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The Unwed Father as Perceived by Himself

Daryl E. Ellis
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THE UNWED FATHER AS PERCEIVED BY HIMSELF

by

Daryl E. Ellis

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Family and Child Development
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My committee members were helpful in designing this study and in providing constructive suggestions throughout its development. My major professor, Dr. C. Jay Skidmore, has spent much time and effort working with me on this study. His patient consideration and continual support were invaluable. I am sincerely grateful for this assistance.

The ten men who cooperated with me to make this study possible gave generously of their time and assistance. Without them this study would not have been possible. I extend to them a sincere thank you.

Daryl E. Ellis
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ABSTRACT
The Unwed Father as Perceived by Himself
by
Daryl E. Ellis, Master of Science
Utah State University, 1973

Major Professor: Dr. C. Jay Skidmore
Department: Family and Child Development

This study was designed to reveal the self perception of unwed fathers. Ten men participated in the project; nine of them were 25 years of age or younger. To measure self perception an instrument was constructed in the form of a questionnaire. Each unwed father was then interviewed to discover his perceptions, particularly as they relate to their common plight of unwed fatherhood.

The men perceived themselves as normal young Americans, and felt their conduct and intentions were in compliance with peer expectations. Some of the subjects responded to the interview with descriptive and detailed accounts while others were either unconcerned or hesitant and replied in few words. None of the men wanted to be recognized by society as the parent of an illegitimate child. Seven of the ten reported that they did not want any association with their child. Chastity of thought and behavior was not held in honor by a majority of the subjects; conversely, the men (with two exceptions) were looking for new sexual partners. Only two of the unwed fathers had employed some form of conception control while having sexual relations with the mothers involved and these two did not do so regularly. The men were not contributing to the support of their child on a consistent basis, indicating
their lack of involvement in a situation in which they share equal responsibility with the child's mother.

The emergence of a clearer picture of the unwed father, through the attempt to reveal his interests, problems, and concerns, may assist in the development of strategies and programs to prevent illegitimacy and to effectively aid those involved in it. Perhaps this study of the self perception of unwed fathers will be helpful in this regard.

(61 pages)
INTRODUCTION

In 1970 over 300,000 illegitimate children were born in the United States. The fathers of these children are an occult group. Their identities are frequently concealed and their participation in rearing the children is often not expected. This relegation to a position of non-involvement has been most unfortunate. These same men are equally involved with the women for bringing new life into the world.

Some unwed fathers deny their paternity and hope they will never be detected. The true identities of others are unknown due to the promiscuous behavior pattern of some unwed mothers. In most situations, however, no attempt to locate, counsel, or consult the unwed fathers is undertaken. These and other complications have left the unwed fathers a relatively unknown person.

Although sensitive and formidable, a study of this nature can unfold a hidden side of illegitimacy. Many people are added to the public dole each year in countries where illegitimacy flourishes. Unwed fathers are a key figure in this universal problem, and their self perceptions can aid the development of a clearer, more complete picture of the problem.

The role of the unwed father as the parent of an illegitimate child, and how he perceives that role, will be the focus of this study. Has fathering a child left any mark on these men? How do they regard their role as fathers? How do they see themselves in comparison to the traditional family unit? Why did they not marry the mothers? Are they deliberately working to vitiate what was taught in their homes?
These and other questions were raised to uncover their self perceptions.

**Statement of the Problem**

A high level of paternity out of wedlock exists in America today. The lack of information concerning unwed fathers constitutes a significant social problem and reduces the possibility of preventing the conception of illegitimate children. It also inhibits the attempts of counselors to skillfully assist individuals involved in illegitimacy. The number of unwed fathers appears to be increasing, and their proliferation poses a severe threat to the family and to society. They frequently abandon the mothers, leaving no support whatsoever. It is essential to prevent their numerical growth as well as provide assistance for those already on the roster. Presenting the self perception of unwed fathers may lead to the development of a positive plan of social action.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to assess the self perception of unwed fathers. The self perception is moulded by attitudes toward: self, others, the environment in which the individual has lived, religion, and other influences. The subjects were asked questions which were directly related to these areas in an attempt to develop an accurate picture of their self perceptions. No hypothesis was employed.

**Objectives**

The objectives of this study were:

1. To study the sexual behavior patterns of the unwed fathers.
2. To describe the relationship between parents of the illegitimate children, as well as to study the basis for involvement with the mothers and how the relationships between partners developed into their present status.

3. To investigate the influences and qualities which were dominant in the lives of the subjects.

4. To describe the unwed fathers' feelings toward their children.

Sample

The sample was composed of ten men who were known to be unwed fathers, and who agreed to participate in the study. They were selected on the basis of their availability and are representative only of themselves.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Omission of Unwed Fathers from Research

Why have the fathers of children born out of wedlock been omitted from research in the past? Vincent (1960) stated that public and research interest in a given problem with social significance is partially a function of the financial burden which that problem imposes on the taxpayers. Consequently, it is the unwed mother who receives the emphasis and focus of research rather than the unwed father. She is the one who requires maternal assistance, a home, financial aid, and casework services. Consequently, the ratio of studies of unwed fathers to studies of unwed mothers is approximately one to 25.

The direct involvement of unwed fathers in research will only occur when these men are no longer seen as clandestine influences in illegitimacy, but rather as vital components of the problem. Pannor reveals this in his statement concerning why unwed fathers have been omitted from research:

The father of the child born out of wedlock remains a somewhat nebulous figure, left free to attempt to detach himself physically and emotionally from a problem in which he has been intimately involved. (Pannor, 1963, p. 65)

Vincent (1960) declares that the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven provides little protection for the unwed mother, whose maternity is self evident; the unwed father, however, has the protection to go undetected and his paternity must be proven. Only after his paternity has been established is he a valid candidate for research. Vincent (1960) asserts that valid statements pertaining to unmarried
fathers in the general population cannot be made with accuracy because survey data concerning unwed fathers are not available at the present time.

Research in various areas of sensitive human behavior has rapidly developed in the past five years. Doubt and hesitation once prevented the acquisition of valuable knowledge but today the researcher probes, hoping to build a more complete understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Deutsch presents reasons and their subjects in the past:

Even though our sex patterns may alter or our practices coincide with or differ from those of our neighbors, we are now in a position to know what they are and evaluate them. This does not mean that anyone's sex life will become public property but it does mean that many thousands of histories are being made available to the scientists who are reporting upon them without exposing the individuals who have volunteered the information. Thus it is now possible to begin to understand human sexual behavior without deception. (Deutsch, 1948, p. 148-9)

A clearer picture of the unwed father is emerging. Opportunities to study him are being recognized and grasped rather than relinquished. Though his role in illegitimacy is frequently concealed, he is a vital component of the problem and needs to be considered as such.

Irresponsible Attitudes and Values

Attitudes and influences of the public have encouraged unwed fathers to avoid involvement in the problems associated with illegitimacy. The public has also expedited their irresponsible behavior. Pannor (1963) declared that the public usually pictures the unwed father as a seducer and a deserter, but at the same time they excuse his behavior with the rationale that "boys will be boys," or, "they were just sowing their wild oats." Young (1959) revealed a coercive technique practiced in Europe prior to the 20th century which attempted to
involve the unwed fathers in the care of their children: the state would initiate paternity proceedings and compel support for the child from him, on the assumption that he could not trick the state authorities as might a weak, confused woman. This approach was not successful, however; it proved ineffective both in rectifying and understanding the problem.

The public attitude toward the unwed father provides evidence that his behavior and its causes were not clearly understood in Europe before this century. Young describes this attitude:

In short it was more or less taken for granted that he was in any case a pretty worthless character probably without scruples of conscience, from whom little could be expected, and that little to be exacted for the most part by compulsion. (Young, 1954, p. 131)

This plan for working with the unwed fathers implies a lack of knowledge concerning the problem and further demonstrates the need to approach it responsibly and without preconceived convictions or biases.

