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Graduate School

CHILDREN BEAR BABIES

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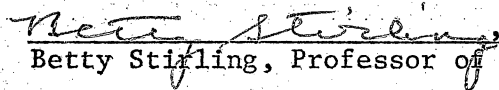
Danielle E. Wuchenich


A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in the Field of Sociology

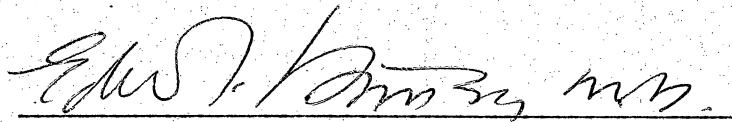
June 1972

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Each person whose signature appears below certifies that he or she has read this thesis and that in his or her opinion it is adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the family has been a recurrent theme in various writings for centuries. The ancient books of wisdom of the Chinese, Hebrews, and Indians recognized the significance of the family in the social structure. Utopias from Plato to Skinner included suggestions of change in the family structure.

Many sociologists (Comte, LePlay, Goode, etc.) consider the family to be the basic unit of society. Goode (1959:180) refers to the family as the "prime instrumental agent of the society." It is in the family, according to Comte, that one gets his "first notion of the continuity of past generations," and later "notions of the solidarity of living generations" (Farber, 1964:17). The family provides the environment for the initial socialization of the child--the child adopting the values, beliefs, and world view of the particular culture. It is the "mediator of social values" (Coser, 1964:xiv). The family provides the child with his first reference group.

Coser (1964:xiv) defines the family as a group manifesting the following organizational attributes:

1. It has its origins in marriage.
2. It consists of a husband, wife, and children born in their (husband-wife) wedlock, though other relatives may find their place close to this nuclear group.
3. It is united by moral, legal, economic, religious, and social rights and obligations (including sexual rights

and prohibitions as well as socially patterned feelings such as love, attraction, piety, and awe).

Although characteristics of family are as diverse as the culture in which it is found, two features stand out universally: (1) the family serves as an agent of social placement for the new members of society; and (2) by acting as an agent of control of marital relations, it regulates social alliances between family units and helps to place individuals into a patterned network of interweaving social relationships. The first feature is the Principle of Legitimacy; the second is the Principle of Reciprocity (Coser, 1964:xiv).

Goode (1959:188, 189) cites five classical universal functions of the family. They are fertility, status placement, biological maintenance, socialization, and sexual controls. These functions are generally oriented toward producing an individual and keeping him in action. These functions may also be viewed as societal. That is, through them, a portion of society's work is accomplished.]

Functionalists focused their attention on the study of families toward the organization of roles in family life. The family allocates roles to its various members so that both its outside and inside responsibilities are met. The outside activities largely determine how the family will survive in the community. The inside activities are concerned with "integrating the group behaviour that arises out of the external system and reacts upon it" (Martinson, 1970:112).

Motherhood is a universally accepted cultural and biological fact. It is found in all cultures. After conception, the prospective mother observes certain "taboos" and "ceremonies." She wears certain

types of clothing; she does not engage in certain activities; people relate to her in certain ways, etc. All of these ceremonial, moral, and legal rules are to insure the welfare of the offspring. Individual ties between the prospective mother and offspring are being established.

Maternity is thus determined in anticipation by a whole cultural apparatus of rules and prescriptions; it is established by society as a moral fact, and, in all this, the tie of kinship between mother and child is defined by tradition long before birth, and defined as an individual bond. (Malinowski, 1964:11).

Motherhood is never allowed to remain a mere biological fact. Social and cultural influences always endorse and emphasize the original individuality of the biological fact (Malinowski, 1964:12).

The function of bearing and giving early care to children, according to Martinson (1970:113), "establishes a strong presumptive primacy for the mother as integrative-emotional leader" in the family. She becomes the focus of gratification, as the source of security and comfort for the entire family. For the American middle-class child, the mother is the focus of emotional support (Zelditch, 1964:327). The mother performs the majority of the expressive functions (Slater, 1964: 352).

It was established that motherhood is a universal fact--both biological and cultural. Bronislaw Malinowski, in 1930, then raised the question, "What is the role of the father in kinship analysis?" The mother-child unit, self-sufficient as it might conceivably be, both economically and emotionally, is always incomplete sociologically. This is true of every society, whether patrilineal or matrilineal. "The distinctly social nature of the family is characterized by the universal

insistence on fatherhood" (Coser, 1964:xv, xvi).

