The Adult Consequences of Adolescent Fatherhood on Marital Satisfaction, Parental Satisfaction, and Psychological Well-Being

DISSERTATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Although much has been written about the growing numbers of adolescent mothers, including the etiology and consequences of this life event (e.g., Card & Wise, 1978; Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Morgan, 1987; Lamb & Elster, 1985; Levine, Coll, & Oh, 1985), adolescent fathers have received little research attention. However, like adolescent mothers, adolescent fathers have become an increasingly significant segment of the childbearing population in the United States. In 1983, according to the National Center for Health Statistics (1986), there were 109,264 live births known to be fathered by males under twenty years of age. The National Center for Health Statistics has cautioned that this number is a conservative estimate of the actual incidence of adolescent fatherhood because many birth registration forms omit the father's age.

Researchers have been reluctant to study adolescent fathers because they expect them to be
(a) difficult to locate, (b) uncooperative, and (c) uninterested in their children's and partners' welfare. Many feel that the father's role is secondary to the child's developmental outcome (Barret & Robinson, 1982; Robinson, 1988). However, the adolescent father's attitudes toward the conception, pregnancy, and rearing of the child and his resulting behavior influences the nature of the caretaking environment (Barret & Robinson, 1982; Sander & Rosen, 1987; Westney, Cole, & Munford, 1986). Also, the many documented negative social consequences which the adolescent mother experiences are thought to be similar for the adolescent father.

Furstenberg et al. (1987) chronicle these negative social consequences for adolescent mothers in their longitudinal study. They followed 300 pregnant adolescents for 17 years and reported that, when compared with nonmother adolescents, these young women had achieved less education at the five-year and 17-year follow-ups. They were also less likely to be employed than their peers who postponed childbearing. In another longitudinal study of adolescent parents and their nonparent peers, Card and Wise (1978) also reported that adolescent mothers, when they were
employed, were more likely to hold lower prestige positions, with resulting lower income and lower job satisfaction. In the Card and Wise study, former adolescent mothers, by age 29, (a) had had more children, (b) were more likely to have exceeded the number of children they had wanted, and (c) had had more marriages than their peers who postponed childbearing until adulthood.

Another reason for concern with this group of adolescents is their need for special community services and national policies. Case studies of adolescent fathers by practitioners and researchers alike indicate that these adolescents need special community services to stay in school, obtain adequate employment, and to otherwise continue with normal adolescent development (Robinson, 1988). The fact that there is a large number of adolescent fathers, and that historically, these young men have prematurely dropped out of school, has significant implications for national policy in this country. If researchers can identify which factors enable adolescent fathers to achieve comparable adult success with their childless peers, policy makers and practitioners will be more effective in program development and delivery.
Research findings suggest that education may be the single best investment for long-range economic success of adolescent fathers (Card & Wise, 1978; Marsiglio, 1986; Rus-Eft, Sprenger, & Beever 1979). However, current research has failed to identify what factors enhance adult socioemotional well-being for the adolescent father. Thus, once adolescent fathers become adults, it is not clear how or whether they differ from men who fathered as adults.

This study examines some adult socioemotional consequences of fathering a child during adolescence using a national survey of adult men. Men who fathered before their twentieth birthdays were compared to a control group of men who fathered between their twentieth and thirtieth birthdays to examine how this adolescent event impacts on an adult man's socioemotional well-being.

Life-Span Theory

In general terms, life-span theory is a developmental approach to the study of individuals and families. Life-span theorists are interested in "how the experiences and changes of adolescence relate to later events, outcomes, or changes" (Leigh & Loewen, 1987, p. 305). More specifically, it suggests that
fathering a child as an adolescent could be problematic to the adolescent's long-term development. By examining the normative course of life events for individuals of a particular population, researchers can establish a "baseline" of typical behavior. When either an individual or a subsample of the population deviates in some way from this baseline, life-span theorists investigate the off-course behavior with reference to the baseline. These non-normative or "off-time" events constitute stressors that may impede later development and satisfaction with life. Duvall (1971) wrote,

Developmental tasks are defined as tasks that arise at or about a certain time in the life of an individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to his success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks. (p. 139)

Thus, when an adolescent fathers a child, leaves school, and enters the labor force, he fails to complete his age-appropriate tasks of graduating from high school, preparing for a chosen career, and fulfilling social opportunities to develop heterosexual
relationships, learn appropriate intimacy skills, and socialize with peers without parental demands. As a consequence of this loss of opportunity, the self-esteem of the adolescent father can be affected before it is fully developed, and it is this "failure" that can lead to the negative ramifications that Duvall describes.

Normative behavior not only includes the actions of an individual, but the environmental context and the timing of the behavior as well. For example, adult fatherhood during marriage is considered a normative behavior. When fathering occurs before marriage, the standard environmental context is altered. In addition, when fathering occurs before adulthood, the timing of fatherhood becomes non-normative or "off-time."

"Off-time" behavior is related not only to personal consequences for the individual but to consequences for the community as well (Elder, 1975; Neugarten, 1968). For example, when an adolescent male fathers a child, he may leave school early to enter the labor force and support the child. In doing this, he probably gains employment with lower skills and correspondingly lower pay as compared to the adolescent
who remains in school, secures more education, and enters the labor force later. If the pregnancy had not occurred, this same adolescent might have continued in school, training for a more economically, psychologically, and emotionally rewarding career. Consequently, this individual might have achieved a higher socioeconomic status for himself, greater personal success, and higher self-esteem, and the community would have benefitted from a more economically secure adult.

The majority of the male population conceives children during marriage, after acquiring legal adult status, and during their twenties (National Center for Health Statistics, 1986). Thus, fathering children during marriage and after acquiring legal adult status has become the norm for fatherhood among the U.S. population.

The majority of adolescent fathers in the United States have acquired neither adult nor married status. Although the legal age for many adult privileges and responsibilities is 18, many states require that a young person be 21 years of age or older to consume alcoholic beverages and inherit property, thereby gaining full adult status. Using the available
statistics on pregnant adolescents, it appears that marriage is uncommon for adolescent mothers and even rarer for adolescent fathers. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1986) reported that, in 1985, 98% of all adolescent females aged 15-17 and 99.7% of all adolescent males aged 15-17 had never been married. Among 18-19 year olds, 86.7% of all females and 97.1% of all males had never married. Robinson (1988) reported that only 10% of pregnant adolescents marry. Of this small percentage, a large majority marry the adult men who are the fathers of their infants. Thus, the percentage of adolescent fathers who marry their pregnant adolescent partners appears to be small.

Some adolescent fathers conceive children born to adult women. However, these young fathers account for such a small percentage of all adolescent fathers that the few who marry do not significantly raise the total number of married adolescent fathers. In 1983, according to the National Center for Health Statistics (1986), adolescents who fathered infants born to women over 19 years of age accounted for only 18% of the total 109,264 adolescent fathers (232 were under age 15 and 109,032 were ages 15-19). Because so few pregnant adolescents marry adolescent fathers, and because it is
uncommon for adolescent males to father infants born to adult women, it appears that marriage for adolescent fathers is an uncommon phenomenon.

Although the vast majority of adolescent males do not marry the mothers of their children, the responsibilities of fatherhood may create extraordinary demands on their lives. By leaving school to enter the labor force for financial support of their child, not only do they miss opportunities for education, but also for socialization with their peers. While classmates are socializing and learning appropriate social behavior, and intimacy and conflict resolution skills, the adolescent father is consumed with financial and parenting demands without benefit of the social maturity that his peers are acquiring. For the adult, this "gap" in social experiences may lead to lowered self-esteem and poorer outcomes in personal relationships such as an increased risk for dissolutions of marriages and cohabitant relationships and lowered parental satisfaction.

Quality of Life

Life satisfaction is the outcome of interest to quality of life researchers who are interested in an individual's developmental success. During the 1970s,
researchers began to differentiate between economic success and psychological well-being as they realized that previous researchers had mistakenly assumed the two were inseparable parts of one construct. Comprehensive works such as that of Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) and Andrews and Withey (1976) furthered the notion that an individual's perceived satisfaction with his/her life is a separate point of comparison from how the individual scores on objective measures.

Quality of life, life satisfaction, and well-being all refer to a type of subjective, self-imposed standard by which each individual evaluates him/herself. Andrews and Withey (1976) write, "quality of life...refer(s) to the privately known and privately evaluated aspects of life" (p. 4). For this reason, it is an appropriate theoretical framework for looking at the consequences of a non-normative or "off-time" life event.

In past studies on adolescent fatherhood investigators have primarily evaluated these men in relation to American society's standards on educational and economic success. These researchers demonstrated that adults who fathered during adolescence achieve
less education and economic success than their nonfather peers. However, researchers have not examined how this single life event of fathering during adolescence impacts on adult life satisfaction and well-being.

The achievements in material success of men who fathered during adolescence is an objective measure. Their achievements in life satisfaction is a subjective measure. The objective outcomes of educational and economic achievement provide only a partial view of each individual's total life experience. Other objective measurements such as fertility and stability in heterosexual relationships have not been investigated. In addition, the well-being of men in the past may have been assessed via the small number of objective socioeconomic measures because men have been thought to play primarily instrumental roles within the family and community. However, researchers now recognize that a man's socioemotional satisfaction is of equal importance to, but may be intertwined with, subjective issues also. The objective measures of (a) stability in heterosexual relationships and (b) fertility were included in this study for two reasons. First, both of these measures may be affected by early
fatherhood as documented for women in other studies. Second, they have previously been omitted in other studies of objective outcomes.

Domains

Drawing on the work done by Campbell et al. (1976) and Andrews and Withey (1976) on the division of life experience, three segments of total life experience, or what both groups of researchers refer to as "domains" of life, were used in this study. Because other researchers have examined adolescent fathers' education, occupation, and income levels (Card & Wise, 1978; Marsiglio, 1986, 1987; Nakashima & Camp, 1984; Rivara, Sweeney, & Henderson, 1985), the focus of this study was on psychological and family domains.

Marital satisfaction. The first of these domains was marital satisfaction as described by Campbell et al. (1976). Marital satisfaction has been shown to be a strong predictor of overall life satisfaction (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Campbell et al., 1976). An adolescent pregnancy is an abrupt intrusion into the customary courtship process. For this reason, marriages among pregnant adolescents often are not the result of a developmentally normal dating progression. The well-documented high divorce rates of these unions
is one of the consequences. Furthermore, first time marital disruption is positively related to subsequent marital disruption. Thus, the high dissolution of these first marriages would predict that these one-time divorced (former adolescent) fathers, once remarried, would be more likely than men who fathered as adults (in their first marriages) to experience continued marital instability (Levinger, 1976).