What is the American public doing to replace the neglect of the unwed father? Vincent (1969) suggested this society has created a paradox: the most persistent contradiction in America is the inadvertent encouraging of the cause of illegitimacy in opposition to the censuring and condemning of its results. Continuing to unfold this poignant lack of consistency, he declares that the public concern for females in studies of illegitimacy obscures the biological fact that the man is equally responsible with her for the creation of the problem.

The lack of concern for the unwed father was shown by Young (1954) to be directly related to the attitude of the female involved. Young states that an astonishing number of unmarried mothers met their baby's father as a pickup, a blind date, or simply in a casual, unconventional fashion. They purposefully selected men who had no
genuine affection or security to offer them. Most of the unwed mothers remain quite disinterested in protective devices to prevent pregnancy. Young declares that this indifference toward contraceptive methods is very strange, especially in intelligent, well educated girls who realize the social penalty exacted from them for their premarital pregnancy. Young vividly relates this lack of concern for the father of the child:

A considerable percentage of them either do not know the men at all or have had only a brief, casual relationship with him. Frequently they do not even know his name and if questioned about it will say vaguely, "I think his name was Bob." They are unable to describe him physically, and any question about this is apt to result in a disinterested item of information such as "I think he had blue eyes." A question about the kind of person he was brings only a blank look. (Young, 1954, p. 47)

This demonstrates that the lack of involvement of the unwed father is not always a function of his character or attitude but may be the result of public views of him, or attitudes of his female partner. Reider (1948) supports the view that the unwed mother is often the determinant of the role which the unwed father assumes. In Sweden he found that the mother sometimes has no concern for the father whatsoever, and does not even care to have him informed of her pregnancy.

Is the male always exploiting the female for his own gratification at the female's expense and risk? Vincent says that the female may be exploiting the male, even while the male is exploiting the female:

The unwed mother is as likely as the unwed father to be "exploiting" during the time their relationship is active, but with a different focus. She tends to use sex as a means - to dates, companionship, an expense account, upward mobility and possible marriage. He reverses this. He tends to date, provide companionship, pay the bills, court and express love - as a means to sex. (Vincent, 1960, p. 44-5)

These differential goals of the male and female are why the term "sexual exploiter" does not apply to the male alone.
Reider (1948) asserted that the information concerning the unwed father was inconsistent and heterogeneous. He stated that two factors continually emerge as germane in the situation: (1) weight of the conscience of the unwed father, and (2) economic and social status of the unwed mother. His study in Sweden found unwed fathers readily admitting their paternity in some instances, feeling proud of their behavior. Reider's study also found the unmarried father less bothered by his conscience if he perceived the woman impregnated as below his own social class rank. In some examples the unwed father was unsatisfied by intercourse alone. His neurotic need for definite proof of virility was only satisfied by fathering a child. However, Reider views the virility complex (conscious and unconscious intent to create a child) of much greater valence and frequency in the unmarried woman than in the unmarried man.

How does the unwed male respond to the news that he is to be the father of a child? His bewilderment usually leaves him wondering what to do: Should he marry the mother of his child? Should he remove himself from the situation entirely? Should he try to pretend that he is not the child's father? Should he play a mediocre role and help the child's mother occasionally? These and other alternatives are available for his choosing. Vincent declares that although many alternatives are available the decision of what to do is a difficult one:

Fathers who do maintain contact with their illicit sex partners are further demasculized when unable even to see, much less take pride in, their offspring. And although it might commonly be thought they have no interest in doing so, the comments, questions, and implicit wishes expressed to me by unmarried fathers lead me to believe that a sizeable proportion of them do. Whether it be called the male ego, the deepseated desire to create and produce, or the showing of virility, there is something in a man of all walks of life which exacts a price when he is denied
identification with that which he has helped to create, even when the denial is of his own choosing. (Vincent, 1969, p. 284)

The apparent irresponsibility of the unwed father may or may not be the reflection of his attitudes and values. The restrictions imposed by the unwed mother or by society may isolate the unwed father. Other attitudes of society encourage liberal sexual behavior but condemn the results. The unwed father may be justifiably classified as promiscuous, exploitative and irresponsible in some cases, but he also may have been misrepresented and not fit this analysis at all. He has been omitted from the problem in the past and the resultant picture of him has been an inaccurate one. When given an opportunity to present himself, distortion of his real nature can be removed.

Responsible Attitudes and Values

Arnstein (1970) declares that until very recently the attention focused on the plight of the unwed father was very limited. He has remained a shadowy figure hovering somewhere in the background of this tragedy and usually thought of as a fleeting, casual, promiscuous seducer, or a worthless character. Arnstein continues by stating that recent studies of the unwed father indicate that the public image of him is utterly false. Many of the boys were dating their girls steadily and believed in the sincerity of their love. Peer pressures (other boys bragging about their sexual adventures) were often the impetus for experimenting with sex. When the young father discovered his steady girl was pregnant he was usually frightened, being unaware at the time that their sexual activity might lead to an unwanted pregnancy. Arnstein states that the immediate reaction of the majority of boys was to marry the girls and thus solve the problem. Many of them lost heart
and later changed their minds, however, and some of the girls did not want to see the boys again. Parental refusal to consent to the marriage was also listed as a major concern. Seeing the future implications and possible complications of a shotgun union made them reluctant to give their approval. Arnstein concludes her comments stating: "The possibility of skilled, sympathetic counseling gives hope that they will be able to face and handle their future lives with greater maturity and wisdom." (Arnstein, 1970, p. 90)

Vincent (1960) also did not find the American unwed father to be an "unscrupulous seducer taking advantage of a mentally incompetent girl." He did find the unmarried father to be close in age and education to the girl he impregnated, and reported that the father is not superior to his female partner (in the eyes of society) in the present age. This indication, he feels, holds promise of a better understanding of the unwed father, his motives and problems.

Can the unwed father successfully overlook the knowledge that he is a father? For centuries he was thought to be unconcerned, to not even care. Sanchez comments: "I submit the thought that the father is never completely absent, however far removed he may be by the severity of the problems, by space and by time." (Sanchez, 1965, p. 10) Pannor declares that a change in attitude can result when the unwed father is permitted to see his child. Pannor (1963) declares that seeing the baby makes the boy sharply aware of the reality of the problem which has resulted from his sexual behavior. The responsibilities suddenly hit him with tremendous impact. Frequently he will ask for assurance that the baby will receive the best possible care. Discussing his future aspirations, the meaning of the relationship with his female partner, marriage, and the alternatives possible in planning
for the baby from then on take on a greater meaning for him. Pannor feels that responsible involvement can result when the father is permitted and encouraged to play an active role in the welfare of his child.

How can a pattern of responsibility be developed with the unwed father? Pannor and Evans feel his involvement can be encouraged by the community:

A community approach to the problems of illegitimacy must include services for the unmarried father. Not only must we begin to see the unmarried father as a person in need of help with many of the same problems as the unmarried mother, but we must integrate our efforts in his behalf with our services for the unmarried mother. Only this approach makes possible the most thorough exploration of alternatives for both the unmarried father and the unmarried mother, as well as making possible a sounder decision about the out-of-wedlock child. (Pannor and Evans, 1961, p. 6)

The enactment of such a scheme would require public support. Olsen and Willmarth (1961) have shown the public attitude toward unwed fathers in a western state. Two hundred and fifty-three schools were questioned about pregnant girls and their male partners. Of the 253 high schools, 192 felt that a pregnant girl placed the school in a bad light and 169 of these schools expelled the girls. Of these same 169 schools only 10 made an attempt to locate the unwed fathers involved. A responsible approach would exact of the unwed fathers the same as it exacts of the unwed mothers. When severe disciplinary action is dealt to one half of the components of the problem but the other half is excluded, conflicting values emerge.

Young emphasizes the need of society to begin to understand the unwed father, and he suggests where to begin: there is "no possibility of knowing what the unmarried father is like as a person ... until this accusing and punitive attitude toward him is abandoned." (Young,
1954, p. 133) Gaining the cooperation of all unwed fathers is assuredly impossible, just as locating all of them is impossible. This should not, however, deter the desire of researchers to understand him more accurately.