Malinowski (1964:13) believes there to be one fundamental, important condition that defines conception as a sociologically legitimate fact.

The most important moral and legal rule concerning the physiological side of kinship is that no child should be brought into the world without a man—one man at that—assuming the role of sociological father, that is, guardian, protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community.

This is the Principle of Legitimacy.

Despite all the variations of attitudes and values regarding virginity, premarital sex, the relationship of the child to the parents as asset or burden, etc., the rule still exists that the father is indispensable for the full sociological status of the child as well as of its mother, that the group consisting of a woman and her offspring is sociologically incomplete and illegitimate. The father is necessary for the full legal status of the family (Malinowski, 1964:14).

The father gives the child a social identity and places the child in a specific pattern of social relationships. The father performs the majority of the instrumental functions of the family. According to Zelditch, (1964:327), the American male "by definition must 'provide' for his family. He is responsible for the support of his wife and children." The primary area of his performance, his occupational status-role, is to supply "income," to be the "breadwinner" of the family. The husband-father is responsible for the family's standard of living, and sets the pace in upward mobility. He is the family's representative in the community. American norms continue to affirm this notion (Martinson,

1970:113, 116).

The traditional western family is the nuclear family--husband-father, wife-mother, and child or children (sons and/or daughters). Since the family is usually regarded as "broken" when either the husband-father or wife-mother is absent, they are considered to be crucial members of the family. A deliberate act that eliminates a crucial member of the family is not supportive of the present institution of the family. Illegitimacy eliminates the father. Therefore, illegitimacy is a threat to the family system. A sociological father, whose role it is to provide legitimacy to the family, is absent.

In order to understand the nature and importance of the Principle of Legitimacy, it is necessary to understand two aspects of procreation which are linked together biologically and culturally--sex and parenthood. Sexual intercourse at times leads to conception. Conception always means pregnancy, and pregnancy may lead to childbirth. Intercourse does not always lead to conception, and pregnancy may be interrupted by abortion, thus not allowing childbirth.

The moral, customary, and legal rules of most human communities step in, taking advantage of the two weak links in the chain, and in a most remarkable manner, disassociate the two sides of procreation, that is sex and parenthood (Malinowski, 1964:14).

Freedom of intercourse, though not universally, is yet generally prevalent in human societies. Freedom of conception, outside of marriage, is, however, never allowed, or at least in extremely few communities and under very exceptional circumstances. Liberty of parenthood is not identical with liberty of sexual intercourse. Malinowski considers marriage as a contract legitimizing offspring. It cannot be defined as

the licensing of sexual intercourse, but "rather the licensing of parent-hood" (Malinowski, 1964:14, 15).

Most of history has treated illegitimacy as a moral and legal problem. Prior to the 1920's, illegitimacy was caused by mental deficiency, bad companions, and immorality. Only in the present century has there been an attempt to go beyond a moralistic stance, and seek insights into a major growing social problem (Roberts, 1966:3).

Theories attributed illegitimacy to moral and inborn sources of behaviour. During the 1930's, the interest centered around "ecological" or environmental sources of behaviour. Emphasis was on broken homes, poverty, and "disorganized neighborhoods." During the late 1930's and early 1940's, "culture" was the cause and cure of illegitimacy. Illegitimacy was explained as an "accepted way of life" among some subcultures. The explanation was derived primarily from descriptions of Negro unwed mothers in the South. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, the move was from the anthropological explanations to the psychological and psychiatric theories of behaviour. These theories emphasized emotional disturbances as a cause of illegitimacy. By the middle and late 1950's, the interest had returned to sociological explanations. The cause was the sickness and saneness of the "society as patient." Interest focused on white collar crime, organization men, lonely crowds, and delinquent youth among the middle-class. (Vincent, 1961:19, 20).

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Illegitimacy is continuing to rise. In 1940 in the United States, there were 7 illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15-44. In 1959, the figure rose to 22 illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15-44 (Farber, 1964: 116). (Although this rise in illegitimacy rate may represent an increasingly more efficient reporting system, it is unlikely that all of the increase can thus be explained. It is difficult to determine the exact rate of illegitimacy since not all states require registration of information on the birth certificate. Also, some states consider a birth illegitimate if the mother is not currently married at the time of the child's birth. Others consider births illegitimate if conception occurred outside of marriage.)

