

Ravi attended the same school as his natal partner. They were school friends. She asked him to help her with maths after school. They arranged that they would study at her home. This was acceptable as her grandmother was always at home. On a few occasions her grandma had to go to hospital and they were alone at home. By that time they realized that they liked each other and started to tell stories so that they could see each other. Under these pretext their friendship became intimate. His parents were under the impression they were studying as a group.

Quanita does not share Ravi's background and she belongs to the Roman Catholic Church.

Ravi comes from a middle class family. His parents and siblings were all professionals. His family was planning for him to marry some one from the district in India where his father's family has traditionally resided. His parents had been to India in June 2002 to arrange the marriage, but the girl's family wanted her to complete her schooling first. His father was most unhappy about the fact that Quanita was not Indian and secondly embarrassed about the fact that he was well known in his community and concerned about his image in the community. His mother was less concerned about what people would think, but more concerned that her own son was contributing to the problem of unwanted children which she, through her work, was trying to combat.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Ravi's sister, a nurse practitioner had heard about the study and encouraged him to consult the researcher "just for a chat" about their father's indifferent attitude towards the situation and his grandchild. Ravi was invited to join the study, which he experienced as "healing".

### **Participant 4**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Johannes, 16 years
<b>Grade:</b>	10
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Eerste River
<b>Household composition:</b>	Mother, stepfather, 2 brothers, aunt, grandparent (sometimes)
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Second of three children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Joanne

Johannes is one of three children. He and his older brother were born out-of-wedlock. His mother subsequently married his stepfather and from their union another child was born. He referred to himself as having been a "gangster", who during his initiation was "arrested" by a rival gang and shot through the eye. His birth father lives somewhere in the Karoo. At the age of 14 years he tried to find him, as he wanted to find out why his father never displayed any interest in them. After a shooting incident, Johannes changed his life style and became involved with the youth organisation at a church in Eerste River.

Johannes and Joanne, his natal partner, has been friends since they were in grade seven. At a class picnic the conversations centred on friendships in class. The other learners started teasing them – which soon resulted in them being "boy and girl". Thereafter they started to visit each other and soon thereafter their relationship became intimate. At some point thereafter Joanne started talking about wanting a baby so that they could remain involved.

Johannes is closely involved with his child and even though his mother was initially unhappy with the fact that he was not focusing on his schooling. She

has since changed her attitude and nowadays even care for the child when she is at home.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Johannes was referred to the researcher after he had expressed the need to speak to somebody to the youth councillor at his church. After talking to a social worker that provided information about the study, he contacted the researcher and was very eager to participate in the study.

### **Participant 5**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Mpho, 20 years
<b>Grade:</b>	11
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Khayelitsha
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, one sibling
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	2
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Younger of two children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Doris

Mpho is a grade 11 learner who lived with his parents and one brother in Khayelitsha. He grew up with his maternal grandparents in the Eastern Cape and only came to Cape Town four years prior. He described himself as a keen sportsman and a ladies' man. He and his natal partner Doris courted for 3 months before she fell pregnant.

They were close and started having sex almost from the beginning of their friendship. Sometimes they argued and they did not see each other. Mpho admitted to seeing other girlfriends too. It was after one of the break-ups that they decided to have a child as Doris said that she would feel less threatened if they had a baby together.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Mpho was put in contact with a volunteer who is involved with a youth development programme in Khayelitsha. At the time when he contacted the researcher the reason was not clear to him, but in conversation it became

evident that he had asked to be informed about his rights as an unmarried teenage father. The purpose of the study was explained to him and he immediately expressed a willingness to participate.

### Participant 6

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Igshaan, 18 years
<b>Grade:</b>	12
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Rondebosch East
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents and siblings
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Youngest of three children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Natalie

Igshaan and his natal partner, Natalie, attended the same school. His mother used to fetch him from school – especially on rainy days. On several occasions they offered Natalie and a friend who lived in the same area a lift home. One day they were talking about homework and his mother suggested that they should work together so that they could help one another. They used to meet at Natalie's home as she has younger brothers and sisters who are at home in the afternoons. This continued for about two months until the other classmate could no longer study with them. By this time they realised that they like each other. They became quite serious and tried to control themselves. A lot of what happened Igshaan "blames" on cell phones as they kept in touch through sms's and very serious talks happened over the phone. They became great friends and shared a lot.

According to Igshaan it was quite difficult to tell his parents about the pregnancy. Although he described his parents as being broadminded, he could not get himself so far to tell them. He first told his sister who promised that she would tell them. At the same time a relative's daughter disclosed that she was pregnant and it became the conversation piece for everybody in the family. The gossiping made Igshaan very uncomfortable and he postponed telling his parents. He was also under pressure from Natalie that they should tell her parents as well. One day she went to Igshaan's house. It was very hot

and humid that night and she fainted. Igshaan's sister then urged to tell their parents. His sister's presence and support made it easy. His parents were shocked and did not discuss the matter until a few days later when his mother took charge and insisted that they go to Natalie's parents. His mother wanted to know what they were planning to do. She wanted to know what Natalie had in mind regarding the pregnancy. She mentioned the options of keeping the child, giving the child up for adoption having an abortion. Since Natalie's family is Catholic, the latter was not an option. They decided to consider the other options, but also told them that they would both like to continue their schooling.

Both Igshaan and Natalie are continuing their studies. The couple are planning to become engaged in January 2006.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Igshaan and Natalie consulted a counsellor at a pregnancy advice centre where he saw the notice about the study. He contacted the researcher and was keen to talk about his situation. After the aim of the study was explained to him, he immediately expressed a willingness to participate.



### **Participant 7**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Matt, 18 years
<b>Grade:</b>	12
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Goodwood
<b>Household composition:</b>	Uncle and aunt
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	2
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Older of two children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Dawn

Matt has been living with his uncle and aunt in Goodwood since his mother died some years ago. Dawn, his natal partner, initiated their relationship which became intimate within the first two months. Shortly thereafter she shared the idea that she wanted a baby by him.

When Dawn realised that she was pregnant she started to show less interest in Matt and when he tried to speak to her about the baby and its future, she was not interested in continuing the relationship. He became increasingly concerned about the baby as Dawn displayed a rather nonchalant attitude towards him. Since the child was born he has been very worried about the baby, but Dawn has been avoiding contact with him.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Matt's aunt has been in contact with his natal partner who has continued to display an indifferent attitude towards him. He approached a pregnancy counselling centre for assistance, as he is very concerned about his child. Although his aunt has been in contact with his natal partner, she refuses him visitation to see his child. Dawn has a new friend who walks around with the child and tells people that it is his child. The counsellor invited him to participate in the study.

### **Participant 8**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Jethro, 16 years
<b>Grade:</b>	10
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Manenberg
<b>Household composition:</b>	Uncle, partner and their three children
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	5
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Third of five children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Gina

Jethro was first seen by a social worker following a report by the child's maternal grandmother that he attempted to "abduct" his child, aged 4 months at the time.

Jethro was in grade 10 when his child was born after a friendship of nearly two years with his natal partner. They were both still at school. The tension between Jethro and the maternal grandmother of his child emanated from the fact that she wanted their relationship to end. She tried everything possible

to terminate the relationship, but when she realised that she was not being successful she started spreading rumours about Jethro.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Jethro contacted a telephone counselling service and requested to speak to somebody about his predicament. He was referred to the researcher and willingly participated in the study.

### **Participant 9**

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	HR, 17 years
<b>Grade:</b>	11
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Bonteheuwel
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents and 3 siblings
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	4
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Third born of four children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Megan

HR and his natal partner grew up being neighbours. They attended the same school and church. They were members of the church youth group and although they were not romantically involved, they became aware of each other when, during the visit of another youth group, one of the members displayed an interest in Megan. HR then realised that he did not approve of the attention and shortly thereafter they became special friends. One year after they started courting Megan fell pregnant.

HR and Megan are still courting and he described the relationship as strong and committed. He supports his child, spends time with the child and if they have differences of opinion, they sort it out in a mature way.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

HR saw the research announcement at the local child health clinic and contacted the researcher, as he was keen to find out about the research. His participation in the study was prompted by a curiosity to find out why society discriminates against young unmarried fathers.

## Participant 10

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Schalk, 17 years
<b>Grade:</b>	11
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Parow
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, 2 siblings
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	Out-of-wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Youngest of three children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Juanita

Schalk is the youngest child in a family of three children. His father is a senior partner in an information technology company and his mother is the personal assistant for the managing director of a major insurance company. He impressed as being a sensitive young man who is overridden by the successes of his family. At the time of the interviews he had just completed grade 11.

Schalk used to work for his father during school holidays. During this time he befriended his natal partner through her brother who is employed by his father's company. They became friends despite the fact that Juanita's family live in the 'valley' – the area where people with a lower income reside. They maintained a steady relationship despite his parents not approving. When Juanita fell pregnant his parents refused to discuss the matter. In fact, although they have never met, they are of the opinion that she is a fortune-seeker and they disapprove of the relationship as her family is perceived to be "not of the same class". Schalk however, has persevered and provides as best he can.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Schalk had approached the social worker at a pregnancy counselling service in the hope that she would assist in resolving the impasse that he has with his parents. The social worker mentioned the research and he was keen to be involved.

## Participant 11

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Derik, 19 years
<b>Grade:</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> year university student
<b>Area of residence:</b>	Panorama
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, 1 sibling
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	2
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Older of two children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Carien

Derik is a first year university student. Carien was the friend of Derik's best friend who later jilted her to court the daughter of the minister of their church. Derik then befriended Carien and since her parents were away a lot they spent a lot of time alone at their house. Their relationship became intimate nine months later and although they tried to be responsible, it was not easy due to infrequent intimate encounters.

Initially the couple considered an abortion for the sake of Derik's relationship with his parents. In an effort to speak to his parents, time passed and when they eventually started to consider the option of an abortion, Carien was already into the second trimester of her pregnancy. Although Carien's parents are rearing the child, both Derik and Carien are very involved with him. To date Derik's parents have not displayed any interest to see their grandchild and behave as if he does not exist.

### Motivation to participate in the study

Derik was very keen to resolve the differences with his parents and approached the matron of the institution where Carien had been immediately after their child was born for support. The researcher had an appointment with the matron on the same day and the research was mentioned to him. Subsequently he contacted the researcher and expressed interest to be involved in the study.

## Participant 12

<b>Pseudonym:</b>	Benji, 19 years
<b>Grade:</b>	12

<b>Area of residence:</b>	Mowbray
<b>Household composition:</b>	Parents, 3 siblings, grandmother, uncle and his family
<b>Number of children in family:</b>	3
<b>Participant's birth status:</b>	In wedlock
<b>Birth position of participant:</b>	Second of three children
<b>Natal partner:</b>	Lindiwe

Benji is a handsome young Black male. However, despite his willingness to participate in the study, he was not very articulate during interviews. He was vain about his looks and describes the beginning of his relationship with his natal partner as “we started out as friends, then close friends, and then we became lovers”. As time passed and she did not conceive, their contraceptive risk taking increased.

Lindiwe became pregnant but died soon after the baby was born – leaving Benji to take care of the baby. Just before she passed away, their relationship started to disintegrate due to pressures from both families about the care arrangements for the child. Currently Benji cares for the child and he describes this process as a challenging but fulfilling experience.

### **Motivation to participate in the study**

Benji was referred to a social worker when his deceased partner's family threatened to remove the child. After the matter was resolved the social worker mentioned the study to Benji who was very eager to participate.

### **6.3.1 Summary**

The above profiles contextualise the twelve participants who agreed to participate in the study. The responses of the participants over the time of the study were sincere and honest. They were prepared to express their innermost feelings and were able to appraise their experiences realistically.

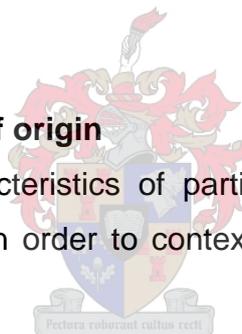
## **5.4 Theme one: Perceptions, attitudes, and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers**

As alluded to in the preceding chapters the position of the unmarried adolescent father is a tenuous one. This person finds himself in a position where hardly any recognition is given to him as father. He is often considered to be the “boyfriend” and is hence not afforded the status of fatherhood. Being in this position results in him not having a forum where he could share his experiences. What is generally known about unmarried adolescent fathers would have been relayed through their natal partners or those who assume responsibility for the child. The information which would eventually be told is influenced by the relationship, the attitudes of significant others (as alluded to in Chapter 3) and the perception of the future relationship.

In the subsequent sub-themes the perceptions, attitudes, experiences and knowledge of the participants (unmarried adolescent fathers) will be presented.

#### **5.4.1 Sub-theme: Family of origin**

In this sub-theme the characteristics of participants’ families of origin are presented in tabular format in order to contextualise the qualitative analysis that will follow.



##### **5.4.1.1 Children in the family of origin**

There is a popular assumption that large families (five or more children) imply inadequate interaction and meaningless relationships between parents and children (Allen & Doherty, 1998; Almeida & Galambos, 1991). It is further described that teenagers who father do so to compensate for a parent-child relationship devoid of intimacy. This is often associated with poverty and a sense of hopelessness about the future (Connor; 1988; Jamiolkowski, 1997). For men and women alike, a baby may also be the first ‘thing’ that is truly theirs, their first tangible accomplishment or event, the first human from which they will receive love. The idea of becoming pregnant purposefully in order to escape a certain social situation can be an important one in terms of looking at motivations (Robinson & Barrett, 1985). Children are subsequently brought into the world to combat a feeling of despair.

The following three tables present the number of children in each participant's birth family, the birth positions of the participants, and the birth status of the participants and their siblings.

**Table 5.4: Number of children in birth families of respondents**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>No. of children in family</b>
P1	3
P2	3
P3	4
P4	3
P5	2
P6	3
P7	2
P8	5
P9	4
P10	3
P11	2
P12	3
<b>N=12</b>	<b>Average no of children: 3</b>

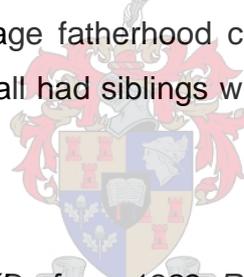
According to the information in this table only one participant (8.3%) belongs to a large family – a reality that contradicts the popular assumption that adolescents who father are part of large birth families (Connor, 1988; Kiselica, 1995).

Because no specific information on birth positions of unmarried teenage fathers has been recorded in the literature, the researcher wanted to explore this aspect.

**Table 5.5: Birth position of participants**

Participant	Position of participant in family
P1	Oldest of 3 children
P2	Second oldest of 3 children
P3	Youngest of 4 children
P4	Second of 3 children
P5	Younger of two children
P6	Youngest of 3 children
P7	Older of 2 children
P8	Third of 5 children
P9	Third of 4 children
P10	Youngest of 3 children
P11	Older of 2 children
P12	Second of 3 children

The data indicates that three participants (24.9%) were first born, three (24.9%) were middle children, and four ((33.2%) were the youngest. No single child families occurred. No conclusion on the correlation between birth position and unmarried teenage fatherhood could be drawn from this data. The participants in the study all had siblings with whom they could potentially form meaningful relationships.



*It is reported in the literature (Dryfoos, 1982; Redmond, 1985) that adolescent fathers themselves often would have been born out of wedlock or would have siblings who are parents out of wedlock. The tables below indicate whether children were born in or out of wedlock and which of their siblings had children out of wedlock.*

**Table 5.6: Birth status of children in participants' families**

Participant	Out-of-wedlock	
	Yes	No
P1	v	
P2	v	
P3		V
P4	v	
P5		V
P6		V
P7	v	

P8	v	
P9	v	
P10		V
P11		V
P12	v	
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>58.3%</b>	<b>41.6%</b>

The birth status of children in participants' families indicate that in 58.3% families children were born out of wedlock while in 41.6% of the families all children were born in wedlock. These findings concur with that of Miller (1997) and Massey (1990) who also found that those who father children out of wedlock often come from families where a "tradition" of out-of-wedlock births exists.

**Table 5.7: Siblings with children born out-of-wedlock**

<b>Siblings with Children Born out of Wedlock</b>			
<b>Participant</b>	<b>In Wedlock</b>	<b>Out of Wedlock</b>	<b>Not Applicable</b>
P1		X	
P2		X	
P3			X
P4			X
P5	X		
P6			X
P7		X	
P8			X
P9			X
P10			X
P11	X		
P12			X
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>58.3%</b>

Forty-one percent of the participants have siblings with children of their own. Of these, 66.6% had a child or children born out of wedlock. However, considering the fact that in only five (46.6%) of the families children born are significant as far as self-control and/or responsible contraceptive behaviour is concerned.

#### **5.4.1.2 Summary**

The data presented on the birth families of the participants provides the context for the qualitative analysis that will follow. From the data presented it

is evident that most families were at a stage where they have adolescent children or where the older siblings are in the stage of young adulthood – a stage when sexual experimentation is common and out-of-wedlock births are most likely to occur..

#### **5.4.2 Sub-theme: Development and sexuality**

In this sub-theme the researcher explored the participants' perceptions and construction of their sexuality/sexual identity, the influence of peers on their sexual activities, and their understanding of intimacy and sexual experimentation vis-à-vis fatherhood.