Some of these former adolescent fathers will either marry the mother of their child after the birth or marry another woman. Either marriage will continue to be affected by the adolescent birth because the child may become a stressor that lowers the marital quality within any future intimate relationship. If the former adolescent father eventually marries the mother of his child, he immediately becomes the adult male in an already established family system with its resulting responsibilities. If he marries another woman, he often is financially responsible for the child already born which affects his present "new" family and any children born to this union. The new marital relationship also may be affected if the man who fathered as an adolescent seeks visitation with and/or custody of his first child.
However, even for the adolescent father who does not marry, simply having fathered a child during adolescence may impact on any future intimate relationships. This premature pregnancy may have negative psychological consequences for the adolescent father. Given that these adolescents have had non-normative experiences in intimate relationships, they may not have had opportunities to experience normal socialization with positive courtship outcomes. This may lead to unrealistic expectations about intimate relationships and immature behaviors resulting in increased instability in future relationships. Because an adult man's marital satisfaction may be significantly affected by the child he fathered during adolescence, marital satisfaction was included as a domain of investigation in this study.

**Parental satisfaction.** The second domain included in this study was parental satisfaction, which is a subset of the family life domain used in quality of life research (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Campbell et al., 1976). Family life includes assessments of relationships with one's spouse, parents, siblings, and children. In the present study, however, only the subset of parental satisfaction was of interest because
these adolescent fathers became parents prematurely or developmentally "off-time." Many became parents before they had lived independently, secured adequate employment, or completed their formal education. Consequently, these men may lack the emotional maturity and economic support needed for successful parenting. For these reasons, these former adolescent fathers may be less satisfied with their parenting role when they become adults. Parenting may pose a greater intrusion into their adult lives because it competes with other developmental tasks, tasks which their nonfather peers accomplished before becoming parents.

Self. The final domain included in this study was psychological satisfaction or what quality of life researchers term "self" (Andrews & Withey, 1976). Because of accelerated role transition, former adolescent fathers may be more dissatisfied with themselves (i.e., have lower self-esteem, greater depression, and more external locus of control).

These young men added a major role to their lives that their peers postponed. While their nonfather peers were involved in academic, athletic, and other age-appropriate activities, the adolescent fathers often were leaving or postponing school, entering the
labor force with low skill and low pay positions, and sometimes prematurely moving out of their parental homes and/or marrying. Early fatherhood created a personal challenge for these adolescents that their peers did not experience. These adolescent fathers were forced to take on responsibilities for which they were not yet prepared and that left them at risk for lower self-esteem. To the degree that parenting prevented them from achieving their goals, these men may be generally less satisfied with their lives than those men who became fathers "on-time."

Current Research

Problems With Current Research

The few studies of adolescent fathers provide only limited knowledge about the consequences of this "off-time" event. Few compare men who fathered as adolescents with those who fathered as adults. These studies also only allow an assessment of very short-term effects. Researchers who compare adolescent fathers with their adolescent nonfather peers provide information about fathers during adolescence but offer little about the adult implications of adolescent fatherhood (Rivara et al., 1985). Others who have attempted to assess long-term effects make biased
comparisons when they compare adolescent fathers with adult fathers (Lamb & Elster, 1985; Nakashima & Camp, 1984; Robinson, 1988). The vastly different developmental stages of these two groups of subjects do not allow researchers to identify true differences.

In addition to these limitations, only a very limited set of outcomes have been examined. Most studies have examined the effects of adolescent fatherhood on subsequent socioeconomic status, including education, income and occupational prestige. However important these findings, they ignore the broader range of consequences of adolescent fathering.

In addition to the dearth of outcomes that have been studied, some researchers continue to use unsystematic data gathering techniques. Barret and Robinson (1982) suggest that previous studies of adolescent fathers suffer from small sample sizes, inferred data (that is, data on adolescent fathers which are part of a larger study of unmarried fathers), nonrepresentative sampling, biased maternal reports, and post hoc and retrospective analyses. More recently, researchers have called for future studies to use large composite data sets to minimize some of these errors when studying adolescent fathers (Elster & Lamb,
1986). By using the adult respondents from The National Survey of Families and Households (Sweet, Bumpass, & Call, 1988), this study attempted to overcome some of these methodological weaknesses.

Salient Studies

Three indicators of well-being were utilized in this investigation of adolescent fathering: marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, and individual well-being or self. Previous research on adolescent fathers in these three areas has been rare. Consequently, a brief summary of the most significant studies examining these aspects of adolescent fathers, adolescent mothers, and occasionally adult parents will be reviewed here.

Socioeconomic status among adolescent fathers has been the most researched aspect to date. A clear relationship has been established between adolescent motherhood and compromised economic success (Furstenberg et al., 1987). Similarly, adolescent fathers have been found to achieve less education than their nonfather peers (Marsiglio, 1986). Consequently, socioeconomic status was treated as a control variable in this study to limit its potential impact on the effect of adolescent fatherhood on the dependent
variables of marital and parental satisfaction and psychological well-being. A brief summation of the relevant literature on socioeconomic variables is included to provide a background of what is currently known in this area about the adult consequences of adolescent fatherhood.

**Socioeconomic status.** There have been three major studies on adolescent parents in the area of socioeconomic status. Marsiglio (1986) investigated educational attainment among 4844 young men. Using three different groups, those who fathered (a) during adolescence, (b) during their early 20s, or (c) not at all by age 26, Marsiglio found that education levels were lower among adolescent fathers than their non-father peers.

Although the researchers in the other two studies did not study adolescent fathers, their findings on adolescent mothers suggest important implications for future studies of adolescent fathers. The first of these studies is that of Hofferth and Moore (1979) who used the National Longitudinal Surveys of the Labor Market Experiences of Young Women to examine adult economic consequences of adolescent motherhood. They found that when socioeconomic background, academic
ability, and motivation were controlled, adolescent mothers were more likely to have achieved less education, have had more children, and be below the poverty line than later childbearers.

The third study of importance is the Furstenberg et al. (1987) longitudinal study of adolescent mothers. Furstenberg and his associates found that although the education of adolescent mothers was initially impeded by the birth, a surprising number of women continued to attend school into their 30s. More education provides more resources and creates more options for people which may result in greater quality of life. Eventually, an enhanced quality of life also may compensate for the earlier disruption in their developmental progression represented by parenting during adolescence. If former adolescent fathers continue to pursue education, their socioemotional well-being may be positively related to the greater resources and enhanced opportunities that come with higher levels of education. Long-term effects may thus not be as negative as presumed for those fathers who continue to gain education.

Marital satisfaction. There is little empirical support available on how fertility timing influences
marital satisfaction. Two related studies, however, offer some exploratory evidence. First, researchers conducting a recent study investigated the influence of (a) wantedness of the pregnancy, (b) intendedness of the pregnancy, and (c) agreement between the spouses about becoming pregnant on marital satisfaction (Snowden, Schott, Awalt, & Gillis-Knox, 1988). Studying 106 married women at the beginning of pregnancy and again shortly before delivery, this research team reported that when pregnancies are more wanted, intended, and more agreed upon by both spouses, marital satisfaction increases for women, both at the beginning and the end of pregnancy. The implications of this research for the present study suggest that when a pregnancy is either unwanted or unintended or when the partners disagree about becoming pregnant, marital satisfaction is compromised. Again, support for the present study is limited because the wantedness, intendedness, and agreement are not available. However, because 82% of adolescent pregnancies in 1979 were unintended/unwanted (Zelnik & Kantner, 1980), it may be that the marital satisfaction for these former adolescent parents is negatively affected during their adult years.
Investigators conducting the second study (Card & Wise, 1978) followed 375,000 ninth-grade students into their twenties. Of those who had become parents before their twentieth birthday, a statistically significant percentage had more unstable marriages and were more likely to have been married several times by their 29th birthday, thus suggesting lower marital satisfaction. Perhaps because of so few studies of later marital satisfaction among former adolescent fathers, this particular variable becomes all the more important in the present study. Many variables have been found to impact on marital satisfaction, but whether a major life event such as fathering during adolescence can impact on a man's later adult marriage has not been investigated. The study by Card and Wise (1978) suggests that if adolescent fathers ultimately marry and divorce more often during their twenties then, at any one point in time, they also may report less marital satisfaction.

In more global terms, findings from studies summarized by Fedele, Colding, Grossman, and Pollack (1988) indicate that the transition to parenthood is less difficult (a) for older parents (Hobbs & Wimbish, 1977), (b) when the conception occurs after marriage
(Russell, 1974), (c) for couples who have been married longer before the conception occurred (Dyer, 1963; Russell, 1974). Thus, the majority of adolescent fathers would be expected to have more difficulty with this role transition than older and/or stably married fathers.

**Parental satisfaction.** Virtually nothing is known about the parental satisfaction of former adolescent fathers once they become adults. Nakashima and Camp (1984) are the only researchers to even address how adolescent fathers parent their children. They investigated childrearing among adolescent fathers and found no differences between adolescent and adult fathers in their hostile or controlling attitudes toward childrearing. Parental satisfaction among former adolescent fathers, however, has not been reported. Given the changes in an adolescent's life that may occur once he becomes a father, it is possible that his relationship with that child as well as future children may be affected. This may be the result of lower self-esteem, less education, greater marital dissatisfaction, or lower job satisfaction—any one of which might contribute to decreased parental satisfaction. Although the birth of the first child
initiated these changes in the normal life course, the changes may be ultimately responsible for less parental satisfaction even in relationships with subsequent children.

**Self.** Andrews and Withey (1976) described "self" as an important component of overall life satisfaction when they wrote, "...we propose that part of the quality of life is how you feel about yourself and your chances, opportunities, and progress" (p. 266). In the present study, measures of self-esteem, locus of control, depression, and overall life satisfaction were used to measure this component. No studies could be found that directly addressed the latter two measures of depression and overall life satisfaction among adults who were formerly adolescent fathers. However, from studies of depression among adolescent mothers, there was sufficient empirical support to include depression in this study.

First, Brown and Harris (1978) found that depression among women was related to the degree of economic hardship and to the presence of a child under age six. The absence of a close family member as a confidant was reported by Lyons-Roth, Zoll, Connell, and Grunbaum (1986) to increase depression among their
subjects. Garrison and Earls (1986) summarized relevant findings in the area of maternal depression and reported that aspects of social support and early separation from the child have been correlated with increased maternal depression. Accordingly, adolescent fathers, because they experience economic hardship, have children under six, often have experienced early separation from their children, and may lack social support from family and friends, may also experience higher levels of depression than men who fathered "on time."