**Contemporary Trends and Needs**

The obscure picture of unwed fathers which characterized the past is being replaced with a more complete and precise one today. Unwed fathers may lack involvement in the welfare of their offspring but this is not an unequivocal demonstration of their character. The interaction of numerable factors has isolated many unwed fathers from the mothers and children; often this compulsory alienation has left the unwed fathers bewildered and intensely worried.

Many new channels of discovery are opening for the researcher of social problems. A willingness of the subjects to candidly discuss themselves is one of these channels. Scientific interest in the unwed father is increasing today; he is beginning to be recognized as a vital component of the problem of illegitimacy.

An examination of the unwed father's perception of himself is needed to acquaint the public and research interests and counselors with him. Preconceived positions and suspicions which are unfounded can be removed by presenting the unwed father as he sees himself. The unmarried father recognizes better than any other what he is most susceptible to, and his personal reflections may provide valuable information for the counselor. The unwanted pregnancy may be avoided when situations which encourage sexual exploitation are recognized and when the public enacts programs to eliminate them. A discovery of the self perception of the unwed father must precede public attempts to
combat the problem, and to involve the subject in the consequences of his sexual activity.

Recognizing these needs, and that little effort has been exerted to assist the unwed father, this study was designed to permit and encourage the unwed father to present himself candidly and lucidly.
PROCEDURE

Location of the Subjects

Subjects for this study were located by asking people—friends and acquaintances—for assistance in finding unwed fathers. Contacts were most frequently secured through the unwed mothers. Eighteen prospective subjects were located in this fashion. Ten of these 18 men cooperated and this study centered on the responses of these ten unmarried fathers.

Selection of the Subjects

Before subjects were selected to participate in this study, a simple screening procedure was used. Possible candidates were omitted if they planned to marry the mothers involved, if they felt participation in the study might have an adverse effect on them, if they anticipated that their identities might be detected, or if there was doubt concerning their paternity.

The subjects were interviewed individually over an 11-week period in the spring of 1971. The sample represented a partial view of unwed fathers in Northern Utah. Rigid criteria for selection of the subjects (other than the requirements listed above) were not imposed because of the problems encountered in locating possible candidates. If the men were unwed fathers and if they would submit to the interview they were used in this study.

Confirmation of the paternity of the subjects was of prime importance. The unmarried fathers admitted being the parents of children but
additional information was sought to substantiate their personal assertions. The fatherhood of the men was determined by a variety of methods which were as follows:

<table>
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<th>Number of Unwed Fathers</th>
<th>How Paternity was Confirmed</th>
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<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>Unwed mothers who have kept their children declared the unwed father status of the subjects in question to be accurate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>The unwed father had his child with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>A counselor of the local Family Service confirmed the subject was an unwed father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>A close friend of the subject declared that he was an unwed father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>A counselor for unwed mothers in the local high school confirmed the unwed father status of the subject in question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>The subject was arrested and convicted for bastardy. His friends also confirmed his fatherhood status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>The subject requested that no inquiries concerning his unwed fatherhood status or his child be conducted. This request was honored and responses of the man clearly indicated his claim to having fathered a child was correct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>The paternity of this subject was probable but some doubt existed. He paid all the medical expenses associated with the child's birth, admitted sexual involvement with the unwed mother, and helped her relocate her residency twice. He felt, however, that the behavior pattern of the unwed mother may have labelled him an unwed father incorrectly.</td>
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**Development of Rapport with the Subjects**

The men were assured that their identities would be concealed, that they would be released to no one for having participated in this study. They were also informed that the interview questionnaires would
be labelled with a numeral and their names would appear nowhere on the
form. Interviews were conducted in the privacy of the subjects' homes
or wherever they desired to meet the researcher. To further gain the
confidence of the unwed fathers, others were not to be present during
the interviews. At the request of one subject this condition was
waived and his older brother was present.

**Description of the Instrument**

The instrument was developed to explore the self perceptions of
unmarried fathers. Consequently, the data derived from such an instru-
ment reflected personal preferences, values, feelings and attitudes.
To create a more vivid appraisal of their self perceptions portions of
the questionnaire examined their opinions of others.

Specific areas which the instrument probed were: (1) family,
social, and educational backgrounds, (2) past and current interest in
sexual concerns, (3) relationships with the unwed mothers, (4) bases
for sexual involvement with the unwed mothers, (5) reactions by them-
selves to the sexual relationships, (6) self conceptions, (7) attitudes
toward the unwed mothers as a result of the sexual relationships, (3)
their sexual behavior patterns, (9) reactions to the pregnancies of the
unwed mothers, and (10) attitudes toward the children which resulted.

Some of the questions were repetitious, being included in a later sec-
tion of the interview to encourage the subjects to augment their first
responses.

Much of the data were omitted from the study because it failed
to contribute to a better understanding of the self perception of unwed
fathers. Examples of questions which demonstrated this were:
(1) Where do you call your home?
(2) How long have you been out of school?
(3) In your adolescent years, how would you rate your knowledge of human sexual behavior?
(4) Your health in the last five years has been:
(5) Membership in organizations and activity in them:
(6) Rating of the partner's sexual appeal to self and others:
(7) Enjoyment taking the partner to bed:
(8) Do you feel now that you were a victim of circumstances which were not within your power to control?

These questions failed for a variety of reasons. Some of them collected data pertinent to the focus of the study, others were vague and difficult for the subjects to answer.

Administration of the Instrument

Because the data of this study were subjective and of a personal nature, respondents were not compelled to answer questions to which they felt reluctant to reply. This privilege, however, was used only one time throughout the interviews. All responses were recorded verbatim, with the use of individual copies of the instrument. In two situations the subjects had sired more than one child out of wedlock. These men were asked to focus on one unwed mother and specify which comments pertained to the other unwed mother.

Some questions contained an "other" category when all the possible alternative responses could not be listed. A majority of the subjects used this opportunity to respond accurately and with greater detail than the listed choices provided.
Pilot Study

Three men participated in the pilot study; two were married men with families of their own, and the third was a single college student. The purposes of the pilot study were: (1) to clarify questions in the instrument which might appear vague to the subjects, (2) to prepare the researcher for use of the instrument with the actual unwed fathers, (3) to omit questions from the instrument which would not contribute information germane to the self perceptions of unwed fathers.

Main Study

Ten unmarried fathers were the subjects of this study. Eight of them were Caucasian and two were Negro. The men were living in the State of Utah at the time of the study. None of them planned to marry the unwed mothers. The ages of the subjects were: 16, 17, 18, 21, 21, 22, 22, 23, 24, 49.

Analysis of Data

The data were examined to present unwed fathers without distortion. Personal preferences of the researcher were omitted. Emphasis throughout the study was on expressing the nature of reality as it appeared to the unwed fathers. The existence of profanity demonstrated the flavor of speech preferred by some of the subjects. To condense the study into a palatable length many comments were eliminated, particularly if they were redundant or did not pertain to the self perceptions of the men.

When alternate choices to the questions were delineated, the data were examined by arranging the responses according to their frequency.
The responses were presented verbatim when the subjects were asked to relate opinions or to reflect on past experiences. The study was a descriptive analysis of unwed fathers and therefore none of the data were modified to comply with predetermined requirements.
SUBJECTS AND FINDINGS

This study has involved a very small sample of unmarried fathers in the total population. The sample was not scientifically selected and is, therefore, not representative of any group other than the men who participated in the project. Therefore, the findings from this study can be generalized to other men only with the greatest of caution. While the group of men in this study is not representative of others, their views are valuable in that they give an indication of how some individuals feel about the topics discussed in the study, and they may add to our understanding of the unmarried father, if only in stimulating continued research.