##### **5.4.2.1 Sexual awareness**

Sexual experimentation by young persons is a way of demonstrating their maturity or even showing an anti-authoritarian stance toward law and social taboos (Koegh, 1988). The influence of peer pressure, cultural expectations and situational circumstances are factors that impacted on the sexual awareness of the participants. This is evident from the following responses:

- P1 At the age of 10 years. I liked going outdoors. I had older friends, but my friends didn't influence me. But know how things are. The guys talk men's stuff and I got excited at times when they tell how they scored with the girls. I then also started to go out and dated girls. I had sex with a girl for the first time when I was 11 years.*
- P2 When I was about 13 years old there was this PT teacher who used to say things about the boys becoming men and that one of the days we will have to show that we are men. Always things that made me aware of sex. He would ask some boys about their sexual experiences. Through this I became more aware of myself.*
- P3 In my culture a lot of emphasis is placed on one's sexuality in terms of work to be done, responsibilities you have in the home, the relations between men and women, and so on. It is important for the family to have sons to carry on the family name, the family business ... so one grows up with a sense of who you are from a young age.*
- P4 Waa' ons bly is alles seks. Dit gebeur op die landjie in die aan'e en die ouens sla't soms hul girls as hulle nie seks wil gee nie. Ons*

*het eers by family gebly waar almal in die een kamer geslaap het en dan het ons altyd gehoor wat aangaan.*

- P5 One day a group of us boys were in the veld when we saw a car that we watched. We then saw that the couple was having sex. Afterwards the boys started to brag about what they were doing with their girlfriends. This happened when I was about 10 or 11 years.*
- P6 I played soccer in primary school and in grade 7, the boys started to tease each other – especially in the showers. Some boys already had pubic hair. The boys talked about masturbation, girlfriends, having sex with their girlfriends or girls, and so on. It was then that I started to become aware of my own sexuality.*
- P7 Probably at about 12 years. My friends always spoke about them going to the canal where the couples parked in the evenings and watched them. This was at the back of Goodwood Station. Seeing what was happening there was very exciting and it was at that time that I became aware of what it means being a man. A real man.*
- P8 In die neighbourhood waa' ek woon, is sex op die strate – mense skel en baklei en sê sulke goed vir mekaar. So ek sal sê met alles wat om ons gebeur en gesê word, is mens baie aware van your own sexuality.*
- P10 Kan ek sê hoe ek dit ervaar het in die Afrikaner-tradisie soos ek dit beleef. Toe ek klein was het my ouma en oupa en die res van die familie altyd gepraat oor die name wat kinders moet kry as hulle gebore word. Alewig moet 'n kind vernoem word na iemand sodat wat in die familie is daar moet bly. My neef het self 'n oujongnoot tannie se naam gekry sodat hy haar erfgenaam kan wees. Saam met dit was daar ook alewig die bespreking van die feit dit 'n seun of dogter is. Ek het toe grootgeword met die idee dat dit baie meer voordeliger is om 'n seun te wees – amper dat mens meer waarde en gesag het as 'n meisiekind. Daardeur het ek bewus geword van geslag en die verwagtinge wat daaraan gekoppel word.*
- P11 Van jongs af (bewus geword van geslagtelike verskille). In my familie is daar altyd gepraat van die verantwoordelikhede van mans en vroue wat pa's en ma's ingesluit het.*

Out of the aforementioned responses it evident that several factors impacted on the sexual awareness of the respondents. The main factors identified are pressure from the media, pressure from peers, questions about sexual

identity, and pressure from the family. This strongly corresponds with factors identified by Jamiolkowski (1997).

Adolescence is a developmental phase characterised by what Erikson refers to as identity versus role confusion. Although the adolescent who fathers a child is labelled as being irresponsible, all adolescents are inclined to vacillate between desiring independence on the one hand and being uncertain about how to reach the goals of independence. A particular assumption about male adolescent parenting purports that impregnating a partner is a deliberate attempt to test or prove their masculinity or to challenge same sex attraction (Jamiolkowski, 1997). Several participants reported that they were attracted to or formed close associations with members of the same sex. The following table reflects the incidence of such attractions or involvements:

**Table 5.8: Same sex attraction/involvement**

Participant	Yes	No
P1		v
P2		v
P3	v	
P4		v
P5		v
P6	v	
P7	v	
P8		v
P9		v
P10	v	
P11		v
P12	v	
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>58.3%</b>

Five of the participants (41.6%) reported that they were involved in same sex associations. Although they did not link these experiences directly to their motivation to becoming a father, the experiences appeared to have heightened their sense of sexual curiosity and as such could have influenced their sexual experimentation. This is borne out by the following disclosures:

- P3 There was this one man who was the son of my father's friend. He was older than me. He used to come to our house to ... my brothers. First he showed me a magazine of women and asked if I like it. We started to have a secretive "friendship" and on a few occasions he also gave me other books but he was always telling me that my brothers should not know about it. One day he showed me pictures of naked men and later one night he invited me to their house when he was alone. It was then he suggested that we do what they were doing. I felt uncomfortable and avoided him. But I remained curious and one day when I was alone at home, it happened.*
- P6 I felt strongly attracted to the soccer coach. On a few occasions when we were playing away matches and we had to stay over, he would talk to us about our girlfriends – all men talk. On two occasions when we had to share sleeping rooms, I landed up sleeping in his room and one night I woke up feeling that he had an erection. It was very stimulating. I, or perhaps both of us, avoided intimate contact.*
- P7 I was physically attracted to a grade seven teacher (male), but I just think that I liked him a lot. Nothing ever happened, but he left the school at the end of that year.*
- P10 Nogal 'n moeilike vraag en om daarvoor te praat. Gedurende graad nege was ek vir die jaar in 'n kosskool in die Vrystaat. Dit is waar baie van die seuns in die familie skool gegaan het, want die familie plaas is daar (Vrystaat). Daar was 'n matriekseun wat my hero was. Hy was 'n kranige atleet en almal in die skool het van hom gepraat. Eendag het die boelies my bygekom omdat die koshuisvader my beskuldig het dat ek sigarette vir die seuns aandra toe vertel ek hom wie dit doen. Hierdie ou het toe op ons afgekom en was daarna baie beskermend oor my. Ek het baie goed daarvoor gevoel. Hy het 'n kamer van sy eie gehad en hy het later vir my gehelp as ek gesukkel het. Niks het ooit tussen ons gebeur nie, maar ek het hom baie bewonder - veral sy manlikheid.*

From these responses it is also evident that participants experienced same sex involvement consistent with the confusion Erikson (1968) refers to in his life stage theory.

#### **5.4.2.2 Influence of peers on sexual experimentation**

The influence of peers on an adolescent's sexual experimentation has been well documented in Chapter 4. Data in the following table confirms this assumption.

**Table 5.9: Influence of peers on sexual experimentation**

Participant	Yes	No	Unsure
P1	v		
P2	v		
P3	v		
P4	v		
P5		v	
P6	v		
P7	v		
P8	v		
P9	v		
P10	v		
P11	v		
P12		v	
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>83.3%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>0%</b>

The majority of the participants, 83.3%, acknowledged that peers exerted a strong influence on their sexual experimentation and experiences of intimacy. The impact of such influences is significant as it often is presented as challenges, which, if not taken up, lowers their standing with peers. Selected examples of such peer pressure experienced by participants are:

- P1 They will dare you to date a girl before some other guy do. They even dare you to have sex with her as soon as she says yes. This is what happened to me. Sometimes the guys even fight over girls at the sports field. If you come out tops, you are the hero.*
- P2 The guys always talk about sex – wanting to sleep with a particular girl, about girls who are easy, who they got off with, and so on. This was so at school, at soccer, and even at work. Before when my we (friends and I) were cooling off, girls would join us and then there would always be girls who will try and get your attention. The other guys would encourage you “om soos hulle sê uit te stap met die kind”*
- P3 The boys at school are always talking about “things” they do – I mean sexually. It makes one curious so I will say that they definitely influence the way we think of relationships and sex.*
- P4 As mens sien en hoor wat alles gebeur raak dit ‘n challenge om nie die ‘odd one out’ te wees nie.*
- P6 As I mentioned before I became aware of various sexual activities through my pals and team mates when we played soccer in*

*primary school. We were mostly in grade 7 although a few boys were older as well. They talked about masturbation, girlfriends, having sex with their girlfriends or girls, and so on. If one could not boast like them, one was the odd one out. So yes, I would say that peers influence ones sexuality.*

- P7 Like watching couples in cars and they dare one to sleep around. They often boast about who they slept with – sometimes I wonder if it is true.*
- P8 Ouens van my 'age' praat baie oor seks. Ek weet nie of dit is wat jy vra nie, maar die ouens "dare" mekaar, en 'brag' oor wat hulle met hulle kinders doen. Soms 'organize' hulle blind dates vi' jou met 'girls' en as jy nie 'score' nie, dan spot hulle jou. So I would say they do influence one another.*
- P10 My pêle praat altyd van hulle girls en sommige spog wat hulle alles regkry en kry. Ek het my al in situasies bevind waar ek dan uit embarrassment saampraat terwyl ek weet dat dit nie waar is nie. Ja ek sou sê dat 'n portuur groep 'n sterk beïnvloedende faktor is.*
- P11 'n Ou se maats sal altyd praat oor hule verhoudings en die dinge wat hulle doen. Sommige van die goed is seks. Dit is soms quite a stimulating experience. Ek sien dit self op universiteit.*
- P12 Friends sometimes arrange blind dates with girls they know you will get on with.*  
**Q:** *You mean that you become friends.*  
**A:** *No someone for a lay. Someone for sex.*

From the responses listed above it is evident that adolescents are under tremendous pressure to conform to the norms of their peer group. Further confirmation of the extent of peer pressure is reflected by the fact that the average age at which participants had their first sexual encounter was 14,4 years.

A recurring topic was peer pressure and sexual exploits which indicate strong influence of peers on participants to engage in such activities.

#### **5.4.2.3 Sexual experiences**

Responses to questions about sexual experiences such as one-night stands, challenged sex and sex as a pre-requisite for a relationship were given which further highlight peer pressure. The following are illustrations of such experiences:

**(a) Opportunistic sex such as one-night stands**

*P3 I supposed that these things happen and that many first sexual experiences are probably one night stands. I do not know what to say – it has never been my experience. At school I know the guys talk a lot about it.*

*P4 Dis hoe almal hulle eerste experience het.*

*P6 My first experience was 'n one night stand. Some school friends came around one night and we went to a place where the guys were "pop-a-wheelie". There they met others they knew and in the end some of them smoked buttons. There were some girls as well and we were all coupled and everyone moved off. I started to speak to a girl and she started to hang onto me. We coupled for the night and in the end we had sex. When I told her that I did not have protection she said that I am old fashioned. She also smoked with the others so I was worried, but nothing happened.*

*P8 Ek sal sê dat one night stands is seker baie common. Just about almal van wie ek weet wat uit is op die ding, doen dit met one night stands. It takes two to tango en as both willing is, is dit seker ok.*

The following response epitomizes the tension arising from the conflict between the individual's convictions and peer pressure.

*P10 Ek weet dit gebeur, maar ek sal onthouding (abstinence) predik. Die plesier is net 'n oomblik lank. In 'n committed verhouding sal die ondervinding meer betekenisvol wees.*

**(b) Challenged sex (being challenged by friends)**

*P4 Ek weet dit gebeur baie. Ek het dit die eerste keer experience to ek 13 was. Die ander ouens het my ge-"dare" om sex te hê met 'n girl wat in die "area" gewoon het en by wie baie ouens al was. Dit was maklik*

- P5 I have always been a dancer and had girls wanting to have sex with me just because I could dance and so I was the one who challenged my friends hence challenged them to have sex.*
- P8 Dit is hoe mens leer om 'n man te wees - to see if you can score when you are dared.*
- P10 Dit gebeur baie. My pêle doen dit gereeld en die meisies is blykbaar baie inskiklik. Hulle doen dit ook onder mekaar. Ek het seker te min ondervinding. Dit het eenkeer vantevore gebeur, maar ek het geen gevoel vir die persoon gehad nie en ek het self goedkoop gevoel.*

The latter participant felt guilty after he conformed to the challenge of sexual intercourse.

Another response illustrates a contradiction to the aforementioned examples and that point to the negative emotions for the participant:

- P11 Dit is dit wat ek ervaar het en my antwoord – ek het leeg gevoel. Amper onbetrokke by die daad.*

The responses of participants 10 and 11 were not without conflict. The guilt and emptiness expressed indicate the intrapsychic tension that could emanate from internalised values.



#### **5.4.2.4 Sex as a prerequisite for a relationship**

The respondents gave an overwhelmingly negative response to sex as a prerequisite for a relationship as illustrated by the following responses:

- P3 I have heard guys talking about it and I know it happens. In my culture it happens that you do not even know who your husband or wife is going to be – parents or families could have arranged your marriage for you without you knowing the person. I don't think sex should be a requirement for a relationship.*
- P12 Sex is not supposed to be a prerequisite. If it is demanded, it is rape!*

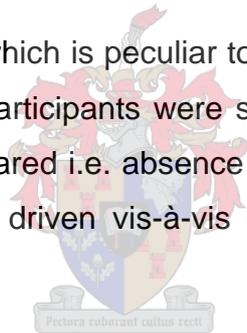
*P8 Baie ouens sê vir hulle kinders<sup>2</sup> hulle moet hulle liefde bewys. As die kind in love is, dan kry hulle wat hulle wil hê. Soms dink ek dit is ok en dan dink ek wee' dat dit nie ok is nie. I am two minded about it.*

*P10 Ook dit gebeur, maar ek kan nie glo in 'eers die liefde bewys'-storie nie. Ek dink is 'n magstryd; as jy eers gekry het wat jy wil hê, staan dit die persoon vry sy rug te draai en nog steeds nie betrokke te raak nie.*

Sexual experimentation, as indicated by the participants by the foregoing responses, and the nature of sexual experiences, occur under the influence of peer pressure. It provides opportunities for measuring their manliness. Peers often boast about the “conquests” which enhance their standing in the peer group (Kiselica, 1995; Jamiolkowski, 1997).

#### **5.4.2.5 Sexual experimentation vis-à-vis fatherhood**

The sexual experimentation which is peculiar to this developmental stage and the peer pressure to which participants were subjected to – especially when they were not physically prepared i.e. absence of contraceptives indicate that such activities were impulse driven vis-à-vis intentional motivation towards fatherhood.



In this regard the researcher aimed to establish whether participants, when engaging in sexual activity, did so with the desire that they wanted to father a child. The responses to the question of what they ascribe the pregnancy to can be divided into three categories viz.

- (1) planned pregnancy,
- (2) as an 'accident' due to condoms tearing, and
- (3) other - which include being inexperienced, reckless or not being prepared, due to unplanned intimacy.

In the study three participants (25%) indicated that their partners' pregnancy was intentional i.e. engaging in sexual relations with the view of procreation

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<sup>2</sup> 'Kinders' refer to their girl friends.

due to either the partner or themselves wanting to parent a child, while nine (75%) ascribed the cause to inexperience or as an “accident” due to condoms tearing. The motivation of those who wanted to parent can be ascribed to the need to escape negative life experiences or wanting to have something which belongs to them.

#### 5.4.2.6 Contraceptive behaviour

This aspect was aimed at exploring the respondents’ knowledge and attitude towards the use of contraceptives. In doing so, the researcher first established their attitude towards the use of contraceptives. The table below reflect such:

**Table 5.10: Attitude toward contraceptive usage**

Participant	In favour	Not in favour
P1	v	
P2		v
P3	v	
P4		v
P5		v
P6		v
P7	v	
P8	v	
P9	v	
P10	v	
P11	v	
P12	v	
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>66.6%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>

Two-thirds (66.6%) of the participants indicated that they were in favour of using contraceptive while 33.3% indicated that they were averse to it. This however was negated when, in exploring the precautions they use to avoid pregnancy as illustrated in the next table, of the nine respondents who used condoms three used it sometimes while one indicated that he only once used a condom.

**Table 5.11: Precautions to avoid a pregnancy**

Participant	Condoms	Coitus interruptus	Depo Provera	Other	None
P1		v		v***	
P2		v			v
P3	v*	v			
P4	v**				v
P5	v*	v			
P6	v	v			
P7	v*	v			
P8	v	v			
P9		v			v
P10	v	v			
P11	v	v			
P12	v	v			v

\* Used a condom sometimes.

\*\* Only used a condom once

\*\*\* Washed after having had sexual intercourse.