Two earlier studies of adolescent fathers indicate the merit of including self-esteem and locus of control in the Self domain. The first is a study of 24 unmarried urban black fathers (Robinson & Barret, 1987). The sample included 12 adolescent fathers and 12 adult fathers all of whom were unmarried. No significant differences were found in levels of self-esteem between the two groups. In the second study, adolescent fathers were compared with adolescent nonfathers on locus of control. Again, no significant differences were found (Robinson, Barret, & Skeen, 1983). Current adolescent fathers were compared with nonfather adolescents in both studies. Although no
differences were found during their adolescence, some of the adult ramifications of early fathering (e.g., low job prestige, less education, more unstable marriages) had not been experienced to any effect yet by these young fathers. The present study examines whether adults with this past experience continue to show no differences in self-esteem and locus of control once they experience the adult consequences of early fathering.

**Statement of the Problem**

Men who fathered as adolescents were compared to men who fathered as adults on six separate outcome variables. Those men whose first child was born prior to their twentieth birthday were compared to men whose first child was born after their twentieth birthday. This age categorization has been used by other investigators of the adolescent father (Lamb & Elster, 1985; Marsiglio, 1986). The two groups of adult fathers were compared in three domains: (a) marital satisfaction, (b) parental satisfaction, and (c) self. Controls were placed on the variables of current age, race, exposure time to fatherhood (years since first child was born), number of children, and socioeconomic status to minimize contamination by different age
cohorts, different lengths of time in the fatherhood role, different racial experiences, the demands of different numbers of children, and class differences. In this study, the question addressed was whether one's satisfaction with marriage, parenting, and self (psychological well-being) is affected by the non-normative life event of fathering a child as an adolescent. In more global terms, can a single life event, such as adolescent parenthood, cause such an altered trajectory in the normal life course that one's adult quality of life is affected? Fathering a child before one's twentieth birthday was the non-normative life event, and assessing the level of satisfaction with marriage, parenthood, and self were used as the measures of quality of life.

Research Questions

Given what little research exists on adolescent fathers, many questions still remain about these young men. As adults, do these men differ from men whose children were conceived and born after adolescence? Or are the effects such that they become diluted over time and cannot be detected during a man's middle adult life? Or are they primarily determined by socioeconomic factors? Specifically regarding marital
satisfaction, are men who have fathered during their adolescence less satisfied in their current marriage because of the stresses created by the early pregnancy? Do they have a greater number of intimate relationships and, therefore, greater relationship instability?

As a parent, does the early birth of one child lead to lower parental satisfaction with all children? Although an adolescent pregnancy for young women is highly correlated with greater lifetime fertility, does this same relationship exist for men's fertility?

How does fathering as an adolescent impact later on a man's personal satisfaction? Is his psychological well-being higher or lower as a result of this early experience? Is he more likely to be depressed, or to have a lower self-esteem, or to have a more external locus of control than his peer who fathered during adulthood? Or is his overall perception of his life more or less satisfying than those who father "on-time"?

Given the research on socioeconomic status previously discussed, this variable was controlled in this study. Because the subjects range in age from 18 to 40 years, current age was also controlled to minimize contamination of age cohorts. The subjects
also differed in the length of time since each had initially become a father. Thus, exposure time to fatherhood was controlled to minimize any effects that exist because of more or less time in the father role. The demands on a parent are different with varying numbers of children. Consequently, the number of children were controlled to prevent contamination on the outcome variables. Finally, past studies of adolescent parenthood, especially adolescent mothers, have found such significant differences between various racial groups that race also was controlled.

Hypotheses

Marriage
1. Men who fathered as adolescents will perceive lower marital satisfaction than men who fathered as adults.

2. Men who fathered as adolescents will experience more instability in intimate relationships than men who fathered as adults.

Family Life
1. Men who fathered as adolescents will experience less satisfaction with parenting than men who fathered as adults.
2. Men who fathered as adolescents will experience higher fertility than men who fathered as adults.

Self
1. Men who fathered as adolescents will evidence greater depression than men who fathered as adults.
2. Men who fathered as adolescents will evidence more external locus of control, lower self-esteem, and lower life satisfaction than men who fathered as adults.

Definition of Terms

Adolescent Father: An adult between twenty and forty years of age who admitted to having fathered a child before his twentieth birthday by providing his own date of birth and that of his firstborn child.

Adult Father: A man between twenty and forty years of age who fathered his firstborn child between his twentieth and his thirtieth birthdays.

Fertility: The number of biological children each father admits to fathering.

Intimate Relationship: A heterosexual relationship that resulted in either cohabitation or marriage.
Marital Satisfaction: The respondent's evaluation of his current marriage as measured by his response to seven Likert scales on various aspects of his marriage.

Parental Satisfaction: Self-reported satisfaction with his role as a parent as evaluated by the subject's response to six Likert scales on various aspects of parenthood.

Self: The psychological well-being of the respondent as measured by self-esteem (three Likert scale measures), life satisfaction (one Likert scale measure), locus of control (one Likert scale measure), and level of depression (based on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression scale).
CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY

Data Source

The National Survey of Families and Households (Sweet, Bumpass, & Call, 1988) was used for this study. Data were collected from respondents between March 1987 and May 1988. The main sample of 9,643 respondents is representative of the non-institutional United States population age 19 and older. Individuals under age 19 were eligible for selection only if they were currently married. In addition, 18 year olds were eligible for selection if they resided in households without persons 19 years or older. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, single-parents, persons with stepchildren, persons who were cohabiting, and persons who recently married were all double sampled. The total sample of 13,017 included the 9,643 respondents in the main sample and the 3,374 respondents from the over-sampled groups. Interviews lasted, on average, one hour and forty minutes.

One adult was randomly selected from each household for the main interview. A shorter
self-administered questionnaire was completed by the spouse, partner, or other adult member of the household. The main interview consisted of structured verbal questions on a variety of topics concerning family and household life such as individual, marital and family histories, parent-child relationships, family rules, work experiences, and social supports. In addition, a short self-administered written questionnaire was used to gather sensitive information on topics such as family violence, sexual functioning, and chemical dependency.

These data were particularly suited for this study because they came from adult men of all racial and ethnic groups, and all socioeconomic statuses. These respondents provided relevant information about their marriages, cohabitations, parenthood, and psychological well-being resulting in a large, representative sample of adult fathers living in the U.S.

Sample

Of the total sample of 13,017, only men who acknowledged fathering a child before their thirtieth birthday and were between the ages of 18 and 40 at the time of the interview are included in this study. This sample was limited to men less than 40 years of age to
lessen the effects of social, economic, and age-related influences expected over a greater range of years. This subsample was then divided into two groups for comparison. Men in the first group fathered their first child before their twentieth birthday (or Fathered as Teenagers, FAT) and the second group fathered their first child on or after their twentieth birthday but before their thirtieth birthday (or Fathered as Adults, FAA). This age range was used to create the second group because the largest percentage of children are born to fathers in their twenties (National Center for Health Statistics, 1986). These two groups were compared on parental satisfaction and psychological well-being (self). In addition, for those men who were legally married at the time of the interview, their marital satisfaction was compared between the two groups also.

Only respondents who acknowledged that they fathered a child were included in this study. Those men who either did not know they fathered a child during adolescence, or knew but did not acknowledge this to the interviewer, were not included in this study. It is assumed that if a man does not know that he has fathered a child, it probably has no impact on
his life and the omission of such respondents in this study is not problematic. However, men who knew they fathered a child during adolescence but did not admit this may have experienced adult consequences of this event. An unfortunate limitation of this study is that these fathers could not be included and the direction of any resulting bias can not be predicted.

Operationalization of Variables

**Dependent Variables**

**Marital satisfaction.** Within the marriage domain, two hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis tested was on the impact of adolescent fatherhood on marital quality. Seven measures were used. The first question "Taking all things together, how would you describe your marriage?" was a Likert scale with a range of 1 (very unhappy) to 7 (very happy). The next six measures were also Likert scales [with a range of 1 (for the first description) to 7 (for the second description reported here)] in response to the question, "How would you describe the things you do as a husband or wife?": interesting (1) versus boring (7); appreciated (1) versus unappreciated (7); overwhelming (1) versus manageable (7); complicated (1)
versus simple (7); lonely (1) versus sociable (7); and poorly done (1) versus well done (7).

The dependent variable in the second hypothesis was instability in intimate relationships and was measured by the total number of marriages and cohabitations for each father. An advantage of these data is that detailed marital and cohabitation histories were obtained. These allow the total number of cohabitations to be figured and added to the number of marriages. There may be some slight error in this for the small number of men married more than two times. The number of cohabitations is available up to the second marriage and since the last marriage. However, for the small number of men who may have cohabited with someone between their second and last marriages, these cohabitations were not available for this study.

Parental satisfaction. The first hypothesis within this domain tested parental satisfaction ("How would you describe the things you do as a parent") by using the same six describers (interesting versus boring, etc.) with a Likert scale range of 1–7 as listed above for marital satisfaction. The dependent variable in the second hypothesis was fertility and was
measured by the number of live births fathered by the subject at the time of the interview.

**Self domain.** Two hypotheses in the self domain tested separate components of psychological well-being. The dependent variable in the first hypothesis was level of depression. This variable was measured by a shortened version (12 items rather than the usual 20) of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies—Depression (CES-D) scale (Radloff, 1977). Respondents were asked how many days in the past week they felt each of 12 depression symptoms. Scores ranged from 0-7 days. A summary score was used.

The dependent variable in the second hypothesis included self-esteem, life satisfaction, and locus of control. Self-esteem was measured by three items which asked whether the subject perceived he was a person of worth, was satisfied with himself, and was able to do as well as others. The Likert response sets ranged from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Life satisfaction was measured with a single item which asked "Taking things all together, how would you say things are these days?" with the Likert response set ranging from very unhappy (1) to very happy (7). Locus of control was measured by a single item. The
statement asks the subject to what extent he agrees with the statement that he has felt that his life would work out the way he wanted it to with a Likert scale range of strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5).

**Independent Variable**

The major independent variable in this study is status as an adolescent father. All six hypotheses tested how fathering during adolescence influences different aspects of quality of life, fertility, and stability in intimate relationships. Adolescent fathers were defined as those adults who fathered their first child before their twentieth birthdays. Adult fathers were the remaining men who fathered their first child before their thirtieth birthdays. Thus, this was a dummy variable distinguishing between adolescent (1) and adult (0) fathers.