According to the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Vital Statistics (1968), there were 7.1 live illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15-44 in 1940, as compared to 19.8 live illegitimate births in 1968 (Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968:I-2). In 1964, it was reported that pregnancy represented the number one cause of female school dropouts (Osofsky, 1968:4). In many schools, especially in those areas where unemployment is high and income low, "birthing" (sic) babies is the new status symbol (Cottman, 1971:12).

The rate of illegitimacy in California exceeds the national average, and it is continuing to rise. In 1966, in the state of California, there were 26.5 illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women between the ages of 15-44. In 1966, 9.3% of all births in California were illegitimate as compared to 7.7% in the United States (Berkov, 1968: 477). By 1970, there were an estimated 46,600 illegitimate births in California. This was an increase of 100% from 1966. The percentage in the same five year period rose from 9.3% to nearly 13% (Assembly Science and Technology Advisory Council, 1971:34).

Currently, in California, 40% of all illegitimate births are to teen-age mothers, and the number of unmarried females requiring public assistance is substantial. In 1967, nearly 70,000 (20.5%) children were delivered at California public expense. Many of these children are later supported through public assistance programs (Assembly Science and Technology Advisory Council, 1971:34).

OPTIONS OPEN TO THE GIRL

The single, pregnant girl is faced with four options. She may either marry the father (or some willing man), abort the baby, give the baby up for adoption, or keep the baby as a single parent.

Marriage: In California, if either or both of the parties are under 18 years of age, the couple must have the consent of their parents. (If only one party is under age 18, that party needs parental approval.) The couple also must file for a request for marriage and will be required to see a marriage counselor. If the parents give their consent, and the

counselor approves of the marriage of the minor(s), then the couple will be allowed to marry. If the minor couple cannot acquire parental and/or counselor consent, they will not be allowed to marry in California until both parties are 18 years of age (Mazat, 1972).

Abortion: Abortions are legally available in California, although not universally accessible because of high costs and lack of available facilities. This is especially true for the poor and those in rural areas.

The abortion costs in California are "unnecessarily high." The cost of a therapeutic abortion in a California hospital ranges from \$350-\$750, depending on the term of pregnancy and particular hospital. The same procedure is performed in New York City, Washington, D. C., and Washington State at licensed outpatient clinics with emergency facilities for as low as \$80.

The reasons for the higher cost in California is that abortions can only be performed at accredited hospitals. Such hospitals may impose special requirements such as psychiatric examinations (Assembly Science and Technology Advisory Council, 1971:32, 33).

Adoption: An illegitimate child cannot be adopted without the consent of its mother, if the mother is living. A single mother under age has the right to sign a consent or relinquishment for the adoption of her child. However, a mother cannot sign a relinquishment for the adoption of her child until after she has "left the hospital and recovered from the birth experience." The mother signs the relinquishment in the presence of two witnesses. Until the adoption is recorded in

Sacramento, the mother may take her baby back. However, once the adoption is filed in Sacramento's office, it becomes official, and the girl no longer has any maternity rights (Adoptions and Foster Care Bureau, 1970:3, 9; Mazat, 1972).

Single Motherhood: If the girl chooses to keep her baby and remain single, she has that right legally. If she is not able to support herself and her baby, she may receive welfare (Aid for Families with Dependent Children--AFDC) if she can prove her need. She must first present her case to the District Attorney, and name the father (if she knows who he is) and give his address (if she knows it). The state will try to urge the father to help support the dependent family if he is capable (Mazat, 1972).

The putative father has virtually no rights. His consent is not needed for abortion or adoption, and he has no access to his baby unless the mother allows it. His name does not have to be registered on the birth certificate if the mother so chooses. She has the right to bestow any name upon the baby.