At face value it appears that respondents used a combination of methods and practices to prevent impregnation, but in reality the main precautionary measure practiced by eleven (93.3%) had been coitus interruptus. At the time none of the natal partners were using any form of contraceptive. In exploring the reasons for their risk behaviour, the following responses were given:

*P1 When I started high school I thought it was very funny when they told us to use condoms. But girls took it serious – that is the issue of contraceptives. When I started to have sex, I knew about condoms, but I was too young to go and get some at the clinic. We believed that it was not normal to have sex without “coming” inside your girl so we told the girls that they must wash after we had sex.*

*P2 I knew about condoms because the guys used to give it to each other. Then I also knew about the injection, the pill, and then some styles or methods through which one could avoid a girl getting pregnant. I did not have sex often so on several occasions I did not have condoms when I had sex. I would tell the girls that I will not come in them. It happened when one don't expected it to happen. If I knew that it was going to happen I would prepare myself for it.*

- P3 *I knew about condoms. I saw some in my brother's car once. And then the boys at school talked a lot about condoms and other contraceptives at school. Some of the boys also used to give some to each other. I have always been too shy to talk these things personally and did not have the courage to get some from a shop or clinic in case somebody would see me. When we made love the first time we believed that Juanita would not fall pregnant. Thereafter I once found condoms in my brother's room and I took some – I think two. At times I withdrew before I ejaculated. I think that is when Juanita became pregnant. And That was I think only the fifth time we had sex.*
- P4 *Ek het geweet van condoms en dit het nie 'n verskil gemaak of mense dit gebruik nie. Die ouens sê altyd jy eet nie suets in papiertjies nie. Om condoms te gekry het was nie moeilik nie – mens kan altyd by een van jou vroue vra. Ma' jy weet nie wanneer die luck strike nie.*
- P6 *I knew about condoms, pills, and just about all the contraceptives. I used contraceptives with my first experiences, but because one does not know when it will happen you are not always ready for it. If you carry it in your pocket, one can also forget about it and your mother can find it when she does the washing. (Laughter.)*
- P8 *Ek het geweet van condoms, die injection, van uittrek en die ouens sê van die girl moet hulle uitwas na seks. Ek sal sê dat ek eers gesê het die girl moet die protection hê, maar nou sal ek sê dat albei responsible is.*
- P10 *Ek weet van kondome en op 'n tydstip het ek ook gehad. Toe ons begin intiem verkeer, het ek kondome gebruik. Op enkele geleenthede het ons selfs onbeskermd seks gehad, maar niks het gebeur nie. Toe het ons, of seker meer ek, roekeloos begin word en ontrekking beoefen. Juanita was glad nie tevrede daarmee nie, maar elke keer het ek haar oortuig dat dit veilig sou wees en dat niks sou gebeur nie*
- P11 *Ek het van jongs af geweet van contraceptives, maar as jy jonk is het mens dikwels nie die goed by jou as dinge gaan gebeur nie. Soms dink mens ook dat jy jou sal kan beheer, maar dit is nie altyd so nie. Soms vergeet jy jouself.*

From the comments above it is evident that the use of contraceptives is influenced by the infrequent, unplanned sexual encounters. The participants were often not prepared for protective intercourse at the time when intimacy occurred. In ascertaining whether becoming a father have altered their

attitudes towards or behaviour regarding contraceptives, their comments indicate that this is in fact the case.

- P1 The cost of living is too high. My sisters and other girls should use contraceptives. I see too many girls with babies and a lot of my friends have jobs to support their children. I am now thinking that guys must use condoms – also because of AIDS.*
- P2 I would definitely say that one must be prepared for it any time. With all the illnesses around it is necessary that one protect you.*
- P3 I will definitely say that all young people should be encouraged to use contraceptives when they become sexually active. I am all for condoms or the use of any form of contraceptive.*
- P4 Ek sou sê dat hulle by die skool in die toilets kondome moet insit. Die kinders is sexually active en baie van hulle doen dit. , Dit sal prevent dat daar onnodig “babies” is.*
- P5 I now have a positive attitude about them and would use them and tell others to use contraceptives as well.*
- P9 Ek sal altyd kondome gebruik.*
- P10 Vandag sal ek sê dat my houding meer versigtig is en dit is wat ek ook vir ander ouers van my ouderdom sal sê.*
- P11 Ek sal sê dat ek sal vir ouers sê dat hulle openlik met hulle kinders moet wees en vir hulle aanmoedig om contraceptives te gebruik as hulle seksueel aktief raak. Ek sal dit sterk aanmoedig.*

A more vigilant attitude was expressed by all of the participants regarding the use of contraceptives after the birth of their offsprings. This is contrary to the views they held before the pregnancy. Similar observations were reported by Kahn and Bolton (1986), Robinson and Frank (1994) and Sonenstein (1986) who all noted that it appears that the pressures and responsibilities only really dawn once teenage fathers are confronted with the realities of being a father. This causes them to become more “responsible” in their sexual practices as well.

### 5.4.3 Sub-theme: Masculinity

In exploring the notion of 'manhood' the researcher enquired about the respondents' views about themselves. All expressed positive feelings about themselves – especially in relation to their gender role. However for many of them a strong association exist between masculinity and intimacy. In fact for many of the participants these were synonymous. Jamiolkowski (1997: 28) asserts "It ... seems that a boy cannot be considered a man until he has had sex". This elaborates on the theme of peer pressure and extends the arena in which the adolescent male has to perform.

#### 5.4.3.1 Expectations of becoming a teenage father

In exploring the expectations of participants with regard to their current position as an adolescent father and whether they have anticipated being a father at that stage of their lives, the following results were obtained:

**Table 5.12: Expectations of becoming an adolescent father**

Participant	Yes	No	Unsure
P1	v*		
P2		v	
P3		v	
P4			v
P5	v***		
P6		v	
P7		v	
P8			v
P9		v	
P10		v	
P11		v	
12	v**		
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>24.9%</b>	<b>58.1%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>

Seven (58.1%) of the participants indicated that they never anticipated being a teenage father while three (24.9%) indicated that they anticipated that they would be. This these three participants explained as follows:

*P1 Because I had no sisters I wanted to bring more boys into the family.*

*P5 Yes I think I wanted something to love, but not that I planned for the pregnancy.*

*P12 I planned it with my girlfriend and was looking forward to being a father...*

Several authors (Gerson, 1983; Marsiglio, 1991b; Pruett, 1987) expressed the concerns of social institutions about whether adolescent fathers have the capacity to cope with parenthood. An idea that is often expressed is that women are better suited for parenting. This may be so - hence the concern about teen fathers. The fact that in this study 58.1% of the participants indicated that they did not anticipate becoming teenage fathers increases the need for support and guidance in order to ensure their sustained involvement and their ability manage the pressure of parenthood.

#### **5.4.4 Sub-theme: Natal partners and relationships**

According to various authors (MacDonald & Parke, 1984; Volling & Belsky, 1992) the teenage father's relationship with his natal partner, the parents of the natal partner and his own family are key determinants in influencing his involvement with the partner and his child.

##### **5.4.4.1 Age and relationship with natal partner**

In this section the age and relationship with the natal partners is explored.

**Table 5.13: Age distribution of natal partners**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Age of Participant</b>	<b>Age of natal partner</b>
P1	19	17
P2	18	15
P3	17	17
P4	16	15
P5	20	18
P6	18	17
P7	18	17
P8	16	18
P9	17	17
P10	17	18

P11	19	17
P12	19	18
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>Average age = 17.8</b>	<b>Average age = 17 years</b>

The participants and their natal partners were in the same group as indicated in the table above. The participants described the relationships as follows:

- P1 We really love each other. We did things together and I gave her way. But we had an argument when she was pregnant and she was really rude. She said things that really hurt and blamed me for the pregnancy. You know how pregnant women are – if they want you here, then that's it – you have no choice. I was with my team mates after the soccer match and she came up to me and accused me of running after other women. It made me mad. We argued and she went home and refused to talk to me later. She now has another guy and she is pregnant again.*
- P2 We did not really go out. She was a friend of a girl in my class. One day we talked on our way home after school and I teased her and told her to invite me for coffee. There was nobody at home and we started kissing. We ended up having sex. Thereafter we avoided each other because we were embarrassed about what happened. When she told me that she missed her period that we started going out seriously, more to decide what we were going to do. Our relationship blossomed and we really cared about each other.*
- P3 We were just school friends. As a traditional Indian family we were never allowed to be alone with the opposite sex. She asked me to help her with maths after school. Her granny was always at home. On a few occasions her grandma had to go to hospital so we were alone. At that time we realized that we both liked each other. We started to tell stories so that we could see each other and that is when the friendship started to become intimate. My parents thought that we were a group of guys who studied together as we often met at our home as a group of boys.*
- P7 Sexually attracted to each other. She used to send messages to me – first through friends and later on sms's and later on she kept on telling me that she wanted a child one day by me. So she walked after me.*  
**Q:** As easy as that?  
**A:** As easy as pie. Only a stupid will not grab it when it is offered on a plate.  
**Q:** Did you not afterwards felt that you took advantaged of her?  
**A:** That is what she wanted!
- P8 Ons woon in dieselle area. Ons was saam in the youth by die kerk en saans het ons saam geloop omdat die gangsters die*

mense rob. Ons het toe goeie vrinne geraak en later gevisit. Toe sy grade 11 fail het sy decide dat sy nie weer skool toe gaan nie. Ons het toe begin speen en sometimes het ons nie na die youth toe gegaan nie. Toe het dinge begin veranner. As haar ma-hulle nie by die huis was in die mirrae nie, dan het ek soontoe gegaan en later het ons begin vry. Sy was nie op die pil of injection nie en wou nie daarvoor gaan nie, want een van die clinic sisters behoort aan ons kerk.

P9 *We were neighbours and friends. We attended the same school and church. It started when we were invited to another church group. We became aware of each other when another guy there showed that he was interested in Meegan and I did not like it. So I made an effort to get her attention.*

P10 *Ons het mekaar by 'n interskole byeenkoms ontmoet. Sy het my beindruk met haar vriendelikheid en baie mooi persoonlikheid. Sy is absoluut stunning. 'n Skoolvriendin het ons aan mekaar voorgestel en van my kant was dit liefde met die eerste oogopslag. Ek het dadelik vir haar gevra of ek haar kan skakel, maar sy het eers nie geantwoord nie. Ek het later boodskappe deur my vriending gestuur en toe ons skool 'n funksie reel het ek haar gevra of sy nie saam wou gaan nie. Eindelik het sy ja gesê. Dit was asof 'n droom waar geword het. Ek het toe al vir my ouers van haar vertel en hulle was nogal opgemaak. Ek nooi haar toe een aand vir ete en my ouers het toe met haar begin gesels. Toe hulle hoor dat sy in Parowvallei woon het hulle houding verander. My pa het minder belanggestel. Agterna het my vir my gesê "hulle is nie ons klas nie en dat hy nie weer oor of met Juanita wil praat nie". My ma ma was baie meer subtiel en het daarna begin praat van al die pragtige dogters van al die tannies (haar vriendine) en het selfs vir hulle gebel en dan vir my gesê, terwyl sy besig was om met hulle te gesels en ek in die nabyheid was, dat hulle vir my, of ek vir hulle, wou dagsê.*

*Ons het stilletjies nog kontak gehad; ons het soms gaan fliek of saam by vriende gaan kuier. Dit was onder dié omstandighede dat ons vriendskap meer intiem geword het. Soms het ons op Hendrik Verwoerdrylaan of by die ingang na die Tygerberg natuurresewaat parkeer. Hier het dinge handuitgeruk en hiervoor moet ek verantwoordelikeid aanvaar. Ek het haar oorweldig. Dit het my baie laat dink aan die novelle van Maretha Maartins – 'n Pot vol Winter. Sy wou nie, maar ek het aangedring. Sy wou my nie verloor nie en het toegegee. Ek voel baie skuldig daarvoor. Ek het haar misbruik. Dit het 'n lang ruk geneem voordat dinge weer reggekome het tussen ons, maar ek sal by haar staan.*

P11 *Carien was die vriendin van my beste pal. Hulle was reeds van laerskooldae bevriend en hulle vriendskap was tot op hoërskool baie geheg. 'n Predikantsdogter het toe na ons skool gekome en*

*mettertyd het my vriend vir Carien gelos vir die nuweling. Carien was gebroke en sy het haar na my gewend. Ek het haar vertrous en mettertyd het ons vriendskap 'n ander dimensie verkry. Later het ons gekys toe ek in graad 11 was. Die verhouding het baie geheg geraak – ook intiem. Haar ouers was dikwels weg van die huis af en ons het baie tyd alleen deurgebring. Dit was die begin van 'n baie spesiale vriendskap wat vandag nog voortduur.*

*P12 We started out as friends, then close friends and later on we became lovers.*

All the relationship reported above seemingly started as casual associations – often with either a school context, through mutual friends or even through church related activities. While 84.4% of the participants never anticipated at the time that their relationships would become intimate, once their relationships started moving in that direction, the locus of self control – be it through family values or social mores, were compromised or lost.

#### 5.4.4.2 Duration of relationship before intimacy and pregnancy

The following table reflect the duration of involvement of the participants and their natal partners.

**Table 5.14: Duration of the relationship before intimacy**

Participant	Duration of relationship before intimacy
P1	A couple of weeks after we started dating.
P2	Immediately
P3	2 months
P4	One month
P5	Intimate from the beginning.
P6	3 month
P7	A few days
P8	About 3 months
P9	2 months
P10	5 months
P11	8 month
P12	1 year

The relationships of the participants and their natal partners ranged from 0 to 12 months with most pregnancies happening within the first six months of the relationship as shown in the table below:

**Table 5.15: Duration of relationship before pregnancy**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Duration of relationship before pregnancy</b>
P1	4 months
P2	Immediately
P3	7 months
P4	3 months
P5	3 months
P6	4 months
P7	2 months
P8	3 months
P9	12 months
P10	8 months
P11	9 months
P12	36 months

Eight (66.6%) of the relationships were continuing at the time of the study while one natal partner has died. The relationships that ended seemingly did not adversely influence the relationships of the participants and their children.

An abortion was an option considered by some the participants and their natal partners - though none of them were prepared to pursue it when appointments were made. None of the participants and/or their natal partners considered adoption or foster care as an option in terms of the provisions of the Child Care Act (No. 74 of 1983). These latter practices were less known to the participants and their partners compared to abortion with which they were familiar.

Contrary to the assumption that all young people's relationships are shallow and unstable, Hendricks (1983) found that in 60% of his sample, young fathers characterised their relationship with their natal partners before and after the pregnancy as a "love relationship". Robinson and Barrett (1985) found in one study of 26 male parents that 22 believed that they had a responsibility towards their partners.

#### **5.4.3.4 Evaluation of involvement and long-term prospects of relationship**

Participants were asked to evaluate their relationships according to the following criteria:

- 1 = not involved at all**
- 2 = not very involved**
- 3 = involved relationship**
- 4 = closely involved relationship**

Only two participants (16,6%) have terminated their relationships while 84.3% rated their relationships as involved. One natal partner passed away and another participant is caring for his child.

In exploring the longer term prospects of the relationships with their natal partners, the participants overwhelmingly expressed the viewpoint that they and their partners plan to remain involved in the relationship and are working towards keeping it intact. This is evident from the following comments of the participants:

- P2 We are still serious and want to get married once we have finished school and work. Even though our relationship started as a fling and we never thought that it would go on afterwards; we now both realized that we have a responsibility. I do get jealous when she talks about other guys, I know that it something that I must learn to control and live with.*
- P3 We are planning to get married as soon as we leave school. It is customary in our culture to marry at a young age – even before you have completed your studies.*
- P5 Marriage would be the ultimate should I have the money to marry her.*
- P6 We have a child and as soon as we can, we are both thinking that we must provide a home for our child. We spoke about not putting pressure on each other, but so far that is what both of us want.*
- P8 We are still going strong en ek dink dat ons gaan eendag engage word en trou. She is special en we really love one another.*
- P10 Ek het opgemors. My ouma het altyd gesê dat 'n persoon moet skoon maak waar hulle vuilgemaak het. So ek sal my verantwoordelikhede nakom al is dit sonder my ouers se steun. Dit is my kind en ek het 'n verantwoordelikheid. Juanita is van*

*plan om aanstaande jaar na 'n ander skool te gaan en haar matriek klaar te maak. Haar ouers is wonderlik en sal die kind intussen versorg. My ouers wil hê dat ek moet gaan studeer – wat ek sal doen, maar intussen sal ek vakansie- en naweek-werk moet kry om ons kind te help onderhou. Ek weet dit is baie idealisties, maar dit sal realiseer.*

*P11 Ek voel nog steeds soos vroeër – dit is my verantwoordelikheid/plig om vir Carien en ons kind 'n toekoms te skep.*

The majority of participants, 84.4%, were still involved with their children two years after the first interviews were conducted. This negates the commonly held assumption that teenage fathers abdicate their responsibilities towards their children. While earlier studies reported such behaviour (Rozie-Battle, 1988-9; Shlakman, 1966) research by Christmon (1990b), Connor (1988) and Simon (1991) corroborate the findings of this study namely that teenage fathers are now more prepared to assume responsibility for their progenies.

#### 5.4.5 Involvement with child and natal partner

##### 5.4.5.1 Involvement with the child

The following table summarises the contact that participants have with their children:



**Table 5.16: Contact with child**

Participant	Daily	Every alternate day	Once per week	Less frequent
P1	v			
P2	v			
P3		v		
P4		v		
P5	v			
P6		v		
P7				v
P8	v			
P9	v			
P10		v		
P11			v**	
P12				v*
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>58.4%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>

The participants who reported 'Less frequent' contacts with their children are at university or live in a different location than where the child is being cared for vacations. Both, however, are in regular contact with the carers of the children.

As alluded to in 5.4.4.3 teenage fathers are no longer influenced or swayed by the opinions of the public and the resulting stigma of being a teenage father. They openly acknowledge their progenies and share the caring responsibilities for their children (Simon, 1991; Smith, 1988; Smith 1990).

#### 5.4.5.2 Involvement with antenatal care of partner

This question raised a number of issues for the participants as some of them were barred from either having contact with their natal partners or they were excluded from being involved. Only two (16.6%) of the respondents felt that it was not necessary for them to be involved in the antenatal care of their partners. The involvement was mainly through accompanying their natal partner to the local health centre for antenatal care or shopping for the baby.