The Subjects

Nine of the subjects were born to parents of first marriages, the other one was a stepchild. Sizes of the family of orientation ranged from four to twelve, and therefore all of the unmarried fathers had one or more siblings. Two men classified their family lives as very happy, two as happier than most families, and five as moderately happy. The remaining one said his family was an unhappy one. Four men declared their fathers as excellent, four asserted they were good, one said his was an average father, and one replied that he "could not really even say, I'd say poor but he thinks in dimensions other than mine." Three men rated their mothers as excellent, six said their mothers were good, and one said he could not do justice to the question and chose not to reply.
The unwed fathers were asked how they felt as members of their respective families. Six of the ten agreed that they felt important, seven of the ten reportedly felt accepted by other family members, and eight of them said they were loved by their families. Eight of the men also concurred that they were considerate of the other members of their families.

The sexual atmosphere in their homes was rated by three men as very conservative in comparison to their current attitudes, by two as liberal in comparison to their current attitudes, and by four as conservative. The remaining subject related: "It was unknown to me until I knocked up this broad, then I learned it was really exceptionally anti-female." Six of the subjects said they discussed their sexual concerns with their parents, and four of these six men said they were usually satisfied with the answers of their parents. The other two men said their parents' answers were rarely adequate.

Two men rated the religious influences in their homes as very strong, two reported moderately strong, four said moderate, one replied weak, and one said very weak. Five unmarried fathers declared that they never attend church today, one said he went once a year, one said twice a year, one said he went infrequently, one said three times per year, and one said that he went every Sunday.

Eight of the subjects completed a high school education, one finished the 11th grade and one the 10th grade. Four men had educational goals of a master's degree or higher. One subject had a bachelor's degree as his goal, and three stated that they had no goal at this time. Two men were farmers. When asked to evaluate their education, two men said it was useful at all times, four said useful most of the time, two replied moderately useful, one said his was not useful most
of the time, and one said his best education was the "school of hard knocks."

The subjects were asked to compare their own scholastic achievement with that of their classmates. One said he was in the top 25 percent of his class, six said they were in the average student group, and three said they were in the lower 40 percent of their classes. Six unwed fathers attended high schools with over 1,000 students enrolled, one attended a high school with over 500 students, and three attended high schools with 300 to 500 students.

Six of the men declared that they attended social activities very often, three replied occasionally, and one said that he rarely attended social functions.

Six of the subjects were prosecuted once or more for violating the law. Their comments concerning these situations were: "Court case, I got framed on a narcotics charge, was vindicated. We are thinking about suing for problems, they took my car, I was the only one who was released." "The old man caught me with dope, about twice, threatened to report and gave me books to read." "No hitch-hiking in Georgia on freeway, illegal." "Arrested falsely, was bad check and won case." "I was thrown in jail, bastardy was the charge." Five of the men felt the legal authorities were justified in taking action against them. Their responses were: "Yes, because I broke the law. Whether or not I agree with the law is not the question." "No." "Yes, because they didn't know the reasons. It was the process of law." "Yes, because most of the time I just blew it." "Yes, I was breaking the law." "Yes, far as they were concerned it was their job to do it, but they are a little nosey, campus security."
The unwed fathers revealed a wide range of hobby preferences which included: bowling, hunting, collecting antique firearms, music, duck hunting, bass music, basketball, horseback riding, congo drums, and working out physically. They also were employed in a variety of vocations. Their particular interests in this regard were: "Construction, working in bathing suit, hard hat, and gloves all summer long." "Farming or I wouldn't have stayed in it." "(store), usually on own, don't have dad bitching at you all the time." "Construction, didn't have to do much." "Firefighter, like being a hero." "None. I want to work in the area of interpersonal counseling." "Janitor at (location)." "Farming or I wouldn't be here I guess." "Groundkeeper, it was outdoor, nice working outside." "Counselor, I enjoy working with guys."

The background data demonstrated unique characteristics of the unmarried fathers as well as similar ones. Their experiences with the law, for example, were different in each situation. Their educational objectives were also variable. Most of the men preferred outdoor work, an example of similar preferences. Some subjects answered the questions as briefly as possible while others continually responded in descriptive detail. Three men were particularly cautious throughout the interviews and replied in few words. Four other men were the reverse of this and welcomed the opportunity to talk about themselves.

**Description of the Sexual Behavior Patterns of the Unmarried Fathers**

Reporting their high school dating patterns, three men said they normally dated three or more times per week, five said they dated one or two times per week, and two said they usually dated about once every two weeks. One subject reported that he looked for opportunities to become
sexually involved with all of his dates, four said they looked for such with most of their dates, two said with a few dates, one said with very special dates, one said with one date only, and one said with none of his dates. Five unwed fathers reported that they had dated a married woman, and five also said they dated girls of different races. Seven of the subjects said they would like to change their dating habits and practices, and their comments were: "A few girls I wished I wouldn't have went with, the one who has my child." "More feeling between the two of us." "Would like to have more of it." "Importance of a man-woman relationship and my attitude towards it." "I don't know, haven't thought of it in a long time." "Really wouldn't like to do this whole situation again, there is too many easy ways to avoid it."

When the unwed fathers were asked how many women they felt they had ever loved their responses were: zero, one, one, one, two, two, three, three, three, and the last subject said: "Almost all I screwed but one." Reporting the number of women they had sexual relations with their answers were: one, two, three, ten, ten, fifteen, fifteen to twenty-five, twenty-five, thirty, and the tenth subject again reported: "A half a dozen in the service and lots for five bucks a shot."

What type of dating partners were preferred by the unwed fathers? Five of them said they liked women who had previous sexual experience, four men preferred women who liked to engage in sexual intercourse on their first evening together. One man commented concerning the chance of taking a woman to bed with him on their first date: "This is a man's fantasy." All the subjects felt it was important to date women who enjoyed the same kind of activities as those they preferred. Three men said they preferred ladies who were known for their virginity and
dated just for fun. Two men declared that a good date was one who accommodated them in whatever way they desired.

The sexual behavior patterns were a reflection of attributes and qualities the subjects preferred. A prominent characteristic was that of unrestricted sexual indulgence. Six of the subjects claimed to be free from traditional social restraints and some indicated that they hunted for sexual partners. Conformity to the moral standards was of concern to the other four unwed fathers. Most of the men appeared superficially concerned with possible future results of their sexual activities, whether they be injurious to themselves or to others.

Involvement with the Mothers

Data portraying the involvement with the unwed mothers were useful in the exploration of their self perceptions. The patterns of involvement which were found were classified as: supporting, neutral, and exploiting. The first pattern was demonstrated by some unmarried fathers with the following statements: "Just before the baby was born I felt I truly loved her, the problem of having a baby was what made it difficult to get along." "Went to (city) to get married, I was only 20 and they turned us down." "I loved her dearly, I still do probably, she was about the greatest person you could ever meet." "I wanted to marry her and she didn't want to get married." "Now her parents don't dig me and when they learned she was still seeing me they said they'd kick her out of the house and so I told her to come and live with me and she did." "You know how most guys are, they say she'd be a real nice lay, but with us it got to the point where our love was strong." "I really liked her a whole lot, I still think the same of her."
Responses which demonstrated a passive or neutral involvement with the unwed mothers were: "Just dated, a good friend, nothing super-special." "We both got drunk together several times." "A real good friend, I wasn't in love with her." "I told her when we were first going out I would never marry her." "I wouldn't want to marry her, she's a nice kid, from a rural area, real beautiful but not too smart." "I never really dated her, had known her for a month, played sex games together." "No great love, she liked me, she felt a little tied to me, other guys had roughed her up but I was very gentle with her." "Now I think she is a beautiful person, but she's been brought up in a secure home, immature." "We had fun, my best friend and her best friend went together too." "Fun to go with, she's kinda half crazy." "Easy going, a lot of fun, I never really got involved with her."