Although the mother has the legal right to keep her baby if she chooses, socially, that right has not yet been granted fully, particularly in the past. This is observed by the fact that the illegitimate child has been called "bastard," the mother a "whore," and a stigma is attached to illegitimacy. The girl was (and frequently still is) often made to feel guilty. However, with the increase of illegitimacy and single motherhood, how is this phenomenon affecting the prescribed norm of legitimacy? Though it is not yet normative, recently it has become more

acceptable for a girl to keep her child. The girl often stays at home rather than being sent to a maternity home or relatives in some distant city. School systems are providing continued education for the girl, either within the school, or through extension schools. The girl usually maintains most of her former friends. She frequently dates after the birth of her child, and may marry, though not the father of her baby. Some prefer not to enlarge the family to include a father.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Although freedom of premarital intercourse is prevalent in society, freedom of unwed conception is still violating the norm of the Principle of Legitimacy. The mother/child dyad lacks the guardian, protector, and male link between the child and society, as demanded by the Principle of Legitimacy. Yet, the number of single mothers is increasing. According to Dr. B. J. Subenthal, state president of the Children's Home Society (the nation's largest nonprofit, private adoption agency), "Four out of five California mothers in 1970 had decided to raise [sic] their babies as single parents" (Cottman, 1971:12). Social service agencies are beginning to report that more than half of the unmarried mothers who come to them for help decided not to give up their babies (Davis, 1971:124). Of the 1700 pregnant girls that participated in the Widney High School tele-teach or health center classrooms last year, over 90% kept their babies (Cottman, 1971:9). Vincent proposed (1961) that individuals and groups who hold a permissive norm in reference to non-marital sexual intercourse, negative norms toward

illegitimacy, and norms which oppose birth control, adoption, and abortion will be those who become unmarried mothers and keep their children.

The purpose of this study is to explore various factors which influence the pregnant high school girl, who has conceived out of wedlock, to keep her baby and rear it, rather than adopting the baby out, or aborting it--especially since the recently relaxed abortion laws. Some of the girls find a solution in marriage (especially if marriage was the reason for conception) either after conception, or soon after delivery; some do not. There are various questions to be considered. Is there an element of guilt in the girl's reaction by keeping the baby? Is she keeping the baby as her response to her "mistake"? By keeping the baby, is she paying her penance to society and to herself? What is her reaction to the baby? Is she responding to the baby out of her own needs, or the baby's? Does the baby become a possession, an object, a doll? What does the single mother see as the future for herself and child?

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The population of this study is those high school girls who have conceived out of wedlock and plan to keep, or have kept their babies. The sample is fifteen girls who are attending or who have attended the pregnant minor program, called Esperanza. Esperanza is an off-campus extension of the Rubidoux High School program. At Rubidoux High School, over fifty per cent of the 2200 students enrolled are classified as disadvantaged by the Vocational Educational Act guidelines.

Rubidoux High School is part of the Jurupa Unified School District. According to the figures released by the Riverside County Welfare Department, over 2000 students are receiving aid from Aid for Families with Dependent Children, and over 3300 students receive free or reduced price lunches. The area is considered a target area by both the Department of Human Resources and ESEA, Title I (Jurupa Unified School District, 1971).

TYPE OF STUDY

This research project is of an exploratory, descriptive nature. The data were collected by observation of participants in the classroom, and case study interviews that varied in time length from about 35 minutes to nearly 90 minutes.

The girls were observed in the classroom from October to December without their knowing the reason of the researcher's presence. They considered the researcher either as a former student, or a friend of the teacher, and asked no questions. The researcher soon faded into oblivion in their minds, and the conversations and activities resumed normally. Most of the girls discussed their pregnancy quite openly and frankly among themselves. They would relate interesting and unusual incidents.

In January, 1972, the teacher explained to them the purpose of the researcher's presence. They were not particularly curious about the study. A few asked what a "thesis" was, and why it was being done, but other than that, not much else was said. It was explained to them that they did not have to participate. If they did participate, they were not obligated to answer any or all of the questions. If they felt that a question was infringing upon their privacy, they could refrain from

answering. However, it was stressed that the material was confidential, and the girls would remain anonymous. Although some of the girls managed to evade some of the questions, none of them openly stated that they did not care to answer a question.

Of the 13 girls enrolled in Esperanza, 12 had agreed to be interviewed. The one who refused to be interviewed was a 15 year old Mexican-American girl. She was pregnant illegitimately for the second time. Her first baby was about two years old and had a different father than did this second baby; and, at this time, she has no intentions of marrying either man. She gave no reason for her refusal to be interviewed. (However, she had overheard a teacher from the nursery school, which is on the same property as Esperanza, remark about her present situation. She was quite upset with the teacher about it.) She generally ignored the researcher outwardly. However, during test week in March when I was unable to come for nearly a week, she asked the teacher, "Where's Danielle, doesn't she like us anymore?"