Nine (75%) of the participants made contributions from either weekend employment or allowances, as they felt obliged to contribute to the expenses incurred. Three (25%) participants felt they had nothing to contribute or felt excluded and hence understood this to mean that that they did not have to contribute. The contributions were described as follow:

*P2 I have been working at Pick 'n Pay over weekends and when she told me that she is pregnant I told her that I will give her money to buy things for the baby. First I used to give her money - especially when few people knew about her being pregnant. Probably because I was shy. But later on I used to buy things for the baby – especially things for a boy, until she told me that she will buy the stuff for the baby.*

**Q:** *What kind of things did you buy?*

**A:** *Toys and other things which I saw in the shops.*

*P3 I could only support Anita emotionally. My parents gave money and my sisters and gran' bought things for Meegan.*

- P4 *Ek het “weekends” vir my “uncle” gehelp “burglar bars” maak en dan het ek vi’ haar gel’ gegee. Dit was nie baie nie, maar ek gegee wat ek kan.*
- P5 *I would occasionally buy her fruit and other healthy foods/things and take them to her house. I also tried to make her happy at all times during the pregnancy so that the child would be healthy.*
- P6 *I inherited some money from an aunt, so I gave Natalie some of the money.*
- P7 *Emotional support.*
- P8 *Ek werk weekends by Pick ‘ Pay by Nyanga Junction en gee vir haar geld. Dit is my kind; ek rook of doen nie drugs en drink nie.*
- P9 *Ek het net soms geluister as sy praat van die baba.*
- P10 *Ek kry ‘n redelike toelaag van my ouers en ek het vir Juanita daarvan gegee. Sy wou aanvanklik nie die geld hê nie, want haar ouers was bereid om die finansiële koste te dek, maar toe dit dreig om ons verhouding skipbreuk te laat lei, het sy onwillig die geld geneem.*
- P11 *Van die begin af het ek uit my toelaag gehelp. My ouers wou absoluut niks met die situasie te make gehad het nie, maar in die tyd het my toelaag ook verhoog. Carien se ouers het grotendeels voorsien.*
- P12 *I was only able to be there for her physically and emotionally because I was not working and therefore could not financially support her.*

Most of the contributions were either in cash or kind. Three participants (25%) indicated that they could only offer emotional support.

Contrary to the contributions of the participants’ family members who made a contribution their natal partners contributed kind. One third (33.3%) of the participants indicated that their families did not contribute anything whereas eight (66.6%) indicated that that their birth parents or relatives made contributions.

This they described as follow:

- P1 My parents and aunts gave clothing for the child. My grandmother gave money because the child was going to get my grandfather's name. Now my parents give for the child.*
- P2 My mother was very distant at first. She did not want to hear anything but when Christolene was six months pregnant she started to ask questions like who is going to look after the child; ... she took money from her purse and gave it to Christolene and told her that once the baby is born they will provide for the baby.*
- P3 My parents and family provided money and other things for Meegan. I felt terrible that I could not do so, but my sisters told me that my time to give will come.*
- P4 In die begin het my ma en stiefpa niks gegee nie. My aunty het begin om goed te koop en dit gegee. Toe die "baby" is da' is en my ma die "baby" sien, het sy gesê die "baby" lyk na ons, en toe het sy begin om kos en klere vir die "baby" te gee.*
- P5 It was mainly money with which I bought the healthy foods. My mother having been a nurse also advised her on how to keep herself healthy.*
- P6 My parents, brother and sister all gave for the child. My brother first said that the child must be raised according to our religion before he will give the child anything, but later on he said we must sort it out.*
- P8 My ma het niks gegee nie, want sy was daai tyd ok pregnant. My uncle en aunty en my ouma en suster het almal goed gegee. Hulle het baie meer gegee as Gina se family. My uncle het ook geld gegee vir die clinic want ek het toe nie gewerk nie en Gina se ma was toe siek en haar pa het seer gekry by die werk.*
- P9 Money, baby clothes, ...*
- P11 My ouers het botweg geweier, maar my ouma het 'n bydrae gelewer ondanks streng kapsie van my ouers.*
- P12 Clothing for her and the baby; emotional support; pregnancy advise on her pregnancy*

The majority of respondents and their families made contributions prior or after the infant was born. This is contrary to popular belief that teenage fathers avoid their responsibilities or that they disappear either during the pregnancy or after the child is born. The participants by and large demonstrated responsible behaviour respondents in this study and together

with the fact that are in daily or regular contact negate the assumption that teenage fathers will avoid their responsibilities. It is important that service providers offer the necessary support to teenage fathers so that they remain involved with their children.

Contrary to the involvement with their children which is characterised by involvement, a physical presence and a concerted attempt to provide for them, the “romantic” involvement or the quality of the relationship with natal partners is often subject fluctuations and tensions. This can adversely affect the longer term involvement of the teenage father with his child (Sanrey, 1993; Steinberg, 1990)

#### **5.4.6 Sub-theme: Perceptions of and experiences regarding fathering**

This sub-theme explores how adolescent fathers perceive their role as a parent and the external and individual factors that contribute to the fulfilment of these roles. Qualitative analysis enables researchers to examine the meanings adolescent fathers ascribe to their experiences.

##### **5.3.6.1 Meaning of fatherhood**

In exploring the meaning they attach to fatherhood or of what makes a good father, most participants indicated that they should ‘be there’ for their child. However, to ‘be there’ implied an emotional or physical presence whereas the meaning attached to ‘fatherhood’ meant the fulfilment of being a father in a traditional sense. They often expressed the idea of being an important person in the lives of their children. These ideas were influenced by the importance of their own fathers or other significant male persons in their lives. The major codes that emerged in this regard were the need to provide and support, to protect, to care, and to assume responsibility for his family. These recurring responses were corroborated by various other studies (Keener, 1998; Mackey, 1998; Puster, 2001; Suth, 2000).

#### **(a) Responsibilities of fatherhood**

Participants expressed these responsibilities as follow:

- P1 *As a father you must bring money to the home. There should be no starvation. If there is, then what is he doing at home. He gets blame for all the economic struggles at home. He must be at home all the time.*
- P2 *My understanding of fatherhood is that one should face your responsibilities, enjoy the childhood of your child, provide for the child and your family and be an example to the child.*
- P3 *...to be father means to be responsible, to face your responsibilities, to offer support and to provide for your family.*
- P4 *'n Pa is iemand wat by sy "family" moet wees, hulle "protect" en hulle "support". Hy moet daa' wees vir hulle en homself tweede stel.*
- P5 *Taking responsibility for your child by all means possible.*
- P6 *A father must be involved with his family, care for them, and grow-up with them. It is important that the father give direction and maintain the family unit.*
- P7 *To be there for the family, providing for them, caring for them.*
- P8 *Al wat ek weet is dat ek nie 'n pa wil wees soos my eie pa was nie. Hy was altyd in die shit en ouens wie hy gel' ge-own het, het een keer by die huis gekom en geld van my ma demand. Eers het hy baie gestrugle, maar toe ek by my uncle gaan bly het, het ek seker 'n anner experience gekry van 'n man wat 'n pa was. My uncle is strict maar hy care baie vir sy family. Hy treat my nie different as sy eie kinders nie.*
- P9 *Ek sal graag daar wil wees as hy loop, skool toe gaan, ens.*
- P10 *Ek wil die versorger van my gesin wees; dinge saam met hulle doen en net openlik wees. 'n Vader moet daar wees vir sy gesin. Dit is hoe dinge in beide ma en pa se families nog altyd gedoen was.*
- P11 *Verantwoordelikheid, beskerming, sorg. Dit is die kern kwaliteite wat ek heg aan vaderskap.*

The responses of the participants reflected above indicate that they would like to care for their children in the same way as "older" or a traditional fathers care for his family – notwithstanding the fact that they find themselves in a role

as father without having elected or planned to be one (Paulker, 1971; Pleck, 1971; Steinfels, 1981).

#### 5.4.6.2 Factors or experiences that influenced perceptions of fatherhood

In attempting to determine what factors or experiences influenced the respondents' perceptions of fatherhood, an overwhelming number of participants indicated that their own fathers or primary care givers made an indelible impression on them. Their responses were as follow:

- P1 My father was a good man for my mother and he was always a good father for us. My uncles who are married or have children are just like my father. They always played with us and when we went to the family in the Eastern Cape or in Jo'burg, they always tell us about the family. I want to be a father like them.*
- P2 The way my own father has become. When he was younger he used to spend lots of time with his friends and drink and sometimes he slept out. I am not sure if he used to fight with my mother. Then he became very ill and was in Brooklyn Chest Hospital for TB. When he came out he was a changed man. He tried to be involved with us and at first it was not easy as it was never like that before. When he stopped drinking he was a changed man. He cared about us, he took us to camp in Kommetjie, and he stood up for us when my mother was in a bad mood, and so on.*
- P3 My own experiences with my father influenced my impressions of what a father is or should be except I think me father is too strict at times. The fact that he refuses to meet my child resulted in us somewhat drifting apart.*
- P5 I do not want it to be seen as if my child was a mistake and this influences me to be a good father. My mother also always advises me to be responsible father and not abandon my child.*
- P6 My father. I know that I failed him when I became a father, but he is a caring, balanced person who is prepared to listen and guide, but he will also put checks and balances in place and if he does not like something, he will say so. He gives us freedom, but teaches us that with it comes responsibility.*
- P8 Seker my experience met my uncle. Hy sê altyd dat hy wil fair wees met die kinders in die huis, maar dan moet ons honest wees en met hom praat en vertel wat ons doen. As ons so kan wees, dan sal hy ons support as dit vir ons benefit is.*

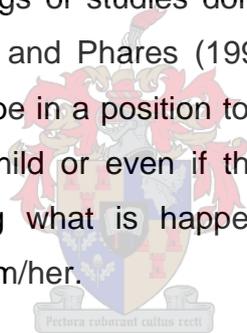
- P10 *My pa was nog altyd 'n goeie pa, hy het nog altyd omgegee, saam rugby toe gegaan, ons het saam gaan visvang en dergelike dinge gedoen. Ek weet hy is nou teleurgestel of dalk kwaad, maar ek sal graag 'n man wil wees soos hy nog altyd was.*
- P11 *As ek terug dink aan die tye wat ek en pa saam dinge gedoen het, dan is dit hoe ek ook wil wees. Hy het leiding gegee, was betrokke. Later toe hy sy besigheid begin het, was hy alhoemeer afwesig, altyd weg en al hoe minder betrokke. Eers het hy saam gegaan na sportbyeenkomstes, maar later moes ma al hoe meer saamgaan. Dit was nie dieselfde was as toe pa saam was nie.*
- P12 *I was more of a mother than a father because the mother of my child passed away soon after she had given birth – therefore leaving me to take care of the baby like a mother would. I must say that it was good experience yet so challenging.*

It is evident that their perceptions are influenced by the experiences and role modelling perceived of their own fathers or significant other male role models in their lives. Their notions about an involved father – the person that they want to be was expressed as follows:

- P1 *I don't ever want my child to be needy. I want my child to grow up with me – I want to take care of him. I want to take him to school and I want to see that he make success of his life.*
- P2 *To be there for them; to do things with them; so see them growing up – to be a person to whom they can talk when they have problems.*
- P3 *As I have said before, to be father means to be responsible, to face your responsibilities, to offer support and to provide for your family.*
- P4 *'n Pa moet da' wees vir sy kinders, met hulle speel en hulle vertrou gee sodat hulle "safe" ka' voel.*
- P5 *To me it just means that I am there for my child whenever he needs me and taking care of his needs.*
- P6 *Exactly as I have just said – to be like my father. [...he is a caring, balanced person who is prepared to listen and guide, but he will also put checks and balances in place and if he does not like something, he will say so. He gives us freedom, but teaches us that with it comes responsibility.*

- P8 Seker soos om te wees soos my uncle. Hy vra elke dag wat ons gedoen het, hoe ons dag was. So om belang te stel in sy kinders and family, vir hulle te sorg, om hulle te guide, en te protect.*
- P10 Soos ek reeds gesê het wil ek die versorger van my gesin wees; dinge saam met hulle doen en betrokke wees. 'n Vader moet daar wees vir sy gesin. Hy moet hulle beskerm, leiding gee en vir hulle voorsien.*
- P11 'n Pa wat betrokke is, weet wat aangaan en met wie sy kinders kan praat – nie verwag asof hulle (die kinders) die regte dinge moet weet nie.*

The participants all indicated a willingness to be involved and to remain involved with their children. They expressed the need to know and be informed about what is happening to them and the wish to be consulted on relevant matters pertaining to the well being of their children. These needs are consistent with the findings of studies done by O'Brien (1987), Pannor, Massacre and Evans (1971) and Phares (1992) who also found that even though teen fathers may not be in a position to make significant contributions to the maintenance of the child or even if the relationship with their natal partner has ended, knowing what is happening to the child ensures a continued involvement with him/her.



#### **5.4.6.3 Summary**

The participants expressed very patriarchal views about parenting and in particular about their roles as fathers (Biller, 1971; Zelnik, Kantner & Ford, 1981; Zayas, 1987). These views must be nurtured so that they can remain involved even if their relationship with their natal partner should end. This is an important aspect that service providers should consider in their intervention with this population.

## **PART B: EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL WORK SERVICES**

### **5.5 Theme two: Participants' perceptions and experiences of counselling services**

Whereas theme one deals with perceptions, attitudes and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers, this theme explores the participants' perceptions of and experiences with a variety of services and counsellors. The knowledge, expectations and experiences of participants regarding social work services were explored in order to ascertain whether a more functional service would have enabled them to deal more effectively with their circumstances and centralised their involvement with their natal partners and children. It seems from both the literature and the participants' experiences that unmarried adolescent fathers are marginalized (Adams, Pittman & O'Brien, 1993; Allan & Doherty, 1998; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Cochran, 1997). The literature (Freeman, 1988; Kiselica, 1995; Levine, Pleck & Lamb, 1983) also indicates that social work and / or counselling services for teenage fathers are inadequate and under-developed. An investigation of such services was undertaken by the researcher in the Cape Town metropole in December 2002 can the findings confirmed that the services that do exist have a bias in favour unmarried teenage mothers.

The following sub-themes emerged and are discussed under the following headings:

- Participants' perceptions of social work services
- Knowledge of social work services
- Attitude towards social work services
- Experiences of social work services

#### **5.5.1 Consultations with social workers**

Participants were asked to indicate whether they consulted with a social worker and reported as follows.

**Table 5.17: Consultation with social worker**

Participant	Consultation with a social worker	No consultation with a social worker
P1		v
P2	v	
P3		v
P4	v	
P5		v
P6		v
P7		v
P8	v	
P9		v
P10		v
P11	v	
P12		v
<b>N = 12</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>66.6%</b>

The table above shows that 33.3% of the participants consulted a social worker regarding the pregnancy. Although the majority, 66.6%, did not consult a social worker, the impressions of those who did consult, were explored. The perceptions and experiences of these participants were very diverse and generally negative and discouraging.

The participants reported as follows:

*P2 Sorry to say, but my experiences were not very good. Christolene went to the Day Hospital when she thought that she was pregnant and was sent to the social worker when the pregnancy was confirmed. The social worker behaved like a matron and told her that we must come together to the hospital. She told us how wrong it is to have a child when one is so young and out of wedlock on top of it. She really made us feel cheap and hardly gave us a chance to say anything. She then told us that many couples are looking for children to adopt and that we must consider adoption. When we told her that we are going to keep the baby she was beside herself. I don't think I like social workers.*

*P4 Toe sy haa' bek (mond) oopmaak, toe sê sy dat ek moet die kind onderhou. Te veel volk weet hoe om hul gulpe oop te maak, maar as die kleintjies is daa' is weet hulle nie om hulle beursies oop te maak nie.*

*P8 Ons was by die Day Hospital, maar die social worker was nie daar nie. Die suster het gesê dat ons die next day moet kom. Ons het*

*nie weer gegaan nie, maar toe Gina complications gehad het, was ons hospitaal toe gestuur. Die social worker was eers baie nice en ons kon met haar praat, maar agterna het sy verander. Sy het gesê dat as ons wil doen wat grootmense doen, dan moet ons die punches kan vat. Ek het amper gevoel dat sy nie vir my daar wil hê nie, en het baie questions gevra of ek alleen geblame moet word. Al wat sy gevra het was of ek my kant gaan bring. Ek weet nie hoekom ons na haar moes gaan nie.*

Only one participant reported a more positive experience with a social worker

*P11 Die tannie was baie besorgd en vol deernis. Sy was egter te veel van 'n moedersfiguur en dit was nogal moeilik om met haar te gesels. Ek is seker dat mense baie goed met haar oor die weg sal kom.*

A further six participants, 50%, indicated that they were aware of social work services, but felt that they did not need it, nor could they think of any reason why they had to see a social worker.

*P1 Yes we aware, but at her home they did know that she was pregnant, so we did not go.*

*P8 Yes, maar ek weet nie hoekom ons haar moes sien nie.*

*P12 No, but even if I was I do not think I would have used them.*

The three participants (25%) who consulted a social worker reported mixed or rather very negatively on their encounters with them. The recurring themes borders on disregard, disdain and disrespect and without any due regard for what they or their partners were feeling or had decided. The fact that a further 3 (25%) of the participants were aware of social work services and what it could offer, they chose not to consult them. On exploring their reasons for choosing not to do so, all three expressed knowledge of either friends or relatives whose children were removed after they had consulted with social workers. The prior knowledge of experiences with social workers can in fact be considered to be hampering the impact which they could have made.