**Control Variables**

Several additional independent variables were included as control variables. Race was controlled to eliminate any racial influences on the relationship between the timing of fatherhood and the dependent variables, given other researchers' findings that the experience of adolescent motherhood is different for adolescents of different ethnic and racial groups.
(Hofferth & Moore, 1979). Age was controlled to eliminate the effect of age on the relationship between the timing of fatherhood and the dependent variables. In addition, to eliminate the effects of different lengths of exposure time to the father role, the number of years between the respondent's firstborn child and the time of the interview was used as a control variable also. The number of children each respondent had fathered at the time of the interview was used as a control to eliminate any effects of fertility on the relationship between the independent variable and the outcome variables of marital and parental satisfaction and psychological well-being. Finally, socioeconomic status was used as a control to assure that class differences did not affect the relationship between the timing of fatherhood and the dependent variables. As recommended by the research team of the National Survey of Families and Households, socioeconomic status was measured by the respondent's occupational prestige according to the male-based socioeconomic index of Stevens and Cho (1985) for either his current job or his last job if he was unemployed at the time of the interview.
Descriptive Statistics

The two subsets of the sample will be referred to hereafter as those men who fathered as teenagers (FAT) and those who fathered as adults (FAA). By using men under 40 years of age, the date of birth of the respondent, the date of birth of his oldest biological child, and the date of the interview, 227 respondents met the criteria for inclusion in the FAT group and 1032 met the criteria for the FAA group. These are the unweighted sample totals. Prior to any analyses, all data were weighted to compensate for the oversampling of the various subgroups previously discussed. Subjects in the FAT group ranged in age from 19-40 and those in the FAA group ranged from 20-40 (a few reported their age as 40 even though by actual birthdate and interview date they were 39 years old). The demographic composition of the sample is presented in Table 1.

Analysis

The questions for each dependent variable were factor analyzed to assess whether they formed a single dimension for that particular concept. A scale was created for those measures which could effectively be
### Table 1

**Demographic Profile of the Subsamples:**

**Unweighted Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>FAT n (%)</th>
<th>FAA n (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>145 (64%)</td>
<td>798 (77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>6 (3%)</td>
<td>38 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>38 (17%)</td>
<td>128 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>4 (2%)</td>
<td>5 (.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>34 (15%)</td>
<td>63 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Marriages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>34 (15%)</td>
<td>63 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>138 (61%)</td>
<td>802 (78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>41 (18%)</td>
<td>143 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11 (5%)</td>
<td>20 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 (.9%)</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 (.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>44 (19%)</td>
<td>384 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>74 (33%)</td>
<td>417 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>66 (29%)</td>
<td>160 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>28 (12%)</td>
<td>44 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
<td>22 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>5 (.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 (.9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 (.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 (.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial/Ethnic Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>72 (32%)</td>
<td>177 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>129 (57%)</td>
<td>743 (72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-American</td>
<td>18 (8%)</td>
<td>75 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>5 (2%)</td>
<td>13 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5 (.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hispanic</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>19 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=227</td>
<td></td>
<td>n=1032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
combined and multiple scales were used when a single scale was not appropriate. Ordinary least squares regression analysis was used to determine which variables accounted for the largest proportion of the variance, and thus which clusters of variables (marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, and self) were affected by youthful fatherhood.

More specifically, the factor analysis was performed on each of four categories of questions (marital, parental, depression, and self) so that factors could be extracted and the data reduced into scales. The seven marital questions (described previously in this chapter) were factor analyzed with an orthogonal rotation. (The marital questions, as well as the parental, self, and depression questions were all analyzed with both orthogonal and oblique rotations. The rotations varied so little that orthogonal rotation was chosen for presentation here.)

The results of the factor analysis for the marital satisfaction scale indicated that there were two factors with each item loading highly on a single factor. In the first factor, the four questions measuring "things you do as a husband, interesting to boring (reversed scaling), appreciated to unappreciated
(reversed scaling), lonely to sociable, poorly done to well done," and the global marital satisfaction question all had loadings above .70 on a single dimension. The second factor, measuring "things you do as a husband, overwhelming to manageable and complicated to simple" had loadings of .76 and .78 respectively. Taken together, these results suggested that the items analyzed represented two distinct dimensions of marital satisfaction. The first dimension appeared to measure marital role satisfaction and the second appeared to measure marital stress management. The items measuring marital stress management were eliminated from further analysis because they did not measure any of the hypothesized relationships in this study. The marital and parental scales were created by using unweighted average Z scores.

The parental role satisfaction scale was created using like statements to the marital role satisfaction scale described above. Only six items were factor analyzed. There was no parental satisfaction counterpart for the global marital satisfaction question. Similarly, two dimensions, parental role satisfaction and parental stress management were
extracted from these parenting data. Loadings for the parental role satisfaction items were all above .66. Loadings for the items measuring parental stress management were above .68. The items measuring parental stress management were eliminated from further analysis because they did not measure any of the hypothesized relationships in this study.

The depression scale was created using the 12 items of the shortened CES-D instrument described previously. All items loaded on one factor only. The same was true for the self scale created out of the three self-esteem items, the single life satisfaction item, and the single locus of control item. All five items loaded on a single factor only. The depression and self scales were created using weighted average Z scores.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter will describe the results obtained from performing multiple regressions for each of the six hypotheses. First, a general description of the variables in each model will be presented. Next, a discussion of each hypothesis will begin a section that includes bivariate correlations, multiple regressions, and interpretations of each. Finally, the chapter will conclude with summary remarks.

Description of Variables

Ordinary least squares regression analysis was performed for each of the six hypotheses of this study. Each model included the same independent variable and control variables, but a unique dependent variable. The independent variable was fathered as teenager and the five control variables were (a) age, (b) number of children, (c) socioeconomic status, (d) Black, and (e) Hispanic. These six variables were all entered into the model together. Preliminary ordinary least squares analysis including both age and exposure time control variables indicated that these variables were highly correlated. This created problems of multicollinearity

45
in which the standard errors of both variables were inflated when they were in the model together. Thus, only age was included in the final analysis because it is a more standard control variable in studies of fatherhood.

The six models varied from each other only by their dependent variable. In order of the presentation used throughout the remainder of this paper, they are: (a) marital role satisfaction, (b) total relationships, (c) parental role satisfaction, (d) number of children (when this variable was used as a dependent variable it was excluded from the control variables) (e) depression, and (f) self (self-esteem, life satisfaction, and locus of control). The means and standard deviations vary slightly for each of the regression models presented here simply as a function of missing data and therefore will not be discussed for each regression.

Marital Role

**Hypothesis I:** Men who fathered as adolescents will perceive lower marital satisfaction than men who fathered as adults. Marital role satisfaction was the dependent variable in this model. The bivariate correlation matrix, means, and standard deviations for
Table 2

Marital Role Satisfaction: Bivariate Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations (N=839)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. MRS</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FAT</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age</td>
<td>-.051</td>
<td>-.045</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Numchi</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.372</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SES</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.116</td>
<td>.196</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Black</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>-.157</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hisp</td>
<td>.157</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>-.094</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>-.186</td>
<td>-.103</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean   | .00 | .14 | 32.18| 2.15| 36.62| .09 | .10 |
SD     | .98 | .35 | 4.61 | 1.00| 19.11| .28 | .30 |

Table 3

Regression of Marital Role Satisfaction on Age at First Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=839)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>-.143953</td>
<td>-1.451</td>
<td>-.051773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>.517739*</td>
<td>4.533</td>
<td>.159838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>.070403</td>
<td>.568</td>
<td>.020120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.011157</td>
<td>-1.376</td>
<td>-.052442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>.001502</td>
<td>.810</td>
<td>.029261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>.020297</td>
<td>.536</td>
<td>.020742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>.226952</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2= .02976
df= 832
SE= .96954
* p=.001
marital role satisfaction, the independent variable, and the control variables are presented in Table 2.

The mean for the marital role satisfaction scale is 0 as expected. Means for the variables of the entire sample indicate that 14% of the sample had fathered their first child by age 20, 9% were Black, and 10% were Hispanic. The mean age of the sample was 32.18 years, and the mean number of children was 2.15 children.

The bivariate correlation matrix in Table 2 reveals negative minimal correlations between marital role satisfaction and the independent variable fathered as teenager, the control variables of age, number of children, socioeconomic status, and Blacks. Hispanics showed a low positive correlation (.157) with marital role satisfaction, suggesting that Hispanics felt more satisfied with their marital roles than either Blacks or Whites. Fathered as teenager was minimally although negatively correlated (-.044) with marital role satisfaction, suggesting that as expected those who fathered as teenagers had slightly lower marital role satisfaction than those who fathered as adults. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable marital role satisfaction are presented in Table 3.
The hypothesis that men who fathered as teenagers have significantly less marital satisfaction than men who fathered as adults was not supported. This relationship was in the expected direction, but it was not significant. The slope of the variable, Hispanic, was positive and significant. The unstandardized coefficient for Hispanic indicates that Hispanics had .5177 higher scores on marital role satisfaction than Whites. Thus, Hispanic men were significantly more satisfied with their marital roles than either Black or White men.

Examination of the standardized coefficients indicates that there was a .0524 standard deviation decrease in marital role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in age. There was a .0293 standard deviation increase in marital role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status, and there was a .0207 standard deviation increase in marital role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in number of children. The Heise and Bohnstedt omega reliability coefficient for factors was .89 for this scale. This reliability measure was used for all the scales in this study because the scales were created with factor scores. Altogether these variables accounted for 3% of
the total variation in marital role satisfaction. Hispanic was thus the best predictor of marital role satisfaction in this model.

**Hypothesis II:** Men who fathered as adolescents will have more instability in intimate relationships than will men who fathered as adults. Men who fathered as adolescents may either have married or become seriously involved with young women at earlier ages than those who fathered as adult men. The second hypothesis of this study addressed whether this early involvement correlated to more coupling and uncoupling during the early- to mid-adult period of a man's life. The bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations of the study variables are presented in Table 4.