Five subjects indicated throughout the interviews that they had no genuine concern for their female partners, the unwed mothers. Examples of this were: "Bought me beer and cigarettes and was a free piece of ass, I tried to get another friend to take her out." "If you have a dog to screw, you'll share it with anyone." "That bitch never said a word of truth in her life." "She thought I would be the pigeon to take care of seven kids." "She's dingy, weird, dumb in a neat way, funny because she's stupid, all right looking." "If it did happen it was when I was drunk." "I hadn't known her before the night at all, I didn't even plan it, I didn't even date her." "She'd been drinking, from my high school, asked me to screw her." "I was drunk at (a local beer parlor), hustled her for a couple of weeks."

Five subjects said their sexual involvement with the unwed mothers resulted from mutual desire, three men felt the predominant cause was an overwhelming urge to express sexual love, one man said
their relationship gradually developed into sexual involvement, and the tenth subject related that alcohol was what started their involvement with each other.

How long had the unwed fathers known the unwed mothers before their first sexual experience? Their answers to this question were: 15 minutes, one day, a couple of weeks, about one month, one and one-half months, about three months, nine months, met in the fall and went to bed together in the summer of next year, a year, and the tenth subject said he could not recall. Seven unwed fathers felt their partners, the unwed mothers, were not easy marks for other men to exploit. Three subjects felt the unwed mothers they had impregnated were easy marks. Four men said they were sexually involved with other women while the relationship with the unwed mothers was active.

Qualities the unmarried fathers reported concerning their partners and events they found outstanding in their relationships were: "Being together, we could always have a good time together." "She was exceptionally ego building." "Talk very well, long conversations, go horseriding, took long car rides in freezing cold." "I knew she was the possessive type." "We were both stoned the first time and really got into it." "At first I didn't even dig her, finally I got to dig her after going to see her at her house for six days." "She told her friends she would hook me one way or another." "She would feel the same way I did." "I enjoyed the close relationship." "She was living at home, we had to shell out dust for a motel room, which became quite expensive, or go to her gal friends." "Pretty face, two eggs for bosoms, sunny side up. Not an hour glass figure, not kind to run you up a tree."
The prurient sexual interests of some subjects were contrasted by other unwed fathers who demonstrated genuine concern for their partners. These responses showed that the men had different goals in mind when they became involved with the unmarried mothers. A noticeable lack of apprehension (which was needed to gather self perceptive data) was evident when involvement with the unwed mothers was discussed.

Reaction to the Pregnancies of Their Female Partners

Nine of the ten unwed fathers said the pregnancies of their female counterparts were unexpected. The tenth subject said his involvement with the girl was a deliberate intention to make her pregnant. Four men considered marrying their partners, the remaining six tenaciously opposed marriage. Five men declared that the possibility of pregnancy had concerned them, the others said it was of no concern to themselves. Nine men felt they neither gained nor lost friends for having sired a child out of wedlock. The tenth subject declared: "Every once in a while it still gets up, but I just laugh it off."

Only one man claimed that he had broadcast his unwed fatherhood status to others. The other nine men reacted to their plight of impending fatherhood in the following methods: "I expected him (the subject's father) to start beating me when he found out she was pregnant, her folks too." "At first it was pretty bad, then when they got to know me (the unwed mother's parents) it was pretty close and comfortable." "I didn't care how they felt." (The preceding comment referred to both his and her parents.) "The whole school knows about it." "(Unwed mother's mother) didn't like it but thought it was natural, she was pretty smart." "At first her mother was pissed off and wanted me to
marry her, I agreed." "She told me the doc said she could do one of three things: abort, go away and have kid, or marry me. I asked her where she was going." "It was her dad that was doing most the talking. I couldn't get too many words in, we talked it over, I paid the doctor and hospital bills." "They (unwed mother's parents) wanted me to marry her, or anyone, they were not too fussy who." "There was reaction (from his parents), they were perturbed, they didn't like her." "They didn't push her on me (unwed mother's parents), told them I'd think it over."

These statements were the views of the unwed fathers. When the identities of the subjects became known by individuals in their immediate families they reacted in three varying fashions: coercion, hostility, and support for the unwed fathers' problems. Concerning the births of their children, the unmarried fathers recalled: "She lied to me but I should have found out if she was lying, understood her better, I didn't think about it enough." "Before she got pregnant she said she couldn't get pregnant." "Well that's hard to answer, pleased but didn't want to get married." "Guess I just didn't want to, a lot of times you do things but you know you shouldn't." "I knew she probably would, sooner or later." "I couldn't do anything because she was so scared to do anything."

Only two subjects related that they employed a form of birth control during the period of active involvement with the mothers. The other eight men reported that they were unconcerned about pregnancy, that if their sexual partners desired protection from the possibility it was up to them to secure such. The two men who used a form of conception prevention commented concerning the failure of their techniques: "I thought she did, she told me she did, I didn't watch her take it, my
assumptions were the fault." "Rhythm method, because you become care­less at times." The first subject's statement referred to the use of an oral contraceptive.

Reactions to the pregnancies of the unwed mothers clearly indi­cated that variation and homogeneity were present in the replies of the unwed fathers. Six men regarded the pregnancies as crucial events in their own lives while the other four adopted a nonchalant attitude toward the ensuing births of the children. Half of the subjects were concerned about their own parents' wishes in the problematic situations and listened to their counsel while the others were unconcerned about parental desires.

**Family and Child Perceptions**

The complete family unit, consisting of father, mother, and children, has been threatened by a variety of patterns which have attem­ted to vitiate its importance and influence. This section presents the perceptions of unmarried fathers as they relate to the family and the children which they sired out of wedlock.

Eight subjects felt it was important for all children to have a father and a mother. Their reasons were: "Something a child will miss if one is missing." "Because certain things mother and father can do and baby can only be fully matured." "Family means everything, close knit with mother and father." "Someone has to teach them what is happen­ing." "They need somebody to show them what's right and wrong and to bring them up right." "Gain proper socialization into our existing system." "Well, because I think they need that kinda thing when they are growing up from ages one to ten, to take care of them and every­thing." "Can't raise a normal child without a father and a mother, but
I don't feel responsibility." "Cause they're gonna say they've done it and I can do it and get themselves in all kinda hell."

The two men who felt that a father and a mother were not vital components of the family gave these opinions: "Old age system of having parents is outdated." "In our situation we would have been arguing all the time, emotional conflict for the child." "Because all fathers and mothers aren't what the word alludes to, they aren't really fathers and mothers."

Were the unwed fathers genuinely concerned about the welfare of the children they fathered? Five subjects said they had never seen their children and did not intend to in the future. Only two men planned to play an important role in the rearing of their children who were sired out of wedlock. Seven of the unwed mothers had kept their offspring and these situations provided the unwed fathers with ample opportunities to support the children. At the time the study was conducted none of the ten men were assisting the unwed mothers on a regular basis. Two subjects said their children by the unwed mothers were placed in adoptive homes. One subject declared that he had no idea where the child was taken after its birth.

Personal reflections on their children were exhibited in the following statements: "I'm still attracted to her, but seeing as she kept the child that messes it up and I feel different." "I wouldn't like to father any more children unless I'm legally married." "I want to go and see the kid in about a month." "She said it was my kid and we had to get married, told me in October, didn't say anything else, I said you damn fool how could you be." "I wish I hadn't went with the one who has my child, I don't feel like I have any children." These opinions and recollections of their children were further evidence of the
diversity which existed throughout the study. Nine of the men planned to marry and raise families, but none of them in the immediate future.

Self Perceptions of the Subjects

This section of the interview was designed to reveal: life goals, conflicts, influences, aspirations, changes the men would like to see in America, and perceptions of others. Life goals and aspirations of the subjects were: "Be helpful to others in some way." "Help other people through social work." "Want to have a nice family with a couple of kids, in the back of my mind." "Becoming a counselor for juvenile criminals, write an autobiography." "I'm a little insecure, if they're not done now they won't ever be, retire and say piss on the world." "Place of my own, make a million dollars." "Education, Master's degree, have a family, financially stable." "Right now I can't think of a damn one." "Go to college and get it over with, find a way to get out of the draft." "Support the child, lead a good job." "Being a pro (sport) player, feel more consistency within myself, I don't know if it's playing as much as making it."