### 5.5.2 The reception of and reactions towards the adolescent fathers

Respondents' perception of the reception they received and the social worker/counsellors' reactions towards them ranged from indifference to belittling. The participants described this as follow:

- P2 We were belittled and made to feel like school children.*
- P4 Soos ek gesê het, ek het gevoel soos iets wat die kat ingedra het. Ek moet ... dood wees as voor ek wee' na a social worker toe sal gaan.*
- P5 Yes I was made comfortable but it was not in relation to the baby. However I did at some point mention that I had a child.*
- P8 Initially ja (we were made to feel welcome and comfortable), maar later het ek baie uncomfortable gevoel omdat ek nie geweet het hoekom ons haar moes sien nie. Sy het ook nie gesê nie en sy was altyd besig met ander goed. Ek het ook die impression gekry dat sy liewer met Gina wou praat en dat ek in die pad was.*
- P11 Die maatskaplike werker het ons goed ontvang, was sensitief en gemaklik, maar sy sou geen match wees vir my pa nie. Ons het met haar gaan praat met die idee om met ons ouers te bemiddel sodat ons ouers bymekaar kon kom en dat daar erkening by my ouers van hulle kleinkind kan wees. Die maatskaplike werker kon egter my ouers nie sover kry om haar te sien nie. My pa is headstrong en my ma dans na sy pype.*

The reactions of the social workers regarding the teen fathers caused the latter to feel prejudiced against in the counselling context. This is borne out by the following comments:

- P2 That it was all my fault. Yes we were probably irresponsible, but we both know that we must deal with the situation. She could have dealt with the situation differently. I felt awful – really guilty.*
- P4 It takes two to tango, maar toe was ek die vark in die verhaal.*
- P8 Eers ok, maar later het ek gevoel ek was in die pad.*
- P11 Sy het my goed ontvang en was baie gemaklik. Sy het geneig om te veralgemeen – veral toe sy praat van die jeug van vandag wat so*

*onverantwoordelik is, het ek gevoel dat dit dalk nie die regte persoon is om mee te gesels nie.*

The reception and attitude displayed towards the teenage fathers during consultation with social workers reflected an intolerance – which is contrary to the ethos of the social work profession. The responses of the teenage fathers reveal vulnerability – hence a positive reception and acknowledgement of their circumstances and an attitude of acceptance and empathy would have enhanced faith and confidence in the profession.

### **5.5.3 Current needs and expectations of social work services**

Participants expressed various needs and expectations that could be addressed by social work services. The needs of participants ranged from financial assistance to emotional support and mediation with family members.

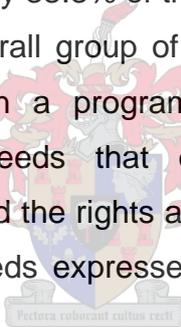
The following responses are illustrations thereof:

- P1 Money so that I can support my children – so no welfare.*
- P2 At the time we did not know how to tell our parents and she could have helped us with that. Right now I do not have a need to see her again. Whatever my needs are, I will try and work it out myself.*
- P4 Al het ek ok needs, sal ek dit self probeer oplos; ek sal met anner mense praat, maa' ek sal nie weer na die welfare toe gaan nie.*
- P5 A job is really one thing I need but I do not think social workers can really help me with this.*
- P6 Probably just to talk about our plans for the future and to guide us. Perhaps (some) support.*
- P8 Nou niks nie. Ons kom goed klaar.*
- P9 Soms wil ek net hoor of ek nou nog die regte ding doen. Ek is besig om na ander meisies te kyk en weet nie of dit reg is nie.*
- P10 Ek weet nie, maar dalk kon 'n maatskaplike werker my help om die kloof wat ontstaan het met my ouers, te oorbrug.*
- P11 My grootste behoeftes tans is om met my ouers te versoen en dat hulle erkenning vir die baba te gee as hul kleinkind.*

Although the needs expressed by the participants are all very tangible, it is evident that social workers can fulfil and provide in many of them by adopting a range of professional roles. In addition to providing support through counselling i.e. the chance to talk about the position in which they find themselves, assess their circumstances, and consider all options, social work can also offer psycho-educational intervention to premature parenting, identify ways of easing and managing the tensions that may emanate from the role of being a teenage parent. By advocating for change social work can influence both policies and service delivery so that services for teenage parents indeed provide for both teenage mothers and fathers and not only teenage mothers.

#### **5.5.4 Counselling programmes for teenage fathers**

Notwithstanding the fact that only 33.3% of the respondents consulted a social worker, the majority of the overall group of participants indicated what they would like to see included in a programme or services for unmarried adolescent fathers. The needs that emerged are support, conflict management, being a father and the rights and responsibilities of the teenage father. With regard to the needs expressed, the following comments were made:



##### **5.5.4.1 Support**

- P4 Om net met iemand te praat, ve'al as daar so baie pressures van almal is. Dit is sieker (seker) die reason why so baie ouens net verdwyn of net die kinders los.*
- P5 To encourage guys like us to take responsibility for their child.*
- P7 How to handle your feelings of loss when you do not see your child often enough.*
- P8 Om hulle te support want sometimes vergeet die mense dat die kind ook 'n pa het, maar hy word ignore.*

##### **5.5.4.2 Dealing with conflict**

*P6 One thing for sure is 'how to deal with the unwanted comments of people who do not know that their acid tongues actually hurt'.*

*P9 Wat moet ek doen om almal tevrede te hou. Hoe kan my seun weet dat ek sy pa is.*

#### **5.5.4.3 Rights and responsibilities**

*P3 The rights and responsibilities of teen fathers; something about legislation and just support for teen fathers.*

#### **5.5.4.4 Being a teenage father**

*P11 Hoe om onder die omstandighede 'n pa te wees; hoe om die soms onstuimige omstandighede te hanteer bv. Hoe om die feit dat ek en my kind geignoreer word, te oorkom. Ek sou sê die interpersoonlike verhoudingsproblematiek.*

The aforementioned comments are clear indicators of the specific elements, which need to be incorporated in intervention programmes, aimed at service providers and teenage fathers and their families.

Adolescence is a stage of development that needs a multidimensional approach in service delivery. In the light of the changing socio-political context of the South African society and the inclusion of a Bill of Human Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), it is imperative that social work “de-genderise” services and create a culture of openness so that all clients can equally benefit from the existing ones.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The investigation into social work services for teenage parents undertaken in the Cape Town metropole in December 2002 revealed that the existing services have a strong gender bias in favour of unmarried mothers. This is contrary to the emphasis of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) which emphasises the position, rights and responsibilities of families and recognises the family as the cornerstone of society. If social work disregard or minimise the existence or the role of teenage fathers as a significant person in the lives

of their children, they are in fact reflecting an attitude and practice that promote disempowerment and deny children the right to a potentially meaningful future relationship.

Services for teenage parents are often experienced as punitive. This is one of the difficulties that adolescent fathers must deal with and which they often experience as contradictory to the ethos of a helping service. This may either be the unavailability of or the relevancy of resources and services. Robinson (1998) points out that it is not only the scientific study of young fathers that has lagged behind, but also the provision of some type of service delivery for these young men. He purports that outreach can work, that once they are involved, many males are eager to become more competent and caring parents. This ideal is, however, quite absent in practice. Goldstein and Wallace (1978) show that, even with the increasing focus on paternity, few programmes attempt to involve male partners.

Leashore (1979) also notes that social work agencies typically do not involve the young fathers when they provide services for teenage mothers or mothers to be. Most of the programmes researched by Earls and Siegel (1980, cited by Barrett and Robinson, 1982: 484) and the literature reviewed for counsellors (Foster and Miller, 1980) centres exclusively on women.

## PART C: A SURVEY OF SELECTED ORGANISATIONS PROVIDING COUNSELLING SERVICES TO UNMARRIED ADOLESCENT PARENTS

As outlined in Chapter One the purpose of the survey was to evaluate the programmes offered and to assess the attitudes and attentiveness of the participating organisations towards adolescent fathers.

### 5.7 Location of organisations

A survey of organisations that provide pregnancy-counselling services for teenage parents was conducted in December 2002. The notion of 'service' was broadly described by all the organisations as intervention related to the pregnancy. For some help seekers this could be support in crises, pre- and post abortion counselling, teenage pregnancy counselling and relationship counselling relevant to the pregnancy. The social workers/counsellors and/or agencies<sup>3</sup> that agreed to participate in the study are located in the following suburbs:

**Table 5.18: Location of agencies**

Organisation	Location
<b>A</b>	Goodwood
<b>B</b>	Somerset West
<b>C</b>	Wynberg
<b>D</b>	Bellville
<b>E</b>	Somerset West
<b>F</b>	Kenilworth
<b>G</b>	Observatory

The suburbs indicated above were not located in the immediate vicinity of any of the participants and would have required them to travel to the agencies.

### 5.8 Services for unmarried teenage fathers

<sup>3</sup> Four of the seven individuals/organisations who agreed to be interviewed advised that they were doing so in their personal capacities and not as representatives of their organisations.

Service for unmarried teenage fathers or the lack thereof, is of particular concern to the researcher. This limitation is corroborated by the paucity of information in the literature. Where services do exist, young fathers tend to view services with disdain. Wallace, Weeks and Medina (1982, in Freeman, 1988) found that of 127 early pregnancy programmes surveyed, less than a third provided specific information for fathers. Most of the services surveyed were recently developed – hence they needed to ensure the fathers' participation at all levels of the service process in order to maximise relevance and effectiveness. Secondly some service providers have strong negative attitudes and biases towards young fathers. Value assumptions include the belief that young persons' relationships are unstable, that young fathers are the cause of most problems and conflict in the relationship with their natal partners – hence it is futile to include fathers in services, as they are “transient”.

Social workers have routinely ignored the fathers' feelings and therefore dampened eagerness and their need to talk and be involved. Earls and Siegel (1980 cited by Barrett and Robinson, 1982: 484) argue that the overall decrease in regular contact with service providers can be attributed to the failure of services to actively engage the young fathers. These findings corroborate the perceptions and experiences of the participants reported in Part B of this thesis.

### **5.8.1 Types of service organisations**

In this section an overview is given of the types of organisations that were included in this survey and the service foci of these organisations.

**Table 5.19: Types of organisations**

<b>Agency</b>	<b>Type of organisation</b>
<b>A</b>	Faith-based NGO
<b>B</b>	NGO branch of Youth for Christ and affiliated to Africa Cares for Life
<b>C</b>	A faith based organisation that is part of the Bellville Methodist Church and affiliated to Africa Cares for Life.
<b>D</b>	National NGO
<b>E</b>	NGO, registered as a Section 21 Company; affiliated to Africa Cares for Life
<b>F</b>	NGO, registered welfare organisation; affiliated to Africa Cares for Life
<b>G</b>	Faith based NGO, affiliated to Africa Cares for Life

Five (71.5%) of the seven organisations included in the survey are faith based. This implies an ethos of humanity and social justice, which is contradicted in the survey by the exclusion of males from services except when specifically requested. Although several of these organisations as registered welfare organisations, only two receive subsidies from the Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation – specifically for the purpose of providing services to unmarried teenage mothers. In view of the registration criteria they are not required to offer services to the partners of their consumers. The other seven organisations receive no subsidies and operate either directly under the auspices of a church – hence they are in no violation of any policies e.g. the policy on the financing of welfare services. It can be argued, however, that the exclusion of teenage fathers from services tantamount to a disregard of Section 28 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) which provides for the right of a child to know and/or grow up with his/her parents and a contradiction of the spirit of and promotion of family life through family-centred developmental strategies (White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997).

### **5.8.2 Nature of services of organisations**

The organisations that participated in the survey provide the following services:

**Table 5.20: Service foci of organisations surveyed**

<b>Agency</b>	<b>Services provided</b>
<b>A</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Africa Cares for Life is a pro-active, non-racial networking body linking organisations who support women and children affected by unplanned pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and abortion</li> </ul>
<b>B</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Crisis pregnancy counselling service</li> </ul>
<b>C</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Residential service for pregnant women</li> </ul>
<b>D</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Sexual and reproductive health; life skills education; parenting programmes; women's wellness programmes; adolescent reproductive health services; men and partner programme.</li> </ul>
<b>E</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Sexuality and reproductive health</li> </ul>
<b>F</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Residential care for women and children</li> </ul>
<b>G</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Counselling service for teen/pregnant mothers; residential care for pregnant teens; adoptions</li> </ul>

The organisations surveyed provide services to a predominantly female client population and teenage fathers are peripheral to the interest of the service providers. The assertion by one participant was, "We hear the story from the girl and we believe what we are told." It is ironic that the services e.g. educative and support services, which could benefit all teen parents and their families, are not readily available to male partners.

### 5.8.3 Services to adolescent fathers

In exploring if services are actually provided to unmarried teenage fathers by the participating agencies. The following table reflect the extent to which organisations will accommodate teenage fathers who request services.

**Table 5.21: Services to adolescent fathers**

<b>Agency</b>	<b>Services offered when requested</b>
<b>A</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ On request, but mainly of a general nature i.e. no specific focus on teenage fatherhood</li> </ul>
<b>B</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ On request</li> </ul>
<b>C</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Very seldom – only when indicated;</li> <li>○ Mainly to teen mothers-to-be and mothers because of problems with partners</li> </ul>
<b>D</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No male clients – only when referred for sexually transmitted infections and for HIV/AIDS counselling and testing</li> </ul>
<b>E</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Only on request and with the permission of pregnant partner</li> </ul>

<b>F</b>	○ This agency do not consider men at all
<b>G</b>	○ Only on request and mainly have a general nature. No specific focus on teenage fathers

From the table above it is evident that no designated services exist for adolescent fathers and when services are provided such services are either requested or sanctioned by their natal partners. This stance reinforces the stereotyping of the teenage father as being insignificant and promotes the exclusion of adolescent fathers from services delivery.

Often services are hostile and punitive towards young fathers. Allen-Mears (1984) and Kiselica (1995) suggest that societal bias causes punitive actions against adolescent fathers. Despite research acknowledging that teenage fathers are as much at risk as teen mothers and that they require the same services, the needs of these fathers continue to be largely ignored (Kaufman, 1996; Kiselica and Sturmer, 1993). The teenage father continues to be a “shadow figure cloaked in a fog of prejudice and misinformation” (Fry & Trifiletti, 1983: 219).

#### 5.8.4 Service providers’ perceptions of needs of teen fathers

Social workers have routinely ignored teen fathers *per se* and their feelings in particular (Freeman, 1988; Robinson & Barrett, 1985). The inaccessibility of services is often the ultimate barrier to the adolescent father’s involvement with the pregnancy. However, when professionals do engage with teen fathers they discover an eagerness to talk about their struggles and a desire to be involved (Connolly, 1978; Robinson & Barrett, 1985).

When service providers were asked to speculate about the needs of adolescent fathers, the participants expressed the following:

**Table 5.22: Perception of needs of adolescent fathers**

<b>Agency</b>	<b>Perceived needs</b>
<b>A</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Male support;</li> <li>○ Good/positive fathering role models;</li> <li>○ Healthy man-woman relationship skills</li> </ul>
<b>B</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ To be acknowledged in decision-making;</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ To be involved in and know about how the pregnancy is progressing;</li> <li>○ To be involved e.g. to accompany partner for medical consultations and for example see scans;</li> <li>○ To be informed about what to expect</li> </ul>
<b>C</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ To be assisted and supported in assuming the fathering role;</li> <li>○ Information about options and rights;</li> <li>○ Sex education and relationships;</li> <li>○ Involvement in decision-making.</li> </ul>
<b>D</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Training about parenting and sexual and reproductive health;</li> <li>○ Life skills;</li> <li>○ Parenting skills;</li> <li>○ Education about gender and stereotypes;</li> <li>○ Decision-making skills</li> </ul>
<b>E</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ To be involved in decision-making</li> </ul>
<b>F</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ This agency do not consider men at all</li> </ul>
<b>G</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Male support;</li> <li>○ Fathering;</li> <li>○ Male-female relationship skills</li> </ul>

The needs expressed seem to reflect the tasks implied in the identity versus role confusion state of Erikson's theory (1963) of human development.

One would assume that the need for information and contact with role models skilled in problem management would escalate when a young couple find themselves facing (unplanned) parenthood during this life stage. The question of why organizations choose to provide these services for the adolescent mothers-to-be but exclude the fathers-to-be remains unanswered.

When analysing the needs cited by the service providers the link to best social work practice is obvious. To incorporate the adolescent father in service delivery programmes reflect acknowledgement of his role as a parent and in terms of his rights and responsibilities it embodies respect his human rights. If one considers the present and future needs of the unborn child to have (both) parents to care and provide for him/her as contained in the life-cycle analysis provided for in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), it would also justify or necessitate ensuring that the young father is included in service programmes.

The exclusion of unmarried teenage fathers from service delivery also brings into question the ethos and guiding principles of social work, i.e. unconditional acceptance, non-judgemental, self-determination, and unconditional regard for the client to which social workers subscribe (Garvin and Tropman, 1992; Gingerich, 2002; Reamer, 2002).

### 5.8.5 Changes needed in services for adolescent fathers

Until recently, pre-natal services have been unavailable to young fathers. At the start of the empirical research of this study in December 2002, it was evident to the researcher that it was still the case. Subsequent research done by the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (2003) found that some organisations were beginning to provide services to teenage fathers – though social workers generally still have a long way to go.