As indicated in Table 4, there was a minimal positive correlation between the independent variable and total relationships (.036) indicating that men who fathered as teenagers had a slightly greater number of intimate relationships than men who fathered as adults. Second, the low positive correlations between total relationships and age (.151) and number of children (.090) suggests that older fathers and fathers of more children had a greater number of intimate relationships than either younger fathers or fathers of fewer
Table 4

**Total Relationships: Bivariate Correlation**
Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations (N=1168)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totrel</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FAT</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Numchil</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.356</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SES</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>-.138</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Black</td>
<td>-.056</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>-.164</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hisp</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.062</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>-.164</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean  1.39  .17  31.83  2.10  35.12  .12  .12
SD    .99  .37  4.81  1.05  18.87  .33  .32

Table 5

**Regression of Total Relationships on Age at First**
Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=1168)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>.110345</td>
<td>1.360</td>
<td>.041418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>-.021483</td>
<td>-.234</td>
<td>-.006957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-.214483*</td>
<td>-2.377</td>
<td>-.071486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.032207**</td>
<td>4.857</td>
<td>.156194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>-.004499*</td>
<td>-2.806</td>
<td>-.085585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>.031537</td>
<td>1.032</td>
<td>.033413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>.470730</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2= .03601
df= 1161
SE= .97646
* p=.01
** p=.001
children. Hispanic (.008) was minimally positively correlated with total relationships, as measured by marriages and cohabitations. There were negative minimal correlations between the control variables of socioeconomic status (-.046) and Black (-.056) with total relationships indicating that fathers of lower socioeconomic status and Black fathers had fewer cohabitations and marriages respectively than fathers of either higher socioeconomic status or Hispanic or White fathers. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable total relationships are presented in Table 5.

The hypothesis that men who fathered as teenagers have significantly more instability in intimate relationships than men who fathered as adults was not supported. The relationship was in the expected direction; that is, men who fathered as teenagers had more relationships than men who fathered as adults, but it was not significant. The slope of the variable, Black, was negative and significant. The unstandardized coefficient for Blacks indicates that they had .2145 fewer intimate relationships than Whites. The slopes for age and socioeconomic status were also significant.
Examination of the standardized coefficients showed that there was a .1562 standard deviation increase in total relationships for each one standard deviation increase in age. There was a .0856 standard deviation decrease in total relationships for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status. There was a .0334 standard deviation increase in total relationships for each one standard deviation increase in number of children. Altogether these variables account for 4% of the total variation in total relationships. Age was the best predictor of total relationships in this model.

Parental Role

**Hypothesis III:** Men who fathered as adolescents will experience less satisfaction with parenting than men who fathered as adults. Parental role satisfaction was regressed on the independent variable, fathered as teenager, and the control variables age, number of children, socioeconomic status, Black, and Hispanic. The bivariate correlation matrix, means, and standard deviations for the study variables are presented in Table 6.

In the bivariate correlation matrix in Table 6, negative minimal correlations between the control variables of socioeconomic status, Black, and Hispanic
with the dependent variable parental role satisfaction are indicated. Both Black and Hispanic showed low negative correlations (-.055 and -.136) with parental role satisfaction suggesting that both Blacks and Hispanics felt less satisfied with their parental role than Whites. Fathered as teenager was minimally and positively correlated (.053) with the dependent variable parental role satisfaction, suggesting that men who fathered as adolescents had slightly higher parental role satisfaction than men who fathered as adults. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable parental role satisfaction are presented in Table 7.

The hypothesis that men who fathered as teenagers have significantly less parental satisfaction than men who fathered as adults was not supported. In fact, the results of a two-tailed t-test indicate that the findings were significant in the opposite direction. Thus, men who fathered as teenagers had significantly greater parental satisfaction than men who first became fathers as adults. The slopes of the variables, Hispanic and Black, are negative and significant. The unstandardized coefficient for Hispanic indicates that Hispanics had .3556 lower scores on parental role satisfaction than Whites. Thus, Hispanic men were
Table 6

Parental Role Satisfaction: Bivariate Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations (N=1015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PRS</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FAT</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Numchil</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>.365</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SES</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.139</td>
<td>.219</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Black</td>
<td>-.055</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>-.048</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>-.159</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hisp</td>
<td>-.136</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.073</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>-.168</td>
<td>-.125</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean: .00 .17 31.88 2.13 35.27 .12 .11
SD: .77 .37 4.84 1.06 18.75 .32 .31

Table 7

Regression of Parental Role Satisfaction on Age at First Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=1015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>.168213*</td>
<td>2.489</td>
<td>.080819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>-.355649**</td>
<td>-4.446</td>
<td>-.141197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-.188885*</td>
<td>-2.444</td>
<td>-.078289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.024169**</td>
<td>4.364</td>
<td>.150961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>-.002432</td>
<td>-1.805</td>
<td>-.058853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>-.041559</td>
<td>-1.630</td>
<td>-.056837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.564646</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2=.04651
df=1008
SE=.75882
* p=.05
** p=.001
significantly less satisfied with their parental role than White men. Similar trends existed for Black fathers. The unstandardized coefficient for Black indicates that Blacks had .1889 lower scores on parental role satisfaction and were thus less satisfied with their parental role than Whites.

Examination of the standardized coefficients revealed that there was a .1510 standard deviation increase in parental role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in age. There was a .0588 standard deviation decrease in parental role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status. There was a .0568 standard deviation decrease in parental role satisfaction for each one standard deviation increase in number of children. The Heise and Bohnstedt omega reliability coefficient for factors was .86 for this scale. Altogether these variables accounted for 5% of the total variation in parental role satisfaction. Age and Hispanic were the strongest predictors of parental role satisfaction.

**Hypothesis IV:** Men who fathered as adolescents will have higher fertility than men who fathered as adults. Because it is well established that women who bore children as adolescents have higher fertility over
their life-spans, the fourth hypothesis tested whether the same was true for men. Men who fathered their first child as teenagers were expected to have higher fertility than men who fathered as adults. The bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations of the study variables are presented in Table 8.

A positive correlation between the independent variable and number of children (.227) was found indicating that men who fathered as teenagers had more children than men who fathered as adults. Second, the moderate positive correlation between number of children and age (.356) suggests that older fathers had more children than younger fathers. Positive and small correlations between the control variables of Black (.109) and Hispanic (.024) were found with the dependent variable, number of children, indicating that Black and Hispanic fathers had more children than White fathers. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable, number of children, are presented in Table 9.

The hypothesis that men who fathered as teens have significantly more children than men who fathered as adults was supported. The slope of the variable fathered as teenager was positive and significant. The unstandardized coefficient for fathered as teenager
Table 8

Number of Children: Bivariate Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations (N=1168)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Numchil</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FAT</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age</td>
<td>.356</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. SES</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.138</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Black</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>-.164</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hisp</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.062</td>
<td>-.164</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean: 2.10  .17  31.83  35.12  .12  .12
SD: 1.05  .37  4.81  18.87  .33  .32

Table 9

Regression of Number of Children on Age at First Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=1168)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>.690526**</td>
<td>9.178</td>
<td>.244635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>.201450*</td>
<td>2.290</td>
<td>.061576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>.321899**</td>
<td>3.737</td>
<td>.101263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.085612**</td>
<td>14.632</td>
<td>.391886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>-.001100</td>
<td>-.715</td>
<td>-.019759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.765464</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2=.20749
df=1162
SE=.93762
* p=.01
** p=.001
indicates that those men had .6905 more children than men who fathered as adults. In addition, all variables in this model were positive and significant except socioeconomic status. Both Blacks and Hispanics had more children than Whites. The unstandardized coefficient for Hispanic indicates that Hispanics had .2014 more children than Whites and Blacks had .3219 more children than Whites. The slope for age was also significant.

Examination of the standardized coefficients indicates that there was a .3919 standard deviation increase in number of children for each one standard deviation increase in age, and there was a .0197 standard deviation decrease in number of children for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status. Altogether these variables account for 21% of the total variation in number of children. Age and fathered as a teen were the strongest predictors of fertility in this model.

Self (Psychological Well-being)

_Hypothesis V_: Men who fathered as adolescents will have greater depression than men who fathered as adults. _Hypothesis VI_: Men who fathered as adolescents will have lower self-esteem, more life dissatisfaction, and more external locus of control.
Table 10
Depression/Self: Bivariate Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations (N=929)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Depr</td>
<td>1.000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Self</td>
<td>.339</td>
<td>1.000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. FAT</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age</td>
<td>-.108</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>-.072</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Numch</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>.239</td>
<td>.375</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. SES</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td>-.193</td>
<td>-.150</td>
<td>.206</td>
<td>-.004</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Black</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>-.015</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>-.141</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Hisp</td>
<td>-.075</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>-.063</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>-.157</td>
<td>-.121</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>31.92</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>35.38</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>19.16</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11
Regression of Depression on Age at First Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=929)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>.170646*</td>
<td>1.997</td>
<td>.068686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>-.228334**</td>
<td>-2.293</td>
<td>-.076097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>.254563**</td>
<td>2.656</td>
<td>.088929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.018716**</td>
<td>-2.690</td>
<td>-.097490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>-.002271</td>
<td>-1.404</td>
<td>-.047889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>.001347</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.001536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>.549944</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R²= .03748
df= 922
SE= .89442
* p=.05
** p=.01
than men who fathered as adults. First, depression was regressed on the independent variable, fathered as teenager, and the control variables age, number of children, socioeconomic status, Black, and Hispanic. Then self was regressed on the same six variables. High scores on the self scale reflect poorer self-esteem, more life dissatisfaction, and more external locus of control.

The bivariate correlation matrix, means, and standard deviations for the study variables are presented in Table 10. The bivariate correlation matrix in Table 10 reveals negative minimal correlations between the control variables age, number of children, socioeconomic status, and Hispanic with the dependent variable depression. The independent variable (FAT) and Black shows low positive correlations (.101 and .118, respectively) with depression suggesting that men who fathered as teenagers and Blacks had higher levels of depression than men who fathered as adults or either Hispanics or Whites.

Negative minimal correlations were found between the control variables age, number of children, socioeconomic, and Hispanic with the dependent variable self. The independent variable (FAT) and Black were minimally and positively correlated (.061 and .035,
respectively) with self, suggesting that the men who fathered as teenagers and Blacks had lower ratings of self (more external locus of control, less self-esteem, and more overall life dissatisfaction) than men who fathered as adults or either Hispanics or Whites. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable depression are presented in Table 11.

The hypothesis that men who fathered as teenagers have significantly greater levels of depression than men who fathered as adults was supported. The slope of the variable, Hispanic, was negative and significant. The slope of the variable, Black, was positive and significant. That is, Hispanics had .2283 lower scores on depression than Whites and Blacks had .2545 higher levels of depression than Whites.