Three of the girls interviewed were former students in Esperanza. Their babies were 17-24 months old. Two of the girls married the father soon after conception. The third girl will be married this spring. Two of the girls have finished high school and are beginning college work. The third girl is finishing high school by night classes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Illegitimacy has been a popular subject in the sociological literature for many years. However, most of the studies have focused on the "types" of girls becoming pregnant, the socio-economic background,

the tolerance of society toward these girls, cultural comparisons, etc. Very little has been studied about the recent trend of single parenthood. Although some of the authors have acknowledged the problem, the purpose of their research was not to study this particular aspect.

Leontine Young (1954) studied the problems of the unmarried mother and her child. The rigidity or laxity of the general moral standards, and the social and economic position of the individual has a direct bearing on the degree of public tolerance exhibited toward the mother and child. Young particularly notes the domination of one parent. In every case observed, according to Young, the "girl had unhappiness and problems in her life which led directly to pregnancy."

Goode (1961) examines cultural conditions under which high illegitimacy rates occur. He suggests possible modifications in theories of assimilation, the destruction of social and cultural systems, and the relations between social and cultural integration. He had studied groups in the United States' South, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Latin America mainland.

The author suggested that it is the community, not the individual nor the family, that maintains conformity to or deviation from the norm of legitimacy. The community defines and confers legitimacy. The family or community integration means a high rate of illegitimacy--since it is likely to occur along with a weakening of norm commitment; and, if norms are not greatly weakened, the controls are weak.

In Vincent's study (1961), he questions the idea that "unwed motherhood is an 'acting out' of unresolved emotional conflicts" in an attempt to resolve psychological disturbances whose genesis was in the

mother's early relationship with one or both parents (see Young).

Vincent's data indicated that the significance of broken homes and personality disturbances in unwed motherhood is not as obvious as many studies imply. He also found that many of the unwed mothers who are the most insistent on keeping their children appear the least likely, because of personality and family life experiences, to become adequate mothers.

Jones, Meyer, and Borgatta (1966) isolate four background variables most useful for predicting the disposition of white, unmarried mothers. They are age, education, religion of mother, and marital status of the putative father. Of the agency studied, clients who were young, more educated, and of non-Catholic religion tended to surrender the baby for adoption. The marital status of the putative father appears to be a less relevant variable to predictive purposes than the other background variables.

Chasket (1969) examined the preventive social dimension of illegitimacy. She proposed that Negro girls and their families consider unmarried parenthood a catastrophe insofar as it interferes with upward mobility as represented both by education and employment.

Furstenberg, Gordes, and Markowitz (1969) examined the sexual patterns, reactions to pregnancy, and birth control experience, knowledge, and attitudes of a sample of teen-age girls expecting their first illegitimate child. Their findings suggest that the majority of these girls would use birth control if it were made accessible, and if they were provided with assurance that the contraceptive methods are safe and effective. Their study indicates an increasing prevalence of premarital sexual relations. If the rate of illegitimacy is to be reduced, there is going

to have to be a decrease in the rate of conception, not intercourse.

Pope (1969) studied the differences between black and white unwed mothers regarding their dispensation of their illegitimate children. He found that Negro girls perceived fewer advantages than white girls in holding marital rather than single status. Negroes received fewer rewards for moving toward marriage. Negroes may not have as normative an orientation toward legitimacy and marital sex relations as do whites.

Karen Signell (1969) describes the series of subcrises facing the unwed mother. Specific consultation interventions, within the framework of crisis theory, are discussed for helping "caregivers" enable teenagers to cope with the subcrises. The paper focuses on unwed Negro girls who are a particularly vulnerable high risk group in terms of the number of illegitimate pregnancies, immaturity, and lack of external resources.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDIES

All 15 of the girls interviewed had decided to keep their babies. However, they have still felt the social pressure of illegitimacy; even though it is not as hostile and negative as in former times. Those who have married or will eventually marry in the near future are conforming to the prescribed norm of legitimacy by providing their baby with a father. Several of the girls claimed they had become pregnant so they could marry. Apparently, they were taking advantage of their parents' prescribed norms, knowing that their parents would oppose unwed motherhood. Also, since the girls rejected the idea of abortion, their other alternative is adoption. It is the girl's decision to sign adoption papers. If she should refuse, the parents have not much choice but to allow the marriage, in order for the girl to conform to the expected norm of legitimacy. Those who do not marry are considered deviating from this norm.