Participants were asked to identify those areas of their services that will have to change in order to reach and provide services to adolescent fathers. The following table provide what the participants consider to be essential changes.

**Table 5.23: Changes to be made to existing services**

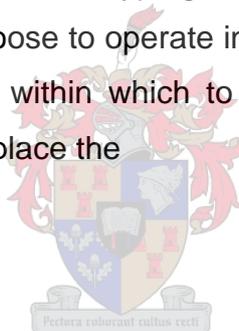
<b>Agency</b>	<b>Changes required</b>
<b>A</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Involve male volunteers</li> </ul>
<b>B</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Appoint male counsellors;</li> <li>○ Advertise services;</li> <li>○ Hands on training and sensitising about the child</li> </ul>
<b>C</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Offer awareness programmes;</li> <li>○ Develop brochures about teenage fatherhood</li> </ul>
<b>D</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Extend and provide services through “Men as Fathers” programme;</li> <li>○ Appoint male counsellors</li> </ul>
<b>E</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Involve more male volunteers</li> </ul>
<b>F</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ This agency do not consider men at all</li> </ul>
<b>G</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Appoint and/or involve more male volunteers</li> </ul>

From the preceding table it is evident that service providers have an idea what where they need to transform their services in order to serve unmarried teenage fathers. The majority of the organisations consider the appointment

of male counsellors as a finite requirement for such services and as the solution to several of the current hindrances to adequate service delivery. This however can be queried as the participants did not indicate what or how they, on a personal level, need to make shifts or changes in order to accommodate the studied population. Transformation for the sake of transformation can be as inadequate as no transformation at all. The appointment of male counsellors will not offer a solution as the problem is imbedded in minds of the current service providers.

## 5.7 Conclusion

From the information gathered from the specialised services it is evident that the participants have a clear understanding idea of what is needed by adolescent fathers, but that stereotyping and the gendered agenda of personnel of organisations choose to operate in a narrowly defined manner as it may offer safe parameters within which to operate. The fact that not a single participant was able to place the



## Chapter 6

### Conclusions and recommendations

#### 6.1 Introduction

Social work intervention for unmarried teenage fathers is virtually non-existent in South Africa. The majority of the services offered to teenage parents focus exclusively on teenage mothers – therefore disregarding the position and needs of teenage fathers. In this chapter the conclusions emanating from the study is presented and recommendations made for social work intervention with unmarried teenage fathers.

In Chapter 1 the two-fold **aim** of the study was stated as being:

- (1) The **first aim** of the study is to elucidate the experiences, perceptions and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers in order to centralise them in the parenting equation and to make recommendations regarding social work intervention for unmarried teenage fathers so that policy makers, programme developers and service providers can recognise them as a population worthy of services.
- (2) The **second aim** of the study is to survey selected programmes and assess the attitudes of and attentiveness of staff regarding the needs of adolescent fathers.

These aims for the research were informed by the following **research objectives**:

- (1) To review the literature on unmarried adolescent fatherhood and fathering;

- (2) To explore unmarried teenage fathers' attitudes towards and perceptions of their roles and responsibilities of teenage paternity;
- (3) To examine the effects of unplanned pregnancy for unmarried teenage fathers on a personal and family level and in a societal context;
- (4) To synthesise and construct a knowledge base that will facilitate and enhance services to unmarried teenage fathers;
- (6) To investigate and describe the nature and extent of social work programmes for service delivery to adolescent fathers; and
- (6) To make recommendations to service providers to comprehensively manage adolescent parenting.

## **6.2 Research design and methodology**

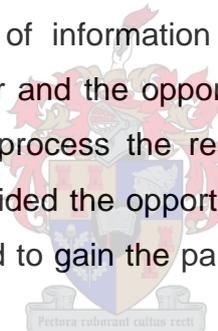
The researcher chose a mixed method of enquiry because of its suitability for the study. Some items aimed to collect qualitative data while, due to studying the participants in their natural settings and attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings they attach to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) most of the items were open ended. In investigating these experiences of participants a descriptive, explorative and contextual strategy of inquiry was employed. Descriptive research is concerned with describing participants' experiences regarding a situation or event in order to answer the question "What is going on?" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Explorative studies aim to investigate unknown areas of research by using an open, flexible approach. To the best knowledge of the researcher no research has been conducted in South Africa about unmarried teenage fathers. Contextual studies aim to understand participants within their specific context (De Vos, 2002).

The researcher used interview schedules (see **Annexures G & H**) to collect data to ensure that all participants were asked the same questions.

For the survey of service organisations an interview schedule (see **Annexure I**) was used to determine their attentiveness for and responsiveness to the needs of teenage fathers.

The qualitative data collected was analysed according to the eight steps proposed by Tesch (1990) and the quantitative data were analysed and presented descriptively in the study.

The researcher explored the life experiences of unmarried teenage fathers by applying the principles of the person-centred approach namely genuineness, empathy and warmth to facilitate maximum disclosure. The profiles of participants and the volume of information obtained reflect the trust that developed with the researcher and the opportunity for the participants to tell their story. Throughout the process the researcher continuously reflected their comments so that it provided the opportunity to continuity and reflection in order to reach for depth and to gain the participants' interpretations of their situations.



The mixed methodology research design was appropriate for the research undertaken. It provided for the exploration of teenage fathers' attitudes towards and perceptions of their roles and responsibilities and the attentiveness and responsiveness of services providers.

### **6.3 Conclusions**

Emanating from the study, the following conclusions in relation to the proposed objectives can be drawn:

### 6.3.1 Review of the literature on unmarried adolescent fatherhood and fathering

Extensive literature searches and reviews were undertaken in the areas of teenage parenting and teenage fatherhood in particular in social work and cognate disciplines, the health sciences and education. Most of the relevant literature in this regard was found in the in the United States of America where extensive research had been conducted since the late 1800s.

The literature reviewed focused exclusive on teenage mothers and mothering. Literature on teenage fathers first appeared in the 1960s. This increased steadily and by the 1980s several disciplines in the humanities – especially in psychology, social work and education. The initial emphasis was primarily on teenage fatherhood as a pathology – hence the focus on the irresponsibility and inadequacies of this population vis-à-vis their role as a parent. Such perceptions and stereotypes are reinforced by the research findings. However, at the time services focused on teenage mothers since the need for intervention was found to be for them. The needs of teenage fathers were ignored until a ground breaking case, *Stanley vs. the State of Illinois in 1972*, ruled that the wishes and the needs of teenage fathers should be considered in the matters pertaining to decisions about children born out of wedlock.

Events in South Africa have run a parallel course to those in the United States of America. It has not been until the promulgation of the Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock Act (Act 86 of 1997) in 1997 that a first step has been taken to acknowledge the rights and responsibilities of the father out-of-wedlock. This legislation, influenced by the Bill of Human Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act no. 108 of 1996), are compelling service providers to pay attention to this group and through this study the researcher hope to raise further awareness and provide insights into the plight of unmarried teenage fathers. The landmark case of *Stanley vs. the State of Illinois* has a sequel in 2005 in South Africa when Danny Klay, a teenage father, was awarded full rights to his child born out of wedlock by Pretoria High Court (Rapport, 2005).

The paucity of South African literature on the topic of unmarried teenage fathers account for the need to draw on information covering a longer period than would normally be the case at South African universities.

### **6.3.2 Unmarried teenage fathers' attitudes towards and perceptions of their roles and responsibilities**

The study aimed to gain an understanding of the perceptions, attitudes and needs of unmarried adolescent fathers. The empirical research undertaken found that the needs of teenage fathers do not differ from those of teenage mothers. The need for recognition, balancing their experiences at a time of developmental and situational turmoil and adapting the unplanned role of parenthood are some of the needs that highlight the similarities. If the life stage theories of Blos (1979), Erikson (1963, 1968) can be considered to accentuate the need of adolescent fathers, then it can be assumed that more emphasis must be placed by service providers on sustaining their involvement with their child and to develop their capacity for parenting. It is often due to their inability to offer financial support that teenage fathers are disregarded as the needs of the mother and her progeny require immediate tangible intervention.



The continued involvement of the teenage father with his child is strongly influenced by his support systems, the attitude of the natal partner's parents and his peers. The natal partners, being dependent on their parents, may not wish to terminate the relations with their partners, but if under pressure from them, may do so. In 16.6% of the reported cases, the participants' families remained distant, disinterested or uninvolved with their grandchild. These families were rated middle class by the participants and considered the child as an impediment to their social standing in the community.

This study found that 66% of participants' families made either financial or material contributions before the child was born. Seventy-five percent of the participants themselves made contributions by means of part-time or

occasional employment earnings or, in the case of one participant, from his inheritance. Several family members, across the spectrum of social class, also contributed financially – a factor that ensured and facilitated the continued involvement of the unmarried teenage fathers with their children.

In the study population it was found that the participants either have limited or no contact with their birth fathers and/or another significant male figure. Where fathers/caregivers were present and they are in daily contact, only 24.9% reported having a meaningful relationship with their birth fathers or the other male figure. Other rated their relationship as *present but distant* – which result in minimal or no opportunity for the participants to emulate positive and constructive male and fathering attitudes and behaviour.

It is significant that participants in this study reported on their perceived roles as fathers in very traditional terms viz. to provide, to care, to protect and to be involved with their children.

### **6.3.3 Effects of unplanned pregnancy for unmarried teenage fathers on a personal, family and societal level**

The teenage fathers' perception of being marginalized should be understood contextually. Teenage fathers are trapped in a tension between the stringent mores and values of society when it comes to the sexuality of teenagers while at the same time society is more tolerant of other sexual practices. The media that bombards them with sexual imagery further aggravates this tension.

Society, in general regards the teenage father as being reckless, irresponsible and socially and economically incapable of caring for himself, the natal partner and their child.

The consequence of the unplanned pregnancy impacts on the lives of both families alike. The consequences of emotional and social turmoil is generally known and also reported in chapter two of this study. The participants in this study reported the initial reluctance to inform their parents of the pregnancy,

was influenced by the stereotypes and attitudes of society regarding out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Those who found it relatively easier to do were members of families where siblings were also parents out of wedlock. There is, however, no correlation between the socio-economic standing of the family and the acceptance of it.

In middle class families the families considered the pregnancy as an embarrassment while in lower income families the untimely pregnancy was considered as a lost opportunity for the teen father to better his chances in life.

#### **6.3.4 Nature of social work programmes for adolescent parents**

Developmental social work aims to develop capacity. However social work practitioners fail to address the express circumstances and needs of teenage fathers, as manifested by their negative attitudes and actions while interacting with participants.

Social support is minimal and can be attributed mainly to ignorance about causal and contributing factors regarding adolescent fatherhood and the resultant lack of knowledge regarding the needs of this sector of the population. Yet social workers/counsellors all had a very good idea of the needs of unmarried teenage fathers. However the services advertised for or offered to teenage parents are more readily available to teenage mothers. The majority of social work service providers are female who have revealed a tendency to accord all blame for the untimely birth of the child to the teenage father.

In the exploration of social work services it was found that no organisation that provide services to teenage parents or parents-to-be, have designated services for teenage fathers or even offer services to them despite the service being advertised as being for *teenage parents*. Teenage fathers are either not at all considered or if such services are provided, it is of a general nature – i.e. it does not deal with his conflicts or concerns, but rather with concerns about

his natal partner or the child. Several of the participants explained the thrust of this to be related to maintenance, the adoption of the child or the placement of the child in foster care.

The stereotyping and personal biases of social work and other counsellors prevent adequate intervention on equipping the teenage father to fulfil his responsibilities and obligations. It is further hampered by the misperception about his potential to be a responsible father and partner.

Five of seven or 71.4% of the participants indicated that, in order for their organisations to provide services to teenage fathers, they would have to appoint male counsellors or involve more male volunteers. This alludes to the fact that the existing teenage parent services have a bias in favour of teenage mothers. However, they fail to realise that in order to provide a comprehensive and effective services to teenage mothers, the partners of their clients should also become involved. Some provide for partners if they are older, but they do not consider the teenage father to be of equal standing as a father.



### **6.3.5 Needs of unmarried adolescent fathers**

The needs of unmarried teenage fathers as expressed or evident from interaction with them are for social skills, support and intervention that can build self-confidence. This they expressed in relation to their birth parents, their natal partners, the parents of the natal partner and their peers. They often feel under pressure from them to perform beyond what would be expected of their non-parent peers hence they put themselves under pressure to prove their capability to negotiate and manage their fathering role in addition to being an adolescent. Having to perform this dual role at a time when other developmental life tasks are still being negotiated requires nurturing in order to ensure sustained involvement.

Life skills training for the unmarried adolescent father is therefore a priority to facilitate the development of a healthy self-image, which in turn enhances his ability to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to fulfil his obligations as father and partner.

### **6.3.6 Discriminatory institutional practices**

The Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock Act (No. 108 of 1996), the Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock (Act 86 of 1997), the Adoption Matters Amendment Act (Act 56 of 1998), the draft Family Policy and the Children's Bill which affords greater consideration to the unmarried father. However in practice the unmarried adolescent father is still subjected to hostile attitudes and behaviour compared to older and financially more secured unmarried fathers.

## **6.4 Recommendations**

### **6.4.1 Specifically designed programmes**

Training courses for social workers, health care personnel, legal practitioners, educators and cognate services are urgently needed to enhance their knowledge about and understanding of the full spectrum of teen fathers' circumstances and needs. The other professions are included as social workers often rely on them to provide comprehensive services.

### **6.4.2 Services for teenage parents**

The need for early intervention is strongly indicated as sexual activity starts at a young age. Direct services such as case-, group- and community work will serve as meaningful methods of practice. The foci of such services and programmes should emphasise

- (1) Family structure, relationships and responsibilities,
- (2) Building of self-esteem,
- (3) Assertiveness, communication skills and conflict management,
- (4) Relationship enhancement skills including management of sexual aspects,

- (5) Stages of human development (life stage theories),
- (6) Linking to resources in and around the teenage father's community, and
- (7) Raising awareness of relevant policies and legislation.

In addition to providing direct services, it is also important that service providers embark on interventions to

- Advocate to become more inclusive in order to deal with the marginalisation of teenage fathers;
- Be brokers for the rights of teenage fathers so that they can be considered in line with the stipulations of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997); and
- Educate the public at large through awareness-raising and conscientising regarding the rights, responsibilities of teenage fathers and the challenges that confront them.

#### **6.4.3 Intervention for grandparents**

Psycho-educational and support services for the parents of teenage parents is indicated as they are plummeted in an unplanned role as grandparents who often, due to the lack of life experience of teenage parents, are compelled to assume the role as advisor, caregiver, and supporter of the teenage parent and his progeny.

#### **6.4.4 Training and re-orientation of social workers**

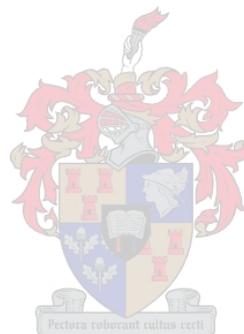
This study should be considered by training institutions to address current shortcomings in service delivery to teen parents and teen fathers in particular. In part the training and re-orientation of should also challenge the gender bias often found in the social work curricula and practice.

#### **6.4.5 Consultation with other role players**

Institutions such as legal services, education and health care services that are often involved with teenage parents should be sensitised so that those affected can be referred timeously for the required intervention.

#### 6.4.6 Research

Further research is necessary to investigate the social and cultural aspects of adolescent fatherhood in order to develop relevant and specifically designed services for teenage fathers with specific needs.



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## Social work service delivery to unmarried adolescent fathers

My name is **Patrick Smith** and I am a doctoral student in Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch. My study leader is **Professor Sulina Green**, Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch. My study deals with unmarried adolescent fatherhood - as far as I could ascertain a topic on which no previous research has been done. As a social worker I believe that the lack of information on the topic is one of the main reasons why there are so few or no services available to adolescent fathers.

The study includes interviews with adolescent fathers who meet the following criteria:

- adolescent fathers who admit to fatherhood;
- adolescent fathers who are preferably still at school or who were at school at the time of the birth of the baby, and/or
- adolescent fathers who are still dependent on their parents or a caretaker.

If you meet these criteria and are willing to participate in this study, I would appreciate you contacting me at the contact numbers listed below. I will then arrange for an interview with you at a time and venue which you find convenient.

During the interview you will be requested to supply information about yourself, your family, fatherhood in general, your relationship with your baby/child and his/her mother and your views on the future.

Your participation in the study is voluntary and all information will be regarded as confidential. If you prefer you may use a pseudonym. As the recording of interviews will enhance the research process, your permission will be asked to audio-record the interview. You are, however, allowed to decline this request. Transcriptions of the recordings will be locked in a safe. Only the study leader and myself will have access to these transcriptions. If, at any stage, you feel that you wish to withdraw from the interview, you may do so.

The information gathered through the interviews with the participants will be processed in its entirety. It would therefore not be possible to identify a specific participant or connect information to a specific individual who participated in the study. Information you supplied will thus remain anonymous. The findings of the study will be published in my doctoral thesis as well as in professional journals for social workers.

I am of the opinion that participation in the study does not present any risks. If, however, you feel that you require counselling as a result of participating in the interview, I will gladly assist you with a referral to an organisation which can assist you.

Lastly I would like to mention that knowledge obtained through this study will be extremely valuable to social workers, nursing staff and other service providers working with adolescent fathers. Your willingness to share your

insights and experiences will contribute to the expansion of knowledge and would therefore be greatly appreciated.