Examination of the standardized coefficients show that there was a .0975 standard deviation decrease in depression for each one standard deviation increase in age. There was a .0479 standard deviation decrease in depression for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status. There was a .0015 standard deviation increase in depression for each one standard deviation increase in number of children. The Heise and Bohnstedt omega reliability coefficient for factors was .93 for this scale. Altogether, these variables
accounted for 4% of the total variation in level of depression. Age was the strongest predictor in this model. The results of the multiple regression for the dependent variable self are presented in Table 12.

The hypothesis that men who fathered as teens have significantly poorer psychological well-being or higher scores on the self scale (more external locus of control, lower self-esteem, and more dissatisfied with life) was not supported. This relationship was in the expected direction, but it was not significant. The slope of the variable, Hispanic, was negative and significant indicating that Hispanics had .2525 lower scores on the self variable. Thus, Hispanics had lower self scores or greater psychological well-being than Whites.

As indicated by the standardized coefficients, there was a .0302 standard deviation increase in self or each one standard deviation increase in age. There was a .2059 standard deviation decrease in self for each one standard deviation increase in socioeconomic status. There was a .0518 standard deviation decrease in self for each one standard deviation increase in number of children. Socioeconomic status was also a significant variable in this model, indicating that fathers with higher socioeconomic status had better
### Table 12

**Regression of Self on Age at First Fatherhood and Control Variables (N=929)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathered As Teen</td>
<td>.115771</td>
<td>1.259</td>
<td>.043076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>-.252518*</td>
<td>-2.355</td>
<td>-.077796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-.012419</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>-.004010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.006281</td>
<td>.838</td>
<td>.030244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic</td>
<td>-.010563**</td>
<td>-6.066</td>
<td>-.205905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>-.049193</td>
<td>-1.421</td>
<td>-.051843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.038548</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .04684  
df = 922  
SE = .96283  
* p = .01  
** p = .001
psychological well-being than men who had lower socioeconomic status. The Heise and Bohnstedt omega reliability coefficient for factors was .72 for this scale. Altogether, these variables accounted for 5% of the total variation in self. Socioeconomic status was the strongest predictor of self.

Summary

Data analyses indicated support for two of the six hypotheses in this study. Men who fathered as teenagers had higher fertility (Hypothesis IV) and had higher levels of depression (Hypothesis V) than men who fathered as adults. In the third hypothesis, the timing of fatherhood was a significant predictor of parental role satisfaction, but it was in the opposite direction of the hypothesis. Men who fathered as adolescents actually reported more parental role satisfaction than men who fathered as adults.

Although the independent variable was significant in three of these six models, this group of variables accounted for no more than 5% of the total variation in five of the six models. (Twenty-one percent of the variation was accounted for in the model that predicted fertility.) The small percentages of variation are not totally unexpected because these dependent variables were limited range variables which reduce the amount of
variance explained. In general, these findings suggest that many other factors impact on marital and parental satisfaction, number of intimate relationships, depression, and psychological well-being than simply the timing of when a man first becomes a father, controlling for age, race, socioeconomic status, and number of children.
CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of Findings

Although previous research has found that adults who parented as adolescents have lower educational attainment and lower prestige occupations than adults who began parenthood after adolescence (Card & Wise, 1978; Furstenberg et al., 1987; Marsiglio, 1986), few studies have examined psychosocial outcomes such as marital and parental satisfaction and psychological well-being. Also, researchers have almost exclusively focused on the impact of an adolescent birth on the lives of women. Few researchers have examined the impact of this life event for men. Demographic research has shown that men experience negative economic consequences (i.e., less education, lower occupation, lower incomes). If a single life event such as fathering a child "off-time" as an adolescent can decrease a man's lifetime education and his occupational options, then it may also adversely affect his marriage and his parenting, as well as his
self-esteem, locus of control, and overall life satisfaction.

Using multiple regression analyses on data collected in the National Survey of Families and Households, the present study offers only minimal support for a presumed negative impact of early fatherhood on psychosocial outcomes. The results indicate that men who fathered as adolescents had higher fertility and increased levels of depression. Although the effects of fathering as a teenager on marital role satisfaction, the number of intimate relationships, and psychological well-being were all in the expected directions, they were not statistically significant. However, it should be noted that fathering a child as a teenager was significantly related to marital role satisfaction and the number of intimate relationships at $p=.10$ using one-tailed $t$-tests.

Parental role satisfaction, unexpectedly, was greater for men who fathered as adolescents than for men who first fathered as adults. Racial and other demographic differences were also detected in all six models. Hispanics reported more marital role satisfaction, less parental role satisfaction, greater
fertility, less depression, and greater psychological well-being than Whites. Blacks reported greater stability in intimate relationships, less parental role satisfaction, greater fertility, and more depression than Whites.

The remainder of this chapter will be focused on a discussion of the findings for each hypothesis in the order of its original presentation. All significant variables in each model will be discussed, including significant control variables. The chapter will conclude with recommendations for theory and research and implications for policy and practice.

Discussion

Hypothesis I: Men who fathered as adolescents will perceive lower marital role satisfaction than men who fathered as adults. Hypothesis I was not supported by the data. It would appear that once men reach adulthood, any effects that adolescent fatherhood have on marital role satisfaction become so small that they do not hold up to reasonable significance tests. Although many adolescent fathers may drop out of school, enter the labor force early, and even marry, these decisions may not strongly impact on how
satisfied they are as adult husbands, as compared to men who fathered their first child "on-time."

Although the independent variable, fathered as teenager, was not significant in this model, one of the control variables was a statistically significant predictor of marital role satisfaction. Being a member of the Hispanic ethnic group was a better predictor of marital satisfaction than the timing of fatherhood. Those subjects who identified themselves as either Mexican American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or other Hispanic reported significantly higher marital satisfaction than Whites. Given the strong emphasis placed on familial relationships and family loyalty, as reported in the research literature on the Hispanic culture (Mirande, 1988), this is not an unexpected finding. The concept of machismo within the Hispanic culture has been criticized, debated, and analyzed, yet scholars continue to disagree about the definition of this role. In general terms, however, machismo has recently been described more positively as a man who demonstrates:

true bravery or valor, courage, generosity, and ferocity...he is extremely reliable and responsible. A man's sense of accomplishment and
self-worth is, in fact, determined largely by his ability to provide for and protect his wife and children. (Mirande, 1988, p. 102)

Other researchers have argued that Hispanic men, more than Anglo men, expect and receive intense respect and submission from their wives. In turn, they protect, make decisions for, and provide economic support for their wives (Alveriz, Bean, & Williams, 1981; Bernal, 1982; Falicov, 1982; Fitzpatrick, 1981; Garcia-Preto, 1982). In addition, the Hispanic subculture is largely Roman Catholic. This religion supports traditional values and traditional family roles in its teachings and doctrines. Finally, there is a focus within Hispanic marriages not on romance and deep intimacy, as in the Anglo culture, but rather on the instrumental functions of procreation and childrearing: "...it is the existence of children that validates and cements the marriage" (Falicov, 1982, p. 140). These three qualities of Hispanic marriages—(a) valued sex-role segregation, (b) religious teachings that promote traditional family roles and values, and (c) an emphasis on instrumental functions—may explain the finding here of greater marital role satisfaction among Hispanics.
Hypothesis II: Men who fathered as adolescents will have more instability in intimate relationships than will men who fathered as adults. The second hypothesis of this study proposed that men who fathered as adolescents would have more total relationships (i.e., marriages and cohabitations) than men who fathered their first child as an adult. No support was found for this hypothesis. Three control variables, however, were statistically significant predictors of instability in intimate relationships. Older men and men from lower socioeconomic statuses had a greater number of intimate relationships than either younger men or higher socioeconomic status men. Black men were found to have fewer intimate relationships than White men.

Obviously, the older the man the more years he has had with which to couple and uncouple. Consequently, older men in this study reported more intimate relationships as was expected. Men of lower socioeconomic status also reported more intimate relationships. Men with lower socioeconomic status occupations are also more likely to have fewer resources. Reduced resources in a family often put the family at risk for increased financial stress,
difficulty in problem solving, and decreased access to community resources (i.e., educational and medical services). A deficiency in resources may put strain on the family structure that may result in more dissolutions than in families which have increased resources to assist them with these life strains (Eshleman, 1985). Higher incomes, higher socioeconomic status, more education, home ownership, and joint property all have been correlated with less marital dissolution (Levinger, 1976; Martin & Bumpass, 1989; Raschke, 1987). Using a social-exchange perspective, Levinger (1976) and Scanzoni, Polonko, Teachman, and Thompson (1989) have argued that material resources act as a source of attraction that keep individuals in marriages. Staples (1986) reported that, in general, unemployed Black husbands were often dissatisfied with their role performance and that this dissatisfaction often resulted in marital role failure and subsequent marital dissolution. Thus, men of lower socioeconomic status may have a greater number of intimate relationships over the life course because (a) they do not have the resources to maintain relationships when life pressures increase, (b) they lack a major source of attraction for their spouses, and (c) their unstable
employment rates often lead to dissatisfaction with
themselves and thus, poor role performance in marriage.

Contrary to the research literature, Black men in
this study reported fewer intimate relationships over
their life course than White men. Divorce and
separation for Blacks have been reported to be twice
that of Whites when income is controlled (Martin &
Bumpass, 1989). In addition, Blacks have been reported
to have nonmarital cohabitation rates three times
greater than Whites (Glick & Spanier, 1980). Thus,
past research would predict that Black men would have a
greater number of intimate relationships, including
both marriages and cohabitations, than Whites. One
explanation for the unexpected finding in this study is
an inconsistent definition of cohabitation found in the
literature (Macklin, 1987). The respondents in this
study also may not have defined cohabitation
consistently among themselves. All the questions used
to gather these data included the phrase "lived with
someone of the opposite sex" without specifying the
length of time. Consequently, Black respondents may
not have defined brief cohabitation as an actual
cohabiting relationship, whereas Whites and Hispanics
did. In addition, because Black relationships tend to
be more sexual in nature than White relationships (Bell-Scott & McKenry, 1986; Lewis, 1986), Black respondents, more than Whites, may have chosen not to label their behavior as cohabitation.

**Hypothesis III:** Men who fathered as adolescents will experience less satisfaction with parenting than men who fathered as adults. No support was found for this hypothesis. However, data analyses indicated a significant direct relationship between men who fathered as teenagers and increased parental role satisfaction. On a two-tailed t-test, men who fathered as adolescents reported significantly more satisfaction with their parental role than "on-time" fathers.