The personal conflicts recalled by the unwed fathers were: "I was really heavy on drugs about four years ago, didn't think I would pull myself out, pot and LSD." "The marriage type situation I was in, couldn't find a job, wanted to go to school." "I don't think I'm as involved as I should be, I could do more." "I'm not doing anything." "Sometimes, usually I don't, but sometimes I try to better myself." "I got kicked out of junior high, wouldn't let me back in any junior high in Utah, I was placed in a foster home in Arizona against my wishes, I wouldn't cut my hair so they got down on me for everything." "My sport
situation now, with conflict between (sport) and school and (sport) itself."

The most influential experiences which moulded their current attitudes and behavior were reported to be: "My consistently being called an underachiever, I went nuts when I was young, took tranquilizers." "The depression, lived on potatoes and milk." "I don't know, probably just the people and certain groups who don't believe in the establishment." "Everybody talking about it (the illegitimate child), books and things like that, probably my mother." "I don't know, just me." "My education." "Education." "My peer group." "Parents and friends."

Nine subjects admitted they were in a rut which at one time seemed too large for them to handle. Eight men declared that they make an effort to improve when they have made a mistake. Five subjects felt they were making a worthwhile contribution to America and five felt they were not.

When asked to explain how they responded to the needs and problems of others, they related: "I respond as far as I understand them, with same sensitivity as problems are presented." "I feel just like everybody, if they get themselves into something they can get themselves out, cause I haven't had any help." "Probably help people if I could." "Usually help them if I can find a way." "All eyes and ears to see if I can help in some way." "Very well, enjoy doing and helping others with their problems." "Loan everything, tractors to neighbors today, just look." "If someone needs help I help them unless I can't stand them." "Quite responsive, depends on a lot of things, I get along with people really well." "Depends on need of person, I sit and talk but don't help out of value financially."
Qualities the unwed fathers reported as admiring the most in others were: "Sincerity." "Truthfulness." "Conservative and action, on the quiet side." "People who use their heads." "Integrity." "Person who never makes excuses for what he does, for being himself." "Personality." "Person to be real with me, don't have a front, if they don't like me they don't have to tell me they do." "I don't know, just the way they are what they are, honesty." "Originality." "Working towards goals, people who have achieved goals and keep working." "A friend at anytime, same kinda guy anytime."

Qualities the subjects disliked the most according to their reports were: "Dirty two-faced son-of-a-bitches." "Hypocrisy." "Insincerity, lying, closed minds." "Loud and aggressive persons, I can't stand them, a vexation of the spirit." "Intolerance, people who are over manipulative." "People who feel sorry for themselves." "People saying they're one thing and really they're not, they are a pain in the ass when you think you have friends." "The way they do things, the way they act." "Violent, greedy people." "I'm trying to think of the word, arrogance, following the trend, self righteousness."

Changes the subjects felt were needed the most in the social structure of America were: "Letting people do what they like, growing hair out without people bitching at you." "Generation gap, leave each other alone." "Equality, everybody being judged the same regardless of skin color or whatever." "Down grading of bureaucratic type of life." "Ecology." "Racism."

Changes the unmarried fathers felt were needed in the contemporary political system in America were: "Get these god damned son-of-a-bitches off'a welfare, and these gosh damn lawyers." "Stop all riots and war in Viet Nam, crime." "Too little happening and changing in comparison to
what could change." "Laws, drugs and privacy." "People should be able to make changes faster in a democratic country, like marijuana to be legalized." "Draft ended." "Government, get rid of that." "Military system." "Business and money, get rid of all of that, you don't need it." "Just about everything."

Some of the unwed fathers chose to discuss their participation in this study. In this final section their comments and opinions as they relate to their involvement are presented. They declared: "I sure hope you prove what you're trying to prove." "If anyone finds out I have three children I'll sue you." "I don't mind talking about it with you, cause the whole school knows about it." "You'd drive all that way just to talk with me about it?" (55 miles) "I guess it's good for me to talk about it, I don't think about it very much." "You go through a really large guilt feeling, then you go through mental steps to recover, a feeling of helplessness I can't say." "This will beef up your study, I lived with a professional charm school teacher, she was 32, married now." "Half of what I say doesn't make sense."

**Review of the Unwed Fathers' Self Perceptions**

This portion will briefly relate the subjects' perceptions of themselves in terms of: religiosity and morality, relationships and attitudes toward women, sexual behavior, children, concern for others, and their own personal lives.

Religion was not regarded as an important influence in the lives of these men, some of them attended religious activities when they were a convenience but without the purpose of adhering to religious principles. The one man who attended religious services each Sunday related that it was a tradition in his family which he had retained in his
personal life. Morality was also an irrelevant influence to these men; they reported that their parents had presented moral values to them in their formative years but they could not see the need to abide by them, as doing so restricted their activities.

The unmarried fathers perceived women as their play things. Although they expressed the desire to know women who were talented and intellectually their equals, they nevertheless desired relationships which permitted them to use ladies for their own gratification.

All of the men stated that they liked children, that children were precious and warrant loving care and concern. However, they lacked the personal conviction to accept the responsibility of fathers and chose instead to avoid the children. One man was an exception to this, and he permitted the mother and child to live with him temporarily at the unwed mother's request.

Were the subjects genuinely concerned for others? Half of them perceived that one of the purposes in life was to make someone else a little happier, and these five men definitely demonstrated concern for others. The other five were either unconcerned for others or engulfed by their own problems and did not appear genuinely concerned for others.

All of the men were troubled occasionally about the cost their sexual behavior had exacted of others, particularly the unwed mother and child. They perceived that their personal behavior had violated a recognized standard of society, but as they made no claim to embracing this standard (the male protecting and caring for the female and offspring which result), they were able to slight the affects of fathering a child in their own lives. They perceived happiness as satiation of their personal desires, rather than an internal feeling of accomplishment and security. They recognized that they were motivated by
whatever seemed convenient for the present, and that they needed to bring stability into their personal lives. They planned to change their behavior and personality patterns, but perceived that this was something to be done at a future time, and not at the present.

This concludes the findings of the study. The data gathered were personal recollections, feelings and attitudes of unwed fathers. A glimpse of their backgrounds, problems, aspirations, and concerns was presented. The contents were primarily quotations to convey to the reader a clear message of how the subjects perceived themselves. Whether or not the men presented themselves accurately and honestly the reader must judge.

Profile of the Unwed Father

The subjects demonstrated agreement on many items, and they also shared mutual problems in other instances. These assertions and demonstrations of their self perceptions were compiled into a profile as follows:

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<th>Number of subjects in agreement</th>
<th>Concept of quality under consideration</th>
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<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>They perceived faithfulness to one woman as being of little or no importance in their lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>They desired a variety of sexual partners and wished to be excluded from the possible consequences of such behavior.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>They felt their sexual behavior was comparable to their friends' sexual behavior.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>They were willing to discuss the impact of fathering a child and its results in their personal lives.</td>
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They declared their sexual involvement was not designed to impregnate the girls.

They asserted that they want no involvement or interaction with the children which they have fathered.

They felt they are making a contribution to the progress of America.

They desired recognition as the fathers of illegitimate children.

They provided regular assistance for the mothers and children involved.
This study explored the self perception of unwed fathers. Ten men who have sired a child out of wedlock were the subjects for this project. The purpose of the study was to add to the understanding of the phenomenon of the unmarried father by discovering his self perceptions.

The men were interviewed individually to gather data which revealed self perceptions. Interviews were conducted in the subjects' homes or in other places of their choosing. The men were assured that their names would be released to no one for having participated in the study. Nine subjects were under 25 years of age. None of the men planned to marry the unwed mothers, and only one subject was actively supporting the mother and her child, and this also was in a sporadic pattern.

A control group of randomly selected males in the adult population was not similarly tested; therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the entire population of males. The findings apply specifically to the subjects themselves. The behavior reflected by those in the pilot study would infer, however, that the majority of the subjects were promiscuous and over indulgent in sexual activities. They perceived chastity as an irrelevant influence in their lives; their intentions were directed toward self gratification.