My contact details are as follows:

Patrick Smith (Lecturer)  
Department of Social Development  
University of Cape Town  
Private Bag  
Rondebosch 7701

Tel: (021) 650 3485

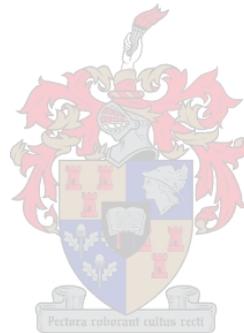
Fax: (021) 689 2739

E-mail: [smith@humanities.uct.ac.za](mailto:smith@humanities.uct.ac.za)

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely

PJD Smith



## Maatskaplikewerk dienslewering aan ongetroude tienervaders

My naam is **Patrick Smith** en ek is 'n doktrale student in die maatskaplike werk aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Die studieleier is **Professor Sulina Green**, hoof van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. My navorsing handel oor ongetroude tienervaders – 'n onderwerp waaroor daar, volgens my wete, nog nie vantevore 'n studie gedoen is nie. As maatskaplike werker glo ek dat die gebrek aan inligting een van die vernaamste redes is waarom daar geen of weinig dienste vir tienervaders beskikbaar is.

Die studie behels onderhoude met tienervaders wat aan die volgende kriteria voldoen:

- tienervaders wat vaderskap erken
- tienervaders wat verkieslik nog op skool is of op skool was ten tye van die baba se geboorte, en/of
- tienervaders wat self nog afhanklik is van 'n ouer(s) of versorger(s).

Indien u aan hierdie kriteria voldoen en bereid is om aan die studie deel te neem, sal ek dit waardeer indien u my kontak by die besonderhede wat aan die einde van hierdie brief verskyn. Ek sal dan met u 'n onderhoud reël by 'n toeganklike lokaal en op 'n tyd wat vir u geleë is.

Tydens die onderhoud sal u versoek word om inligting te verskaf oor uself, u gesin, vaderskap in die algemeen, u verhouding met u baba/kind en sy/haar moeder en u toekomsbeskouinge.

U deelname aan die studie is vrywillig en alle inligting sal streng vertroulik hanteer word. Indien so verkies, kan u van 'n skuilnaam gebruik maak. Aangesien dit die navorsingsproses aansienlik sal vergemaklik, sal u toestemming gevra word dat die onderhoud op band opgeneem word. U mag egter toestemming hiervoor weier. Transkripsies van die bandopnames sal in 'n kluis toegesluit word. Slegs die navorser en die studieleier sal toegang tot die transkripsies hê. Indien u op enige tydstip voel dat u nie wil voortgaan nie, staan dit u vry om van die proses te onttrek.

Die inligting wat verkry word uit die onderhoude sal anoniem verwerk word. Dit sal dus nie moontlik wees om 'n spesifieke persoon of inligting wat deur 'n spesifieke persoon verskaf is, te identifiseer nie. Inligting wat u verskaf het, bly dus anoniem. Bevindinge wat uit die studie gemaak word sal in my doktrale tesis en in vaktydskrifte vir maatskaplike werkers gepubliseer word.

Indien u tydens u deelname aan die studie meen dat u berading benodig, sal ek u behulpsaam wees met 'n verwysing na 'n toepaslike organisasie. Ek glo egter dat deelname aan die studie geen risiko's vir u sal inhou nie.

Die kennis wat deur hierdie studie ingewin sal word sal waarskynlik van groot waarde wees vir maatskaplike werkers, verpleegkundiges en ander persone wat met tienervaders in aanraking kom. U deelname sal 'n belangrike bydrae tot die uitbreiding van hierdie kennis lewer, en sal dus verwelkom word.

My kontakbesonderhede is as volg:

Patrick Smith (Lektor)  
Departement Maatskaplike Ontwikkeling  
Universiteit van Kaapstad  
Privaatsak  
Rondebosch 7701

Tel: (021) 650 3485

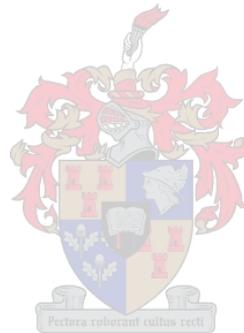
Faks: (021) 689 2739

E-pos: [smith@humanities.uct.ac.za](mailto:smith@humanities.uct.ac.za)

Met vriendelike groete.

Die uwe

PJD Smith



## Informed Consent

### Social work with unmarried adolescent fathers

**Researcher** (Doctoral student): Patrick JD Smith  
Department of Social Development  
University of Cape Town  
Private Bag  
Rondebosch 7701

Tel: (021) 650 3485      Fax: (021) 689 2739

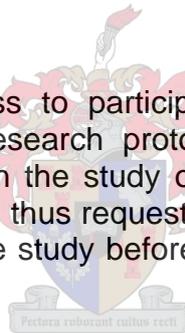
E-mail: [smith@humanities.uct.ac.za](mailto:smith@humanities.uct.ac.za)

**Research supervisor:** Prof. Sulina Green  
Department of Social Work  
University of Stellenbosch

Tel: (021) 808 2070

Dear Respondent

Thank you for your willingness to participate voluntarily in this research project. In accordance with research protocol you are requested to give written consent to participate in the study once you have been informed of what the study entails. You are thus requested to familiarise yourself with the following detail pertaining to the study before signing the consent form at the end of this document.



The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the experiences of unmarried adolescent fathers.

The study entails interviews with the abovementioned researcher or a research assistant. The first part of the interview consist of sharing identifying particulars e.g. your name, age and level of education with the researcher. During the next part of the interview you will be asked to respond to questions about your experiences, feelings, relationships, fatherhood and decisions that had to be made before and after the baby was born.

The interview(s) will be scheduled for a time which suits you and at a venue that is accessible and private. The duration and number of interviews that will be conducted will be negotiated during your first meeting with the researcher.

With your permission your responses will be recorded on an interview schedule and with an audio-recorder. Transcriptions of the interview(s) will be kept in a locked cabinet and will only be accessible to the researcher and the research supervisor. All information obtained during the course of this study will be treated with confidentiality and you may use a pseudonym to ensure anonymity and increase confidentiality. Your participation in this research

project is voluntary and you will remain at liberty to terminate your involvement at any point.

All data gathered during this study will be analysed as a whole and documented in a way which ensures that no individual or individual contributions could be identified. Research finding will be published in a dissertation and in professional journals for social workers.

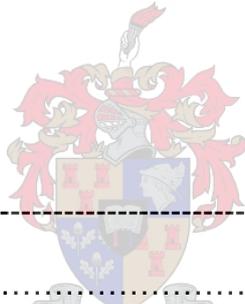
I believe that your participation in this study does not pose any threat to you. However, should you during the course of the interviews(s) request to be referred to an organisation for counselling, I will gladly assist you with a referral.

Finally I would like to mention that social workers and other service providers will be able to improve services to adolescent fathers once data on the topic becomes available. Your insights and experiences will make a valuable contribute to this process.

If you agree to participate in the study, you are requested to sign the consent form to indicate your willingness.

Yours sincerely

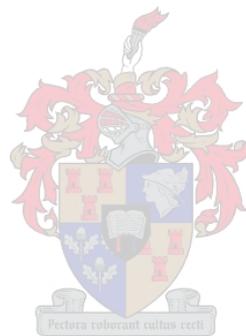
PJD Smith  
Researcher



-----  
I (name and surname) .....  
declare that I understand what the study entails and that I am willing to  
participate as a respondent.

Signature.....

Date.....



## Toestemmingsvorm

### Maatskaplikewerk dienslewering aan ongetroude tienervaders

**Navorsers** (doktorale student): Patrick JD Smith

Departement Maatskaplike Ontwikkeling  
Universiteit van Kaapstad  
Privaatsak  
Rondebosch 7701

Tel: (021) 650 3485      Faks: (021) 689 2739

E-pos: [smith@humanities.uct.ac.za](mailto:smith@humanities.uct.ac.za)

**Studieleier:**

Prof. Sulina Green  
Departement Maatskaplike Werk  
Universiteit van Stellenbosch

Tel: (021) 808 2070

Geagte Respondent

Baie dankie vir u bereidwilligheid om vrywillig aan hierdie navorsingsprojek deel te neem. Die navorsingsprotokol vereis dat u deur middel van hierdie vorm aandui dat u weet wat die studie behels en dat u bereid is om daaraan deel te neem. U word versoek om die inligting rakende die studie sorgvuldig te lees alvorens u die vorm onderteken.

Die doel van die studie is om beter insig te verkry in die lewensbeskouinge en die ervaringswêreld van die ongehude tienervader.

Die studie behels die voer van onderhoud deur die navorsers of navorsingsassistent. In die eerste gedeelte van die onderhoud word die respondent versoek om identifiserende besonderhede soos byvoorbeeld naam, ouderdom en skoolstander te verskaf. In die daaropvolgende gedeelte van die onderhoud kry die respondent kans om vrae te beantwoord oor aspekte soos sy belewenisse rondom vaderskap, gevoelens, idees, verhoudings en besluite wat voor en na die geboorte van die baba geneem moes word.

Die onderhoud(e) sal, op 'n tyd wat vir u gerieflik is, plaasvind by 'n plek wat vir u maklik bereikbaar is en wat privaat is. Die tydsduur van die onderhoud(e) en die aantal onderhoude wat gevoer sal word, sal tydens u eerste gesprek met die navorsers vasgestel word.

Indien u daartoe toestem, sal inligting neergeskryf en/of op band vasgelê word. Die transkripsies sal in 'n kluis toegesluit word, en slegs die navorsers

en die studieleier sal daartoe toegang hê. Alle inligting wat tydens die studie ingewin word sal as streng vertroulik hanteer word. U kan ook 'n skuilnaam gebruik ten einde anonimiteit te verseker en vertroulikheid te verhoog. U deelname aan hierdie studie is vrywillig en dit staan u vry om op enige tyd u betrokkeheid te beëindig.

Al die inligting wat tydens die studie ingesamel word sal anoniem verwerk word en die bevindinge sal in 'n navorsingsverslag en vaktydskrifte vir maatskaplike werkers gepubliseer word. Hierdie verslag sal nie individuele menings weerspieël nie en geen individu of individuele insette sal daaruit geïdentifiseer kan word nie.

Ek is daarvan oortuig dat deelname aan die studie vir u geen bedreiging inhoud nie. Indien u egter tydens die navorsingsonderhoude berading benodig, sal ek u graag bystaan met 'n verwysing na 'n toepaslike organisasie.

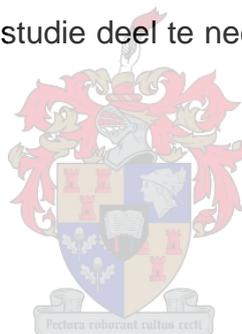
Ten slotte noem ek graag dat maatskaplike werkers tot meer effektiewe dienslewering aan tienervaders in staat sal wees indien hulle die problematiek daarrondom beter begryp. U insigte en ervarings sal 'n waardevolle bydrae hiertoe lewer.

Indien u bereid is om aan die studie deel te neem, word u versoek om hierdie vorm te onderteken.

Dankie vir u deelname.

Die uwe

PJD Smith  
Navorsers



-----  
Hiermee verklaar ek die ondergetekende (naam en van)

.....  
dat ek begryp wat die studie behels en dat ek bereid is om daaraan deel te neem.

Handtekening .....

Datum.....

## Report on interview

1. Name of respondent: # of interview:

2. Place of interview:

3. Duration of interview:

---

4. Comment on the venue (e.g. accessibility, privacy):

5. Behaviour of respondent during interview (E.g. indications of tension, concentration span):

6. Mood of respondent (indications of anxiety, tension):



7. Level of participation of respondent:

8. Observations:

9. General comments:

### Verslag oor onderhoud

1. Naam van respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ # van onderhoud: \_\_\_\_\_
  
  2. Plek waar onderhoud plaasgevind het:
  
  3. Tydsduur van onderhoud:
- 
4. Opmerkings oor die plek waar die onderhoud gevoer is (bv. toeganklikheid, privaatheid )
  
  5. Gedrag van respondent tydens die onderhoud tekens van spanning (bv tekens van spanning, konsentrasievermoë)
  
  6. Gemoedstoestand waarin respondent tydens die onderhoud verkeer het (bv. angsvlak, emosies)
- 
7. Mate waarin respondent aan onderhoud deelgeneem het
  
  8. Ander waarnemings
  
  9. Algemene opmerkings

**Interview Schedule: Social work with unmarried teenage fathers**

**Respondent:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Dates of interviews:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**Place of Interview:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

<p><b>A Demographic information</b></p>	<p>A.1 Name (optional): _____</p>	<p>A.2 Address: _____</p>	<p>A.3 School standard: _____</p>	<p>A.4 Date of birth: _____</p>	<p>A.5 Age: _____</p>	<p>A.6 Who are you living with? _____</p>	<p>A.7 Number of children in your family of origin? _____</p>	<p>A.8 Do you live in an extended family? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>	<p>A.9 If yes, who all live in this family arrangement?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>A.10 Indicate the types of jobs the following members of your family or caregivers do:</p>	<p>Father: _____</p>	<p>Mother: _____</p>
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Siblings: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

A.11 How would you define the socio-economic standing of your family if you consider the educational, occupational, social status and area of residence of your family?

Middle class: Parent/s or caregiver/s hold white collar/managerial or highly skilled work after tertiary education

Working class: Parent/s or caregiver/s work regularly in semi-skilled or clerical jobs

Lower class: Parent/s or caregiver/s is/are often out of work or unemployed and when employed do menial jobs.



**B Status of children born in your family**

B.1 How many children does your family consist of? \_\_\_\_\_

B.2 What is your position in the order of children born in your family e.g. oldest, youngest? \_\_\_\_\_

B.3 Were any children in your family born out of wedlock? Yes No

B.4 Were you born out of wedlock? Yes No

B.5 Do any of your brothers or sisters have children born out-of-wedlock?

Yes No

B.6 Did you tell your parent/s or caregiver/s about your partner being pregnant?

Yes No

B.7 Describe their reaction/s.

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B.8 Did you ever anticipate being a teenage father?

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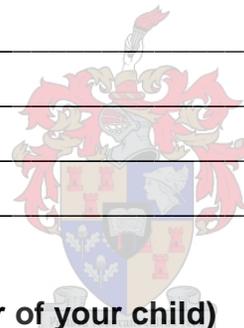
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**C Information about your natal partner (the mother of your child)**

C.1 Mother's age: \_\_\_\_\_

C.2 Was she at school when she fell pregnant?      Yes    No

C.3 If yes, in what school standard? \_\_\_\_\_

C.4 Is she back at school?      Yes    No

C.5 If you have fathered more than one child, were the others born from the same liaison?

Yes    No

C.6 Number of children you have fathered? \_\_\_\_\_

C.7 Focal child's age? \_\_\_\_\_

**D Relationship with your natal partner**

D.1 How long have you been going out with your natal partner? \_\_\_\_\_

D.2 Do you still have a relationship? Yes No

D.3 How would you describe the nature your relationship at the beginning?

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D.4 How long after your relationship started did it become intimate?

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D.5 Were you at any stage concerned about the possibility of a pregnancy?

Yes No

D.6 What precautions did you take to avoid a pregnancy?

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D.7 What would you ascribe the eventual pregnancy to? (E.g. your wish to be a father, etc.)

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D.8 After the pregnancy was confirmed, did you consider an abortion at any stage?

Yes No

D.9 What other possibilities did you consider regarding the pregnancy e.g. foster care, adoption, etc.?

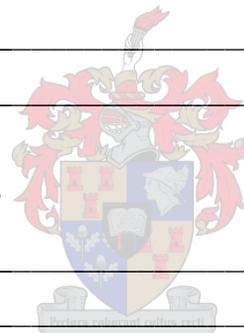
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D.10 How do you presently feel about your natal partner?



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**E Sexual Developmental History**

E.1 When did you first become aware of your sexuality/sexual self?

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E.2 Were you ever attracted to a member of your own sex?      Yes    No

E.3 What was the nature of the attraction?

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E.4 How long did the attraction last?

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E.5 Was the pregnancy an attempt to end the attraction?

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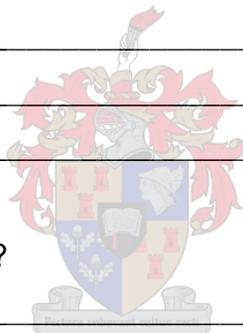
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E.6 How do you feel about yourself as a man?

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E.7 During your development you must have conjured up ideas of what makes of a man, a man? What are yours?

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E.8 Would you agree that one's peers influences your sexual activity? Yes No

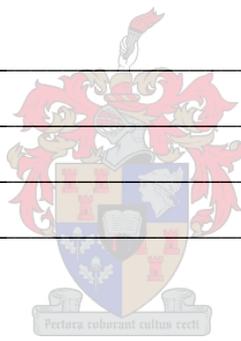
E.9 If yes, describe how:

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E.10 First sexual experience.

- (i) How old were you at the time of your first sexual experience? \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) At the time what knowledge did you have and what was your attitude towards the use of contraceptives?

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(iii) What is now your attitude towards the use of contraceptives?

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E.11 How many sexual partners did you have to date? \_\_\_\_\_

E.12 What is your attitude regarding the following types of associations/relationships?