The open-ended questions (see appendix for interview schedule) were asked with the intent of trying to discover significant factors influencing the girl to keep her baby. Various questions were considered. What was the influence of the girl's family, not only their attitudes and reactions to her pregnancy, but also any incidents of illegitimate pregnancy within the family. What was the influence of her friends and peer group, incidents of illegitimacy, dispensation of the baby, and

marriage. What was the role of the putative father in the girl's decision? How influential was the guilt factor in determining the girl's decision to keep her baby? Questions were asked relating to a conscious participation in the act of becoming pregnant. Did either use contraceptives? Were contraceptives and/or pregnancy discussed? Also, the girl was questioned regarding her future--social, educational, occupational, financial, etc. Some of the questions were qualified, revised, and/or eliminated if the girl were already married.

The interviews are divided into two parts--those who have married, and those who have not. (Included in the non-married are a few girls who intend to marry in the near future.)

GIRLS WHO HAVE NOT MARRIED

The following section consists of reports of interviews with nine unmarried girls. A few of these girls intend to marry the father; two intend to marry a man other than the father. The others will rear their children as a single parent for the present time. Until these girls marry, they are considered deviants from the present norm of legitimacy.

JANET

After conception, Janet was determined that she would never have sex again. Her baby is nearly six months old, and she is now afraid that she is four months pregnant. She has visited the physician for a pregnancy test, but will not return to be informed of the results.

Janet is 17 years old and hopes to be graduated in June from

high school. Her mother will not allow her to finish her work at Esperanza, though the school will permit her to do so, and she would like to complete her courses. Her mother does not want her to be exposed to those "bad girls." Her mother also thinks Janet is learning "too much" about life, and not enough about her school subjects. Janet now must attend night classes. Her mother becomes very upset when she visits Esperanza.

She became pregnant in January, 1971, in a friend's bedroom. Neither Jim nor she used nor discussed contraceptives. However, they did consider pregnancy. Initially, Janet wanted a baby, but did not become pregnant. Eventually, she had decided that she did not want a baby yet. One evening in January, Jim was drunk and insisted on having sex with her. At first, she had refused, but finally gave in. Janet is now a mother.

Personal Relationship with Jim

Janet met Jim at an outdoor Easter service. He was with his girlfriend. At their meeting, Janet was attracted to Jim's friend, but Jim was attracted to her. Soon the two began to date. Janet said she "never did anything with him for a long time." They have been together for two years.

The physician confirmed Janet's suspicions of pregnancy at three or four months. She had suspected it at one month, for she had not had her menstrual period and felt nauseated. She was afraid, particularly of her parents. She said that she had broken out in hives and was emotionally upset. However, from the beginning, she had wanted to keep her baby. Jim also wanted her to keep the baby and was very sympa-

thetic, about her situation.

Janet had intercourse with a boyfriend of three years before she began dating Jim. Since that time, she has dated no one except Jim. He "went out on her" only once since the discovery of her pregnancy. He was afraid of contracting venereal disease by "screwing other girls," so has decided to stop "messaging around."

Jim and Janet intend to marry, but presently they are uncertain as to when. Jim's mother will not allow him to marry, and he will not be 18 years old until next October. Janet was hoping to marry this summer. After she marries, she will move out of her parents' home, and Jim will be the sole supporter of the family.

Presently, Jim contributes \$10 per month for the baby. He is working part time, and his mother demands \$40 a month from him. Janet does not think this is right. His mother is married for the third time, and is collecting social security, being that both her first and second husbands are deceased. Her third husband has not adopted the children.

According to Janet, Jim has had a difficult life. When Jim was a baby, his father was stabbed and killed in a gang fight; thus, Jim never knew his father. Janet said that he has never had anything for himself. She desired to give him something which would be his. One thing his parents could never give him was a baby; nor could they take the baby away from him. Janet said she kept the baby because it belonged to Jim.