Because the data were subjective, responses may or may not be a true representation of how the men perceived themselves. For example, the subject who responded: "All eyes and ears to see if I can help in any way," may have been faking to appear good. Another subject
continually used profanity to build a negative image. His responses concerning the family and the sharing of his farm equipment with neighbors were more convincing than his choice of vocabulary.

The findings were not written in case study form as detection of the identities of participants might have been possible from such. The implications this study projects are applicable to the subjects alone, and not to all unwed fathers, but it is hoped, however, that others reading it will find the data informative and valuable when working with parents of illegitimate children.

The men tended to overvalue sex. They recognized that they were easily stimulated by women and perceived that this had been a major factor leading to their present unwed fatherhood status. They developed a taste for sensuous experiences and perceived that their behavior patterns would continue in this direction.

Why should they be held responsible for caring for the child? The men questioned the magnitude of their responsibility toward mother and child, and perceived that the mother was responsible for the child's birth, their role in this process being of secondary or tertiary importance. This uncertainty or lack of commitment to the mother and child was a characteristic in their self perceptions. They also seemed to be uncertain about their abilities to succeed in the world, to trust others, to attain goals they had set for themselves.
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The unwed fathers in this study shared similar characteristics and were confronted with common problems and dilemmas. The conclusion was designed to apply specifically to the subjects involved in the research, interpreting their self perceptions. It was not representative of the entire group of unwed fathers in the population.

The men were uncertain about the unwed mothers and the children involved; they were bewildered about what role to assume in the situations and this hesitancy had extended into their personal lives. This apprehension surmounted as they discussed their absence from the children and mothers. They thought about them frequently, recognizing their sexual behavior had strained the lives of numerous people. The lack of coherence in their lives made them wonder if they could ever live happily together with one woman.

The unmarried fathers also had a narrowly focused view of people and of themselves. They perceived sexual indulgence as the predominant pursuit of the male. This perception was reinforced by the behavior of many of their friends. Their comments concerning the unwed mothers were evidence of the shallowness, the lack of depth, to their relationships with them. They valued females in relation to what the women were able to do for them. If the experience was not gratifying to them they perceived the women as failures. A good woman was a "good lay," and a bad one was one who failed to satisfy them.

Finally, the men in this study perceived themselves as normal American males who had the misfortune of getting caught. Their life
styles with the exception of their fathering children out of wedlock were felt to be typical of their friends. This group of unmarried fathers, contrary to their expressions of normalcy, behaved as though they had unfavorable perceptions of themselves, which were extended to—or were accompanied by—unfavorable perceptions of others, and of their relationships with women and with society.
LITERATURE CITED


APPENDIX
Instrument

Background information

1. Age at last birthday ______ Date of birth_________ Race ______
2. Country of birth _______ State ________ City ______________
3. Where do you call your home? __________________________________
4. What grade did you complete in school? __________
5. Do you plan to continue your education or complete a course of studies in the next 5 to 10 years? Yes ___ No ___ (If respondent answers no, omit questions #6 and #7; if respondent answers yes, omit questions #8 and #9.)
6. What is your educational or vocational goal? _______________________
7. Are you studying to reach this goal at the present time? Yes ___ No ____
8. How long have you been out of school? months ____ years ____
   Age when left ____ Why did you leave school? _______________________
9. Your present occupation is _______________________________________
10. In preparing you to meet the challenges and problems of life, how would you rate your education:
    ___ very useful at all times
    ___ useful most of the time
    ___ average
    ___ not useful most of the time
    ___ of no use
    ___ other (specify)
11. How would you rate your over-all standing in school in comparison to others:
    ___ in the top 25%
    ___ in the top 40%
    ___ an average student
    ___ in the lower 40%
    ___ in the lower 25%
12. Describe the family pattern in which you were reared. (PROBE)
    _____________________________________________________________
13. Were you: ___ a natural born child
    ___ an adopted child
    ___ a foster child
    ___ a step child
    ___ an illegitimate child
14. How would you rate your father as a father:
   - excellent
   - good
   - average
   - fair
   - poor

15. How would you rate your mother as a mother:
   - excellent
   - good
   - average
   - fair
   - poor

16. Would you describe your family life as:
   - very happy
   - happier than most
   - averagely happy
   - not as happy as most
   - unhappy

17. How did you feel as a family member? (PROBE) (Examples: accepted, respected, secure, important, loved, rejected, burdensome to others, slighted, etc.)

18. In your opinion, how considerate were you of others in your family:
   - very considerate
   - 5
   - 4
   - 3
   - 2
   - 1 inconsiderate

19. Was the general atmosphere in your home regarding sex:
   - very conservative in comparison to your attitude today
   - conservative in comparison to your attitude today
   - approximately the same as your attitude today
   - liberal in comparison to your attitude today
   - very liberal in comparison to your attitude today
   - other (specify)

20. In your adolescent years, how would you rate your knowledge of human sexual behavior:
   - excellent
   - above average
   - average
   - below average
   - poor

21. What were your main sources of information on sex, in your adolescent years
   - friends
   - books and magazines
   - parents
one special person
experience with the opposite
sex through dating
other (specify)

22. Did you discuss your sexual concerns with your parents? Yes ___ No ____ (Omit #23 if respondent answers no.)

23. How would you rate their responses to your questions:

usually satisfactory
occasionally satisfactory
rarely satisfactory
unsatisfactory
other (specify)

24. Would you prefer to live with your parents now? Yes ___ No ____

25. Your high school was:

Student Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>public</td>
<td>parochial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private</td>
<td>military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformatory</td>
<td>other (specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. Religious influence in your family was:

very strong
moderately strong
moderate
moderately weak
very weak

27. Your church preference is ________________________________

28. How often do you attend now? _____________________________

29. Your health in the last five years has been:

excellent
very good
normal
below normal
poor

30. Do you consider yourself to be a:

social leader
preferred and highly respected group member
average member of the group
slighted, sometimes overlooked group member
31. What type of social activities do you prefer? (PROBE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indoor</th>
<th>Outdoor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>contests and games</td>
<td>hunting and fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parties</td>
<td>camping, hiking and sightseeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dances</td>
<td>competitive athletics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banquets</td>
<td>water sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movies</td>
<td>winter sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other (specify)</td>
<td>other (specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your favorite is [ ]

32. Do you consider yourself an: active participant [ ] a spectator [ ] in your favorite social activities.

33. How frequently do you participate in or attend social activities which you like best:

[ ] very often
[ ] occasionally
[ ] rarely
[ ] never
[ ] other (specify)

34. Are you a member of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a fraternity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a sports club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a business men's club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an employee union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a community organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other (specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. How long have you been active in the organizations? [ ]

36. Are you active in the organizations today? Yes [ ] No [ ]

37. Have you ever been:

[ ] placed on probation for misconduct
[ ] arrested
[ ] placed in jail
[ ] other involvement with the law for unlawful behavior (specify)
38. Do you feel the law had sufficient reason to take action against you in this/these instance(s)? Yes ____ No ____ Why? __________

39. Do you have a favorite hobby? ________________________________

40. Your 3 most recent jobs have been: ________________________________

41. Of all the jobs you have ever had, which one did you like the best? ________________________________ Why? __________

42. What job did you hold the longest? ________________________________

Past and Current Interest in Sexual Concerns

43. On the average, while in high school how frequently did you go out on dates:

___ 3 or more times per week
___ 1 or 2 times per week
___ once every two weeks
___ less than once a month
___ never

44. Has your dating pattern changed significantly since completing or being out of high school? Yes ____ No ____ (If respondent answers no, omit question #45.)

45. How would you describe the change? ________________________________

46. In high school did you look for opportunities to become sexually involved (and have intercourse) with:

___ all of your dates
___ most of your dates
___ a few of your dates
___ very special dates
___ none of your dates
___ other (specify)

47. Have you ever dated:

___ a married woman
___ a girl engaged to someone other than yourself at the time of the date
___ a girl of a different race than yourself
___ a pregnant girl whom you did not impregnate
___ other unusual date (specify)
48. Do you prefer dating partners who: (Check each appropriate response.)