Opportunistic sex such as one nightstands? \_\_\_\_\_

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Challenged sex (being challenged by friends)? \_\_\_\_\_

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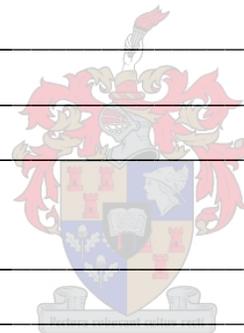
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Sex as a prerequisite for a relationship? \_\_\_\_\_

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<p>F.5 Were you involved with the antenatal care of your child e.g. attending ante-clinic with your partner?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes    No</p>		
<p>F.6 Did you make any contributions to your partner during her pregnancy?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes    No</p>		
<p>F.7 Describe the nature of your contribution/s:</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>F.8 Did your family make any contributions to your natal partner during her pregnancy?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes    No</p>		
<p>F.9 Describe the nature of their contributions.</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>F.10 Does your child carry your name?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes    No</p>		
<p>F.11 Discuss any difficulties, contradictions or tensions you are experiencing regarding your perceived role as father.</p> <hr/> <hr/>		

**G Themes for discussion**

G.1 What meaning do you attach to or what is your understanding of fatherhood?

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G.2 What factors or experiences influence your impressions or perceptions of fatherhood?

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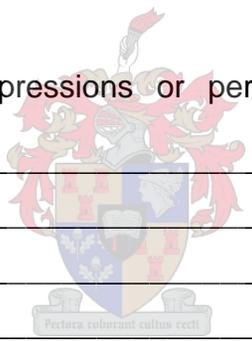
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G.3 What ideas/notions does your understanding of "being there" in fatherhood engender?

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G.4 What is your understanding of "responsibility" as a father?

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G.5 In your opinion, how important is a father in the life of a child?

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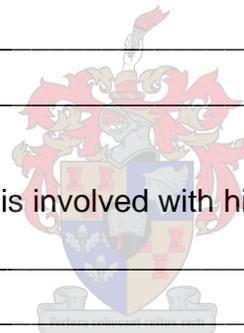
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G.6 What are your impressions or ideas of a father who is involved with his children?

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G.7 What do you currently consider as obstacles to your involvement with your child?

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G.8 What do you anticipate to be possible future obstacles to your involvement with your child?

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G.9 How do you think the “world” views you as an unmarried teenage father?

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G.10 Will the perception people have of you interfere with or curtail your responsibilities as a father and under what circumstances?

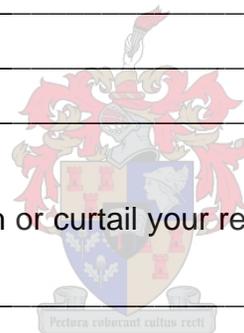
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**H Relationship with your birth father**

H.1 Is your birth father still alive? Yes No

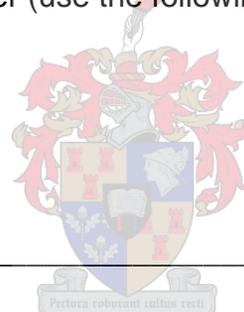
H.2 Do you have contact with your birthfather? Yes No

H.3 How often do you have contact with your birth father?

- Daily (resides with respondent or living arrangements allows daily contact)
- Regularly (weekly)
- Often (every 2 to 4 weeks)
- Occasionally (3-4 times per year)
- Seldom (Less than 1x per annum)
- Never

H.4 Describe the quality of your attachment to your father (use the following to assist you):

- Unknown
- Absent
- Never Involved
- Involved but distant
- Nurturing
- Other (explain): \_\_\_\_\_



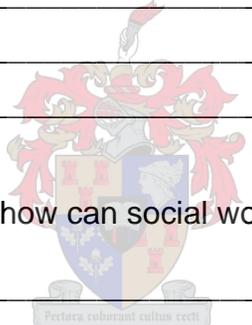
H.5 When you are in the presence of friends/people talking about their fathers, what memories comes to mind?

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<p>H.6 Did you and your father ever talk about your future?      Yes      No</p>		
<p>H.7 If yes, what was the nature and contents of your discussions?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p><b>I Social work services</b></p>		
<p>I.1 Did you and/or your natal partner ever seek social work counselling or support at any stage during the pregnancy?</p>		
<p>I.2 If <b>yes</b>, what were your impressions of the service?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<p style="text-align: center;">Yes      No</p>	
<p>I.3 If <b>no</b>, were you aware that such service is available?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>I.4 If you consulted a social worker for services, were you made to feel comfortable?</p>		

<p>Comment.</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>I.5 How did you as a teenage father feel or were you made to feel?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>I.6 What do you consider to be your current needs and how can social workers assist you?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<p>I.7 Would you be interested in receiving counselling or attending a programme for teenage fathers if offered?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Yes      No</p>		
<p>I.8 What would you like to see included in counselling or a programme for teenage</p>		

fathers?

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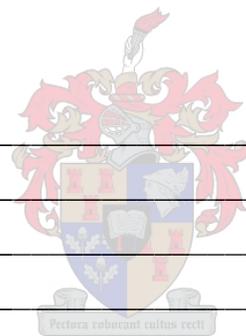
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**J** Any other comments



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Thank you

## Onderhoudskedule: Maatskaplike werk met ongehude tienervaders

Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_

Datums van onderhoude: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Plek van onderhoud: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

<p><b>A Demografiese Inligting</b></p> <p>A.1 Naam (opsioneel): _____</p> <p>A.2 Adres: _____</p> <p>A.3 Skoolstanderd: _____</p> <p>A.4 Geboortedatum: _____ A.5 Ouderdom: _____</p> <p>A.6 By wie woon u? _____</p> <p>A.7 Aantal kinders in u gesin van herkoms? _____</p> <p>A.8 Woon u in 'n uitgebreide-gesin? <span style="margin-left: 100px;">Ja</span> <span style="margin-left: 20px;">Nee</span></p> <p>A.9 Indien, ja, wie woon almal in hierdie gesinsopset?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>A.10 Dui aan watter tipe werk die volgende lede van u gesin of versorgers verrig:</p> <p>Vader: _____</p>		
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Moeder: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Susters/ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Broers \_\_\_\_\_

A.11 Hoe sou u die sosio-ekonomiese-status van u gesin definieer in aggenome die opvoedkundige, beroeps- en maatskaplike faktore en woonplek:

Middelklas: Ouer/s of versorger/s beklee witboordjie-/bestuursposte of hoogsgekolde werk na hoëronderwys.

Werkersklas: Ouer/s of versorger/s werk gereeld en beklee geskolde of klerklike werk.

Laerklas: Ouer/s of versorger/s is gereeld/dikwels werkloos of beklee laag- of ongeskolde arbeid.



## B Kinders in u gesin van herkoms

B.1 Hoeveel kinders is in u gesin? \_\_\_\_\_

B.2 Watter posisie beklee u in die rangorde van kinders in u gesin bv. oudste, jongste?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

B.3 Was enige van die kinders in u gesin buite die huwelik gebore?

Ja Nee

B.4 Was u buite die huwelik gebore?

Ja Nee

B.5 Het enige van u susters of broers kinders wie buite die huwelik gebore is?

Ja Nee

B.6 Het u u ouer/s of versorger/s vertel dat u rnaat/vriendin swanger is?

Ja Nee

B.7 Beskryf hul reaksie/s.

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B.8 Het u dit enigins in die vooruitsig gestel dat u 'n tiener vader sou wees?

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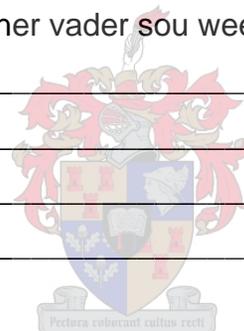
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### C Inligting aangaande u natale maat (u kind se ma)

C.1 Haar ouderdom: \_\_\_\_\_

C.2 Was sy op skool toe sy swanger geraak het? Ja Nee

C.3 Indien ja in watter skoolstanderd was sy toe die kind gebore is? \_\_\_\_\_

C.4 Is sy terug op skool? Ja Nee

C.5 Indien u meer as een kind het, was die ander uit dieselfde verhouding gebore?

Ja Nee

C.6 Hoeveel kinders het u? \_\_\_\_\_

C.7 Fokus kind se ouderdom? \_\_\_\_\_

**D Die verhouding met u natale maat**

D.1 Vir hoe lank het u 'n verhouding met u natale maat gehad? \_\_\_\_\_

D.2 Het u nog steeds 'n verhouding? Ja Nee

D.3 Wat was die aard van die verhouding in die aanvangstadium?

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D.4 Hoe lank nadat u 'n verhouding begin het, het dit intiem geword?

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D.5 Was julle op enige tydstip bekommerd oor die moontlikheid van swangerskap?

Ja Nee

D.6 Watter pogings is aangewend om swangerskap te voorkom?

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D.7 Waaraan sou u die uiteindelijke swangerskap toeskryf? (Bv. u wens om 'n vader te wees, ens.)

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D. 8 Nadat swangerskap bevestig is, was 'n aborsie op enige tydstip oorweeg?

Ja Nee

D.9 Watter ander noontlike stappe het u oorweeg ten opsigte van die swangerskap  
bv. pleegsorg, aanneming, ens?

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D.10 Hoe voel u tans teenoor u natale maat?

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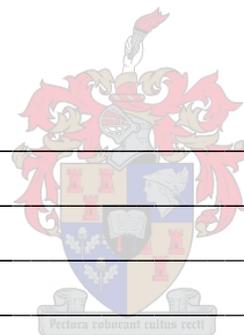
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**E Seksuele~ontwikkelingsgeskiedenis**

E.1 Op watter ouderdom het u bewus geword van u seksualiteit/seksuele self?

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E.2 Het u op enige tydstip aangetrokke gevoel tot 'n persoon van u eie geslag?

Ja Nee

E.3 Wat was die aard van u aangetrokkenheid?

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E.4 Hoe lank het die aangetrokkenheid geduur?

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E.5 Was die swangerskap 'n poging om die aangetrokkenheid te beeindig?

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E.6 Hoe voel u omtrent uself as 'n man?

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E.7 Gedurende u ontwikkeling moes daar idees by u opgekom het ten opsigte van wat maak 'n man 'n man. Wat is joune?

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E.8 Sou u saamstem dat 'n individu se portuurgroep sy seksuele aktiwiteite kan beïnvloed?

Ja Nee

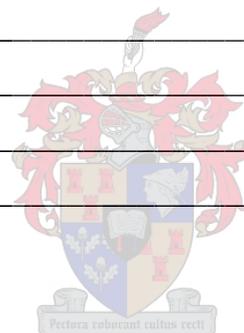
E.9 Indien ja, beskryf hoe?

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E.10 Eerste seksuele ervaring.

(i) Hoe oud was u ten tye van u eerste seksuele ervaring? \_\_\_\_\_

(ii) Wat was u kennis aangaande en houding jeens die gebruik van voorbehoedmiddels op daardie tydstip?

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(iii) Wat is tans u houding teenoor die gebruik van voorbehoedmiddels?

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\_\_\_\_\_

E.11 Hoeveel seksuele-maats het u tot op hede gehad? \_\_\_\_\_

E.12 Wat is u beskouing van die volgende tipes seksuele ervarings/verhoudings?

Geleentheidsseks: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Uitdaging-seks (dikwels op uitdaging van vriende): \_\_\_\_\_

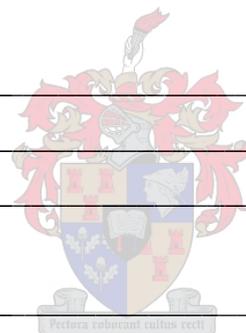
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Seks as 'n voorvereiste vir 'n verhouding: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



**F Verhoudings en Ondersteuning/Steunstelsels**

F.1 Beoordeel volgens die volgende skaal u verhoudings met die volgende persone:

**1 = nie baie betrokke nie; 2 = betrokke verhouding; 3 = noue betrokke verhouding:**



F.7 Beskryf die aard van u bydrae:

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F.8 Het u gesin enige bydrae gelewer tydens u maat se swangerskap?

Ja Nee

F.9 Beskryf die aard van hulle bydrae.

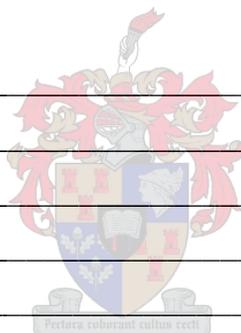
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F.10 Het u kind u naam?

Ja Nee

F.11 Is daar enige probleme, teenstrydighede of konflik wat u ervaar aangaande die persepsies wat u gehad het omtrent u rol as 'n vader?

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**G Temas vir bespreking**

G.1 Watter betekenis heg u aan of wat is u begrip van "vaderskap"?

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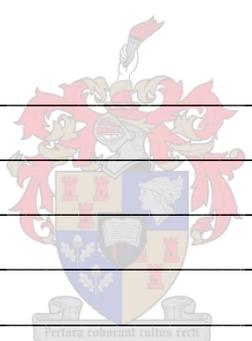
G.2 Watter faktore of ervarings beïnvloed/bou u indrukke of persepsies van vaderskap?

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G.3 Watter gedagtes of indrukke word by u ontketen met die begrip "om daar te wees" in vaderskap?

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G.4 Wat is u beskouing van "verantwoordelik wees" as vader?

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G.5 Na u mening hoe belangrik is 'n pa in sy kind se lewe?

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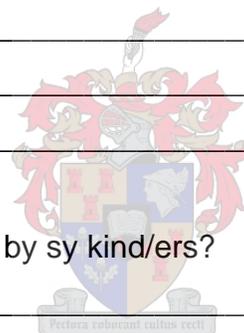
G.6 Wat is u indrukke of idees van 'n pa wat betrokke is by sy kind/ers?

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G.7 Wat beskou u huidiglik as struikelblokke ten opsigte van u betrokkenheid by/met u kind?

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G.8 Wat sou u as struikelblokke beskou in u toekomstige betrokkenheid met u kind?

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G.9 Wat dink u is die gemeenskap se siening van u as 'n ongehude tiener vader?

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G.10 Sal die siening wat mense van u het, enigsins tussentree of u verantwoordelikhede as vader kortwiek en onder welke omstandighede?

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## H Verhouding met u eie vader

H. 1 Leef u eie vader nog? Ja Nee

H.2 Het u kontak met u eie vader: Ja Nee

H.3 Hoe dikwels het u kontak met u vader?

- Daaglik (respondent woon by sy vader/ouers of is in daaglikse kontak weens die verblyfreelings)
- Gereeld (weeklik)
- Dikwels (elke 2 to 4 weke)
- Soms (ongeveer 4 keer per jaar)
- Selde (minder as een keer per jaar)
- Nooit (beskryf): \_\_\_\_\_

H.4 Beskryf die kwaliteit van u gebondenheid met u vader (gebruik die volgende kriteria as 'n riglyn):

- Onbekend
- Afwesig
- Nooit betrokke nie
- Betrokke maar verwyderd
- Betrokke
- Ander (verduidelik): \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_



H.5 Wanneer u in die teenwoordigheid van vriende of persone is en hulle praat oor hul vaders, watter herinneringe roep dit vir u op?

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H.6 Het u en u vader enigsins gesels oor u toekoms? Ja Nee

H.7 Indien ja, wat was die aard en inhoud van u besprekings?

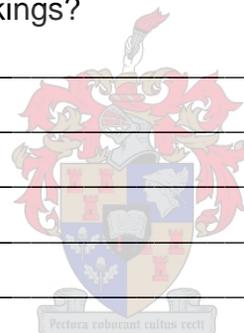
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### I Maatskaplikewerk dienste

I.1 Het u en/of u natale maat op enige stadium tydens die swangerskap maatskaplike werkberading of hulpverlening ontvang?

Ja Nee

I.2 Indien ja, wat was u indrukke omtrent die diens?

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I.3 Indien nee, was u bewus dat maatskaplike werk dienste beskikbaar is?

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I.4 Indien u van maatskaplike-werkdienste gebruik gemaak het, wat is u indrukke van die diens?

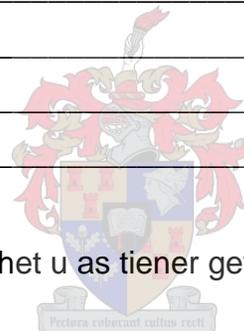
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I.5 Uit die aard van die dienste wat u ontvang het, hoe het u as tiener gevoel of was u gemaak voel?



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I.6 Wat is nou u behoeftes en hoe dink u kan maatskaplike werkers u help?

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I.7 Sou u belangstel in of bereid wees om vir berading te gaan of 'n program vir tiener vaders by te woon indien dit aangebied sou word?

Ja Nee

I.8 Wat sou u graag wou sien ingesluit word in berading of 'n program vir tiener vaders?

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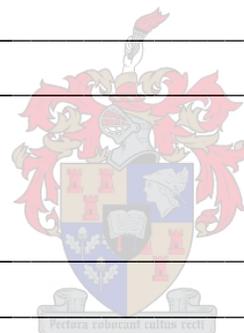
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**J Enige ander kommentaar/ opmerkings:**

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Baie dankie

## Social work intervention for unmarried teenage fathers

### Interview schedule for service providers

1. The history of the service
2. Organisations' philosophy
3. The current understanding of the agency's *raison d'être*.
4. The services provided to clients
5. Agency personnel
6. Views about services to teenage fathers
7. The perceived needs of teenage fathers
8. Changes to be made if services were to be expanded to serve unmarried adolescent fathers.