Men who fathered as adolescents may experience greater parental role satisfactions partially as a result of better preparations for their parenting role when compared to "on-time" fathers. Hendricks (1981) found that his sample of Black adolescent fathers came from large families. Consequently, if men who fathered during adolescence are more likely to come from families where they had more opportunities to interact with children, they may have better preparation for fatherhood than "on-time" fathers. If as youth, they more often supervised younger siblings, this would have
provided them with greater anticipatory socialization for the parenting role (Burr, 1973). These men may have had more opportunities to learn the role of caregiver by (a) identification and contact with someone in the role, (b) rehearsal, and (c) practice (Merton, 1968). Transitions into new roles are assumed to be easier when an individual has experienced some anticipatory socialization. Men who have cared for younger siblings as youths may have easier transitions into the father role and may report higher levels of parental satisfaction as a result.

In addition, men who fathered as adolescents may have been socialized to value children differently, to expect different rewards from rearing children, or to expect different behaviors in themselves as fathers than "on-time" fathers. Men who succeed socially and educationally may have higher standards of success for their parenting role; thus by comparison, these men may report lower parental satisfaction than former adolescent fathers. Previous research supports this explanation. More educated parents have reported more frequent feelings of inadequacy when compared with less educated parents (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960; Komarovsky, 1967).
Thus, previous research suggests that men who fathered as adolescents may have reported greater parental role satisfaction as a function of two experiences. First, they may have had better preparation for parenthood as a result of their own childhood experiences in a large family so the transition to the role of parenthood is less stressful. Second, because they may have experienced less educational success than "on-time" fathers, they may have more realistic expectations of the father role by comparison to the "on-time" fathers whose standards for success may result in disillusionment and dissatisfaction.

Also significant in the model of predictors of parental role satisfaction were the control variables of Black and Hispanic. The members of both ethnic groups reported lower parental role satisfaction than White fathers. Lower parental role satisfaction may be a function of the societal discrimination these two groups feel. Although Hispanics emphasize family loyalty and place great importance on familial relationships, there is evidence to suggest that Hispanics, as well as Blacks, place greater importance on the parent-child relationship than the spousal
relationship (Falicov, 1982; Staples, 1981). Both ethnic groups must socialize their children for majority, as well as minority culture. The childrearing task may be more demanding for them than that of White parents. The combination of greater role demands and greater importance on the parent-child relationship may put Black and Hispanic parents at higher risk than White parents for lower parental satisfaction. In addition, when Blacks and Hispanics are blocked by discrimination from societal networks and resources that enhance economic success, educational attainment, and social prestige, they may feel less overall life satisfaction which may be partially reflected in their reports of lower parental satisfaction (Thomas & Hughes, 1986). These barriers to social mobility may also lead to feelings of frustration (and lower parental satisfaction) when, as fathers, these minority group men are unable to provide the same opportunities for success that they see White fathers providing their own children. Men who equate being a good provider with being a good father may feel especially dissatisfied as parents if they perceive themselves as inadequate economic providers.
Older men in this study reported more parental role satisfaction than younger men regardless of the age of their children. This is consistent with other research on timing of parenthood and parental satisfaction (Heath, Chung, & Beckham, 1990; Walter, 1986) as well as greater life satisfaction overall among older individuals (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Campbell et al., 1976). It appears that as men become more emotionally mature, more financially secure, and have greater longevity in their careers, they are more satisfied as fathers. In addition, research indicates that men who have fewer children report higher parental role satisfaction, probably because they feel less parental role strain as they share their time and resources among fewer children (Teachman, Polonko, & Scanzoni, 1987).

**Hypothesis IV:** Men who fathered as adolescents will have higher fertility than men who fathered as adults. The data supported this hypothesis. This finding is also consistent with the research on women who bear children during adolescence (Card & Wise, 1978; Furstenberg et al., 1987). The earlier an individual either fathers or gives birth to a child, the more children s/he will have over a lifetime.
Parenthood interferes with the acquisition of education because children require economic resources that come from time invested in the labor market rather than school. Thus, when childbearing or fathering begins early, a circular pattern often begins. First, education is more likely to be thwarted when parenthood begins early in the life-span. Lower education often results in higher fertility. Higher fertility often leads to a stretching of resources. Consequently, early parenthood is correlated with lower education which, in turn, is correlated with higher fertility and fewer resources per family member.

The control variables, Black and Hispanic, were also significant predictors of higher fertility. Controlling for socioeconomic status, Blacks and Hispanics also reported significantly higher fertility rates than Whites suggesting a cultural rather than class basis for the difference. Again, this is consistent with previous research on fertility among these ethnic groups (Alveriz et al., 1981; Staples, 1981). Finally, older men reported fathering more children than younger men. Older men have had more time to father children than younger men. Also, because the birthrate is lower for younger cohorts,
older men will have more children than younger men over their respective lifespans (Rindfuss & Sweet, 1977; Teachman et al., 1987).

Hypothesis V: Men who fathered as adolescents will have greater depression than men who fathered as adults. The data supported this hypothesis. The correlational nature of these data cannot offer a causal explanation for why men who fathered as teenagers would report more depression than men who fathered as adults. Perhaps the life circumstances of these men during their childhood and adolescence put them not only at risk for early fatherhood but also for subsequent depression. Adolescent fathers more often come from larger, low-income families, with parents and siblings who also became early parents (Williams-McCoy & Tyler, 1985). All three of these factors increase life strains by increasing the stressors and lowering the resources. Both increased stressors and lowered resources are correlated with greater depression (Codington, 1972; Garrison, Schoenbach, Schluchter, & Kaplan, 1987; McKenry, Browne, Kotch, & Symons, 1990; Wetzel, 1984).

In addition, Blacks reported higher levels of depression and Hispanics reported lower levels of
depression than Whites. Past research supports this finding for Blacks. Minority group members have greater depression as a result of their oppression—an oppression which compromises their ability to generate economic resources (McKenry et al., 1990). However, Hispanics in this study reported significantly lower levels of depression than either Whites or Blacks; yet they too experience social discrimination and economic oppression. The difference between the data for these two minority groups may lie in their level of psychological well-being. As will be discussed in the next section, the Hispanic men in this study reported greater psychological well-being (greater life satisfaction, more internal locus of control, and higher self-esteem) than Whites or Blacks. Siegel and Griffin (1984) reported that a greater internal locus of control was the most significant predictor of low levels of depression among their subjects. Thus, because the Hispanics in this study reported more internal locus of control, as well as greater general life satisfaction and higher self-esteem, this enhanced psychological well-being may have protected them against depression.
Hispanics are socialized with a cultural value they call la familia which emphasizes strong family identity, economic and emotional support among extended family members, and the avoidance of bringing verguenza (shame) to one's family (Alvirez et al., 1981; Fitzpatrick, 1981; Zayas, Schinke, & Casareno, 1987). This strong sense of family obligation and responsibility also ensures that each member receives family support as needed. Social support has been found to reduce depression (Brown & Harris, 1978; Garrison & Earls, 1986; Leadbeater & Christman, 1988; Warren & McEachren, 1983). Thus, the Hispanic fathers in this study may have lower levels of depression than either Whites or Blacks because the family support within their extended family networks, coupled with their higher psychological well-being, protects them from high levels of depression.

Younger men also reported higher levels of depression than older men. Given previous research, this finding was expected. Other researchers have reported higher levels of dissatisfaction with life, including higher levels of suicidal behavior, among younger respondents (Campbell et al., 1976; Greydanus, 1986). Actual suicide behaviors may even be greater
than has been reported because many adolescent deaths such as drug overdoses and accidents may actually be undetected suicide attempts.

**Hypothesis VI**: Men who fathered as adolescents will have lower psychological well-being (lower self-esteem, lower life satisfaction, and a greater external locus of control) than men who fathered as adults. Support was not found for this hypothesis. Although the results were in the hypothesized direction, they did not meet the minimum standards of significance. Thus, men who fathered as adolescents did not appear to have significantly lower levels of psychological well-being simply as a function of when they first fathered a child.

Regarding the significant control variables in the model, Hispanic fathers reported significantly lower scores on the self variable (high self-esteem, greater satisfaction with life, and more internal locus of control) indicating they had higher levels of psychological well-being than Whites. Because psychological well-being or "self" in this study is a combination of self-esteem, life satisfaction, and locus of control, a low score on this variable suggests that the subject feels confident about his
opportunities to succeed, relatively satisfied with his position in life, and in control of who he is and who he will become. As was discussed under Hypothesis V, the strong sense of family within the Hispanic culture may enhance individual members' feelings of self-worth, not only protecting them from depression, but also elevating their psychological well-being over Whites, who are less likely to emphasize strong extended family ties.

Conversely, men who reported lower socioeconomic status also reported lower psychological well-being. In capitalistic societies such as the U.S., a man's self-worth is largely measured by his economic productivity. Consequently, lower socioeconomic status persons are devalued by society. Although they may possess social supports and familial resources, they lack the economic resources that this society values (Langman, 1987). Because lower socioeconomic status correlates with fewer resources, an individual who sees others obtaining what s/he is unable to may experience lower self-esteem, less satisfaction with life, and greater fatalism about his/her opportunities and life chances.
Conclusions

Although it is apparent from past research that having or parenting a child during adolescence is a life event which often alters an individual's life course through diminished education and lowered occupational prestige, it does not appear to have the same effect in altering psychosocial outcomes in a man's life. The adult men in this study who fathered a child as an adolescent fared as well or better than men who first fathered during their twenties in terms of marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, stability in intimate relationships, and psychological well-being (self-esteem, locus of control, and life satisfaction). However, men who fathered as adolescents experienced higher levels of depression and fertility as compared to the "on-time" fathers.

According to previous research, this single life event of early-timed fathering appears to have a significant impact on an adolescent's current educational attainment, resulting in lower occupational prestige and lower socioeconomic status later. This relationship results from the occurrence of fatherhood, with its concomitant responsibilities, during years in which adolescents generally complete high school and
may begin post-secondary education. However, during their twenties and thirties, these men reported no differences from "on-time" fathers on some major developmental tasks of early adulthood, such as achieving a satisfying relationship with one's partner, one's children, and one's inner self.