Jim is protective of the baby. When Janet takes the baby to high school to show her friends, he becomes upset when she allows her

friends to hold the baby. Janet remarked that Jim brings gifts for the baby when he is financially able. Janet wants to spend as much time as possible on the weekends with Jim; therefore, she is unhappy when he works Saturdays. She claims that she is really in love with him, and that he loves her.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Janet's mother guessed that she was pregnant at about one and a half months. Her mother said she had "expected it," but was obviously upset. Janet's father was angry and commanded her to give the baby up or abort it. She refused. Her father would not allow her to tell anyone that she was pregnant. He referred to Jim as that "god damn bastard." Janet ran away from home for a short time (she had done this on previous occasions). When she had returned home, her parents accompanied her "to a shrink to straighten (her) out."

The school nurse learned about the pregnancy and invited Janet to talk with her about it. The nurse informed Janet that she could not be forced to either give up the baby or abort it against her wishes; no one could take her baby away without her permission. Janet felt better and was more determined to keep her baby.

Janet's older brother advised her to abort the baby. When he confronted Jim at school, he "slugged him in the mouth," and warned Jim to stay away from Janet. One of their sisters was pregnant at the same time. She was kind to Janet and, although she did not encourage Janet to keep the baby, she invited Janet to live with her and her husband. Janet was amenable to this invitation, but her parents would not allow it. Another sister suggested that she give the baby up. Janet's

younger sisters did not express their opinions, but thought the situation to be a "terrible thing."

Janet told her parents that she and Jim had already informed his parents about the pregnancy. (They had not yet done it, but were intending to do so.) Janet's parents went ahead and talked with Jim's parents, although Janet disapproved. Jim's parents then confronted Jim. They found it hard to believe, and stated that they did not feel that Jim was responsible for the pregnancy. (A former girlfriend of Jim's related to his mother that Janet was "going out with other guys." Janet claimed that she was not.) Jim's mother encouraged him "not to stick with Janet."

Friends were surprised, but supportive, when they learned of the pregnancy. They did not think "bad of her" because of it. Although they liked Jim, they did not particularly encourage Janet to marry him, especially with her parents opposing the marriage. At one point, she almost broke off the relationship with him. However, her friends did encourage her to keep the baby.

Present Situation

Janet is living with her parents. Her parents are supporting her, though they keep telling her they "don't have to." Her father will not allow her to draw a welfare check.

Janet hopes to attend college and enroll in a beautician's course. She is uncertain that she will be able to afford the education, but is willing to babysit to earn money. Jim's sister is willing to babysit for her should she attend college.

Janet is the sixth child in a family of ten children. She has

three older brothers, two older sisters, and four younger sisters. She is a baptized Roman Catholic. Her mother accuses her of being a "bad" girl because of her pregnancy. However, her sisters had "messed around" also; they just "weren't caught."

Janet knew three girls at Esperanza from high school, and two of her friends became pregnant illegitimately. Both friends kept their babies, although they did not marry. Janet admitted that she had never offered advice to her friends since the final decision was up to them. There is no illegitimacy in Janet's family. Jim's sister, to whom he is quite close, became pregnant when she was 16. She kept the baby and later married someone other than the father. Janet thinks Jim sympathizes with her because he had experienced with his sister a situation with similar aspects.

Janet thinks the students at school gossip extensively. When the father of an illegitimate child is known, however, there is not as much gossiping. She feels that the boys gossip more than do the girls. The fellows think that a girl is either an "easy lay," or (the other extreme) he will get "nothing off her" since she most likely is fearful of another pregnancy.

Janet observes that her attitudes toward illegitimacy has not changed much. She had had sex prior to pregnancy, so she did not "look down" on other girls doing the same thing. There was a "good girl," though, of whom Janet "never dreamed would ever become pregnant." When she did become pregnant, Janet confessed that she did "look down on her." Apparently at this point, Janet does not consider herself a "bad girl;" but, neither does she regard herself to be the same type of "good girl"

as the one who became pregnant. Janet seems to feel trapped between two sets of norms--the established code of her parents and family which states that the bearing of children out of wedlock is illegitimate and not right; and that ethic of her friends who encourage her to keep her baby, and even her feelings and thoughts of desiring a baby to give to Jim.

If Janet were to advise an unmarried pregnant girl, she would suggest that the mother keep the baby. However, if the girl could not handle the child, she should give it to someone who could and who would be willing to take care of it. Janet is against abortion, and also "looks down on girls" who give up their babies for adoption. She would not want her baby "to feel rejected" when the baby's adopted parents would relate the circumstances of adoption.