- are experienced with other men in sexual intercourse
- would like to go to bed with you on the first date
- enjoys similar activities and have interests similar to yours
- are known for their virginity and date just to have fun
- are known for their ability to accommodate the guy and whatever he wants from her
- other (specify)

49. How many women do you feel you have ever really loved? __________

50. How many women have you taken to bed with you? ________________

51. Would you like to change anything about your sexual behavior pattern? Yes ___ No ___ What would you like to change? (PROBE)

---

Relationship Between Parents of the Illegitimate Child

52. How did the relationship between you and the mother of your child begin? (PROBE: why, where, when) ____________________________

53. What did she mean to you before you learned of her pregnancy? (PROBE) ____________________________

54. Did you employ any form of birth control? Yes ___ No ___
   (If respondent answers no, omit questions #55 and #56.)

55. Did you use the birth control measure on a regular basis? Yes ___ No ___
   (If respondent answers no, omit question #56.)

56. Why did the birth control measure prove to be ineffective, in your opinion:
   (Respondents who answer #56 omit #57.) ____________________________

57. Are any of the following reasons you did not use birth control on a regular basis:

- the woman is ultimately responsible for the consequences
- too embarrassing for an unmarried man to secure contraceptives
- didn't think she would become pregnant
- she wanted to become pregnant
- you wanted to make her pregnant
- other (specify)

58. What did you enjoy most about your relationship before she became pregnant? ____________________________

59. Were you concerned that she might become pregnant as a result of your relationship? Yes ___ No ___
60. How would you describe your attraction for her now? (PROBE)

61. How long did your sexual involvement with her last?

62. Did you go to bed with other women while having intercourse with her? Yes ___ No ___ How many? ___

63. Do you feel today that you truly loved her at any time? Yes ___ No ___ When?

Basis for Sexual Involvement

64. What factors made your child's mother personally attractive to you?

65. Did you plan to have sexual intercourse with her before:
   ___ dating her
   ___ kissing her
   ___ dating her 1 week
   ___ dating her 1 month
   ___ other (specify)

66. Would you call her an easy mark for other men to have intercourse with? Yes ___ No ___

67. How long had you known her before taking her to bed?

68. In your opinion, did you take her to bed as a result of:
   ___ involuntary drifting
   ___ mutual desire
   ___ pressure from friends
   ___ overwhelming urge to express sexual love
   ___ other (specify)

69. During the time you were having intercourse with her but before you learned of her pregnancy, had you seriously considered marrying her? Yes ___ No ___

70. If possible, would you like to repeat the experience and father another child with:
   ___ the mother of your child
   ___ another woman whom you like very well
   ___ a few other women
   ___ several other women
   ___ other (specify)
71. At the time of your involvement with her in sexual intercourse, would you rate her sexual appeal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To you</th>
<th>To other men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very high</td>
<td></td>
<td>very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td></td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average</td>
<td></td>
<td>average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very low</td>
<td></td>
<td>very low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72. Did you hope that having intercourse with her would lead to marriage? Yes No

73. Did she hope that having intercourse with you would lead to marriage? Yes No

Circumstances of the Sexual Relationship with your Partner

74. Did you enjoy going to bed with her: (before knowing of her pregnancy)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a great deal</th>
<th>somewhat</th>
<th>occasionally</th>
<th>very little</th>
<th>other (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

75. Concerning the knowledge that you were not married to her, did you feel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>very guilty about taking her to bed</th>
<th>somewhat guilty taking her to bed</th>
<th>a little guilty taking her to bed</th>
<th>not guilty taking her to bed</th>
<th>other (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

76. How would you describe your feelings of guilt? _____________________________

77. Was your involvement with her an act of rebellion? Yes No

78. Did you both feel this desire to rebel? Yes No

79. Who or what were you rebelling against? (PROBE) ____________________________

80. Did you find it difficult to arrange opportunities to take her to bed with you? Yes No (If respondent answers no, omit question #81.)

81. The problem(s) were: _____________________________
82. Did your parents know you were having intercourse with her?  
   Yes ____  No ____ (Omit #83 if answer is no.)

83. How would you describe their reaction? ____________________________

84. Did her parents know you were having intercourse with her?  
   Yes ____  No ____ (Omit #85 if answer is no.)

85. How would you describe their reaction? ____________________________

86. How would you describe your reaction to the feelings and wishes of  
   your parents in this situation? ____________________________

87. How would you describe your reaction to the feelings and wishes of  
   her parents in this situation? ____________________________

88. Did you ever live with her in the same home?  Yes ____  No ____  
   For how long? ________

Self Concept of the Unmarried Father

89. What has been the strongest influence in moulding your attitudes  
   and behavior today? ____________________________

90. List 2 or 3 of your main goals in life? ____________________________

91. In your opinion, how do you respond to the needs and problems of  
   other people? ____________________________

92. What qualities do you admire most in other people?  
   ____________________________

93. What do you dislike the most in other people?  
   ____________________________

94. Do you make an effort to improve when you know you have made a  
   mistake?  Yes ____  No ____

95. Have you ever been in a rut which has seemed too large for you to  
   handle?  Yes ____  No ____  Describe one such situation ________

96. Do you think you are making a worthwhile contribution to this  
   country?  Yes ____  No ____

97. What would you like to see changed about America?  
   ____________________________

98. Would you like to marry and have a family?  Yes ____  No ____
Effect of Sexual Intercourse Upon the Unwed Father's Attitude Toward the Mother of his Child

99. After having intercourse with the mother of your child, did you feel:
   ___ tied to her
   ___ unchanged toward her
   ___ more trustful of her
   ___ less trustful of her
   ___ other (specify)

100. How would you describe your lover's feelings about having intercourse with you?

101. Did your attitude toward her change after you took her to bed with you? Yes ___ No ___ How? __________________________

Sexual Behavior Pattern of the Unmarried Father

102. Was the mother of your child your first partner in sexual intercourse? Yes ___ No ___ (If respondent answers yes, omit question #103.)

103. How many women had you taken to bed before her? _____

104. How many women have you taken to bed since her? _____

Reaction to the Pregnancy by the Unwed Father

105. How soon before the birth of your child did you learn of her pregnant condition? __________________________

106. Did you stop having intercourse with her as soon as you discovered she was pregnant? Yes ___ No ___

107. What did you plan to do when you first learned she was pregnant:
   ___ marry her
   ___ abort the child
   ___ get lost in a hurry
   ___ conceal the fact as long as possible
   ___ nothing
   ___ other (specify)

108. Do you feel now that you were a victim of circumstances which were not within your power to control? Yes ___ No ___
109. Did the knowledge of her pregnancy:

___ result in a loss of friends
___ result in a loss of casual friends
___ result in a gain of friends
___ make no noticeable change in a gain or loss of friends
___ other (specify)

110. As a result of her pregnancy, did you broadcast the news to others that you had made her pregnant? Yes ___ No ___

111. In looking back now, are you pleased with the situation which resulted from making love with her? Yes ___ No ___

112. Did she make any demands of you when discovering she was pregnant? Yes ___ No ___ (specify) ____________________________

Father's Attitude Toward the Child

113. Is the child referred to in this interview your only child? Yes ___ No ___

114. Do you know where your child/children is/are living now? Yes ___ No ___

115. Is the child alluded to in this interview:

___ living with its mother
___ adopted
___ a ward of the state
___ don't know where the child is
___ other (specify)

116. Do you see any role for yourself in raising this child? Yes ___ No ___

117. Do you assist in providing for the child:

___ regularly
___ irregularly
___ not at all

118. When did you last see this child? ____________________________

119. Has the child's mother asked you for help? Yes ___ No ___

How often? ____________________________

120. Do you think it is important for all children to have a father and a mother? Yes ___ No ___ Why? ____________________________