Becoming a father during adolescence is a profoundly different experience than becoming a mother during adolescence. Adolescent fathers rarely have primary responsibility for the nurturing and rearing of their children. The adolescent father is not usually the parent who must cancel school or work when the child is sick, who provides middle-of-the-night care, and who struggles with grandparents over issues of control and appropriate behavior. Although his life may be altered through diminished education and fewer occupational opportunities, he is usually less involved with the day-to-day responsibilities of the child because he is less likely to live with his son or daughter than the mother (Marsiglio, 1986). This geographical distance and society's expectations that mothers are more responsible for childrearing than fathers combine to protect fathers from the negative consequences that have been reported for adolescent
mothers. This is not to say that men experience no negative consequences of fathering during adolescence. In other studies, men who fathered as adolescents have reported lower occupational prestige and lower educational attainment (Card and Wise, 1978; Marsiglio, 1986). In this study, men who fathered as adolescents reported more depression and greater fertility. (Fertility is considered a negative consequence here only if more children result in limited resources for each family member.) Yet overall, the socioemotional outcomes for men who fathered as adolescents were not as negative as hypothesized.

In drawing any conclusions from these findings, several limitations of this study should be recognized. First, this study did not control for the degree of personal contact these men had with their firstborn children. Presumably, this father-child contact ranged from never having seen the infant to primary custody of the child. Future studies should control for the degree of father-child involvement with the firstborn child.

Second, this study did not control for education. Because education and socioeconomic status are highly correlated, only socioeconomic status was used in each
of these models. Using education rather than socioeconomic status might have produced different results. For example, those individuals who complete higher levels of education may be persons with unusual perseverance or greater financial resources, neither of which were examined in this study.

Third, the instruments of the National Survey of Families and Households used for this study were not standardized measures. Consequently, there are no norms with which to compare the present findings.

Fourth, 43% of the sample was not interviewed in the main sample, and 80% of the sample in the over-sampled population was not interviewed. "Refusal to be interviewed" accounted for the greatest portion of unsuccessful interviews among the main sample (59%). "No eligible respondent" accounted for the greatest portion of unsuccessful interviews among the over-sampled population (73%). Given the refusal rate of the main sample, and the well-documented tendency of respondents who agree to be interviewed representing persons with more positive experiences, the results of this study may not be representative of men who fathered as adolescents. Men who have concealed this experience from family and friends may even have
accounted for a sizable percentage of this refusal rate. In addition, it is difficult to speculate as to how the large portion of noneligible respondents among the over-sampled population impacted on this study without more detailed information about these households. Such information was not available.

Fifth, there may be other mediating variables which significantly impact on the experiences of adults who were adolescent fathers that were omitted from this study. For example, social supports from family, friends, co-workers, clergy, teachers, and community services may significantly influence how these men fare as adults.

Sixth, because fathering a child at age 13 is presumed to be a vastly different experience from fathering a child at 19.5 years the wide range of ages within the fathered as teenager subsample is a limitation of this study. Age twenty has been an accepted point of distinction between adolescent fathers and adult fathers among investigators (Lamb & Elster, 1985; Marsiglio, 1986). Consequently, it was used in this study for consistency. However, because of the differences in developmental levels between 13 and 19 year olds, this study is unable to offer
findings which reflect how these developmental levels impact on the outcome measures of interest here. It is possible that fathering a child as an adolescent actually has a curvilinear relationship with these outcome measures. That is, when fatherhood occurs early in adolescence, the experience may be more disruptive to normal development than when it occurs later in adolescence.

Finally, as a result of insufficient numbers of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Hispanics within this sample, these four groups were combined. This common practice negates the unique culture of each group and limits the generalizability to any one particular Spanish-American culture.

Implications for Theory and Research

This study is one of the first to explore the psychosocial implications for adult men of fathering a child during adolescence. Future quantitative studies should continue to use large representative data sets and focus on psychosocial outcomes for adult men who fathered during their adolescence. In addition, qualitative studies of men who fathered during their adolescence should explore how these men perceive this adolescent event impacting on their adult lives.
More important than when a man fathered his first child in predicting each of the six dependent variables in this study was his ethnic background. At least one, and sometimes both, Black and Hispanic were significant in every model in this study. Subcultural patterns of socialization continue to account for key differences in psychosocial outcomes in this and other studies; yet family research has tended to ignore this significance (Staples & Mirande, 1980). Future studies should continue to include this as an important predictive variable.

Second, replacing socioeconomic status with education in the future would enable other researchers to determine if education is a proxy for socioeconomic status. Third, the CES-D scale was not used in its entirety in this study. Future studies on the adult consequences of adolescent fatherhood should use the complete CES-D scale for a more complete depression assessment. Finally, the three hypotheses which were not supported by these data—that men who fathered as adolescents would have (a) lower marital satisfaction, (b) greater instability in intimate relationships, and (c) lower psychological well-being than men who fathered as adults—were significant at the p=.10 level
on one-tailed t-tests. Although this significance level is not customarily sufficient for social science research, it clearly indicates strong trends that warrant further investigation.

The entire area of adolescent fatherhood has received little research attention compared to adolescent motherhood. Furthermore, researchers have investigated the experience of adolescent parenthood through two separate distinct viewpoints: mother versus father. Systems approach theorists would argue that research on this phenomenon should be examined from the experience of the couple or triad, regardless of the degree to which these two parents continue to interact. Examining each parent's reaction separately ignores the interactions and experiences of the triad and assumes that adolescent fathers are involved in fundamentally different ways than adolescent mothers. Only a systems perspective can offer support for whether or not this is true. Previous studies have been based on this assumption without validation.

Also, many of these adolescent fatherhood studies have been based on unrepresentative and small samples, conducted by predominantly white, male, middle-class researchers. Future studies should use large
representative samples, and incorporate both minority and female expertise in the investigation, data collection, and authorship to control the inherent biases that frequently occur when only one perspective is utilized.

Two unexpected findings of this study would also suggest a need for additional research. In this study, men who fathered as adolescents perceived greater satisfaction from their parent-child relationship than "on-time" fathers. Researchers may want to utilize different methodologies to more fully determine why these men who often have poor education, low social status, and low paying jobs would feel more satisfaction from their children. Second, contrary to previous research, the Black men in this study reported fewer marriages and cohabitations than White men. The cultural meaning of cohabitation warrants greater exploration.

In general terms, as difficult as the experience of fathering a child during adolescence may be perceived to be, the event may not be significant enough to alter major aspects of a man's adult well-being. Perhaps the man will acquire fewer years of schooling, work at a lower status and/or lower
paying job, have more children, and experience more depression. Yet on the other hand, he may have comparable satisfaction in his marriage, an equal number of intimate relationships, similar psychological well-being, and even enhanced satisfaction as a parent over the man who becomes a father in his twenties.

Implications for Policy and Practice

In general, men who fathered as adolescents did not report hypothesized negative long-term consequences of this adolescent event in their relationships with their partners, children, or themselves. Any problems may be more likely to arise from poor education, low income, and inadequate resources. Thus, albeit indirectly, this study adds further support to what other researchers have recommended in the general area of adolescent pregnancy. Helping adolescent parents receive strong educational foundations continues to be the single most important contribution that parents, school officials, and the community at-large can make to alter the current consequences of adolescent pregnancy (Card & Wise, 1978; Furstenberg et al., 1987).

Community commitment toward immediate intervention with newly pregnant adolescent couples may prevent the
consequences of an inadequate education. The lack of education results in costly consequences not only for individuals, but for the larger community as well. The well-documented linkages between early childbearing and low education, high fertility, low socioeconomic status, few material resources, inadequate access to community supports (i.e. medical, dental, and higher education services), and dependence on public assistance should be sufficient motivation for communities to coordinate resources to intervene early with adolescent fathers and mothers. Such provision of immediate services might save communities millions of dollars in welfare payments, medical services, legal fees, incarceration costs, child protective services, and alcohol and other drug treatments. This is not to say that adolescent parents are prone to become criminals, child abusers, and drug addicts. However, when individuals are blocked from legal and legitimate opportunities for success, they strive for success in other ways.

A more direct implication of this study for public policy and clinical intervention stems from the vastly different experiences of these men not as a result of when they became a father, but rather as a result of
their particular cultural orientation. Culturally sensitive programs to address the different needs of these groups appear to be necessary for optimal intervention outcomes. Clinical intervention that ignores the unique cultural values of each of these groups would not be expected to be effective given the findings of this study.

Also, it appears from this study that men who fathered as adolescents are more vulnerable to life strains which result in more depression than "on-time" fathers. Given the relatively recent recognition that depression is a widespread mental health problem, these men may be more at-risk for developing serious complications from depression. Yet, as a function of their higher fertility, lower socioeconomic status, and lower income they may have less access to mental health resources. Community service workers should attend to the timing of fatherhood as an important indicator for risk of depression.

Early intervention programs, for both mothers and fathers, to teach parenting skills, provide high quality child care, educate about the consequences of high fertility on education and socioeconomic status, and support continued attendance must be encouraged by
civic leaders. Adolescents who acquire post-secondary education and secure adequate employment clearly become parents with greater economic resources and citizens who in turn offer contributions back to their communities. The financial investment by a community is more cost-effective in prevention programs for adolescents than in treatment programs for adults.
LIST OF REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Marital Role Satisfaction Scale

Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage? Circle the number that best describes your marriage.

1. Very Unhappy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Happy

How would you describe the things you do as a husband or wife?

2. Interesting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Boring
3. Appreciated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unappreciated
4. Lonely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Sociable
5. Poorly Done 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Well Done

The following two items were part of the original instrument but were omitted from this study after factor analysis. They loaded highly on a dimension of marital stress management that was not in the original design of this study.

1. Overwhelming 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Manageable
2. Complicated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Simple

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APPENDIX B

Parental Role Satisfaction Scale

How would you describe the things you do as a parent?

1. Interesting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Boring
2. Appreciated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unappreciated
3. Lonely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Sociable
4. Poorly Done 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Well Done

The following two items were part of the original instrument but were omitted from this study after factor analysis. They loaded highly on a dimension of parental stress management that was not in the original design of this study.

1. Overwhelming 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Manageable
2. Complicated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Simple
APPENDIX C

DEPRESSION SCALE

Next is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved during the past week. Circle your answer to each question.

On how many days during the past week did you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF DAYS IN PAST WEEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. feel bothered by things that usually don't bother you? NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b. not feel like eating; your appetite was poor? NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c. feel that you could not shake off the blues even with help from your family or friends? NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d. have trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing? NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

e. feel depressed? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

f. feel that everything you did was an effort? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

g. feel fearful? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

h. sleep restlessly? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

i. talk less than usual? ... NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

j. feel lonely? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

k. feel sad? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

l. feel you could not get going? ............. NONE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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APPENDIX D

SELF SCALE

PLEASE INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
<th>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

I have always felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I wanted it to.

I am able to do things as well as other people.

First, taking things all together, how would you say things are these days? Circle the number that best describes how you feel.

VERT UNHAPPY [____ ____] HAPPY