When her daughter is old enough to date, Janet intends to discuss "the facts of life" with her. Janet thinks that if she is truthful with her daughter, she, in turn, will be honest with her mother. Janet feels that her parents were not honest with her; nor did they inform her of "the facts of life."

The attitudes of Janet's parents have been mellowed since the arrival of the baby. They have become "more tolerant." They tease Janet that she does not deserve such a beautiful baby. Immediately following the birth of the baby, Janet's parents would have nothing to do with Jim. At the time of the interview, they have been permitting him to visit on the weekends, primarily because of the baby, according to Janet. Occasionally Janet meets Jim at night school. Although Janet's mother will not admit to it, Janet thinks she is prejudiced against Jim because

he is Mexican-American.

There is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy in Janet's mind. She thinks unwed motherhood to be very lonely. Even though the girl is illegitimately pregnant, she still wants to "go back to bed with the guy." Especially when the girl is living with her family, she finds it difficult to be alone with the father.

Janet thinks that illegitimacy is a greater strain to the baby than to the mother. The baby does not know its father. Janet wants Jim to be close to their baby. Also, in her situation, she becomes upset when her mother assumes too much responsibility for the baby which Janet feels belongs to her as mother. However, Jim eases her with "things will soon be okay," and she believes him.

By avoiding the possibility of a second pregnancy, Janet hopes the problem will disappear. Even though the teacher has encouraged Janet to be examined, she will not. When interviewed, Janet had considered the possibility of contraceptives, but she did not tell the interviewer of her fears of a second pregnancy.

Janet was one of the first girls in her class to deliver. After the birth of the baby, she would participate in discussions with the nurse, relating her experience. She seemed quite proud that she could contribute knowledgeably, and her classmates appreciated her contributions.

Janet talked very freely during the interview which lasted nearly one and a half hours. She continually referred to her love and concern for Jim, and seemed to think that it was reciprocal.

PATTY

As in Janet's case, Patty is having future in-law problems. She and Ric intend to marry sometime after the baby is born, but Patty is not sure of the exact time. Presently, she is keeping in touch with Ric through a girlfriend. Ric's father is against the marriage, and will allow no communication between the two. According to Patty, he is angry because he does not want "the responsibility of being a grandfather" and "doesn't want a little kid around." Ric's father is a policeman, and threatens to "ship Ric away" if Ric protests his father's actions.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Patty was three months pregnant when she told her parents of the situation. They were surprised. Her father wants her to keep the baby since it is his grandchild. Her mother also wants Patty to keep the child. They like Ric very much and are in favor of the marriage, although not immediately. They would approve of her seeing Ric had his father not set up all the restrictions. Patty's younger brother is happy regarding the prospective family member, and her younger sister does not understand the situation.

Patty's father informed Ric's mother of the pregnancy. His mother was shocked, but offered no advice. She then told her husband who became very angry. Although he advised Patty to abort, he did not offer to pay or help to pay for the expenses involved.

Patty's friends were happy for her. They hoped the pregnancy would unite the two families. They offered no suggestions since it was evident to them that Patty intended to keep the baby and marry Ric.

Personal Relationship with Ric

Patty's condition was confirmed at three months, although she had suspected pregnancy before that time, as did Ric. Patty is one of the few girls interviewed who had initially considered abortion; however, she had decided to keep the baby. Ric and Patty were planning on marriage before the discovery of pregnancy. They had been dating one and a half years. Neither she nor Ric had used contraceptives nor had they discussed their use. They did not consider the possibility of pregnancy.

Patty is living with her parents who are supporting her. Ric is in school and unable to offer any financial support, although he intends to help with expenses after the baby is born. Patty plans to stay at home until she can find a job, move out, and support herself. She will finish school in June. She is not collecting welfare (her parents will not allow it). Her parents approve of her moving when she can, and her mother has offered to babysit, for which Patty will pay her. Patty is looking for someone to deliver her baby at home so as to avoid hospital expenses. (She has asked the teacher to deliver the baby.)

Patty's social life is non-existent. She is not permitted to see nor contact Ric. Her friends' mothers will not allow their daughters to associate with Patty since they feel Patty is a "bad girl." Her family has recently moved to Rubidoux (six months ago), so she does not know many people.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Patty's attitude toward illegitimacy has changed since her own pregnancy. At one time, she thought "only bad girls got in trouble."

She now thinks that pregnancy can happen to "anyone;" and, in many cases, when it does "happen," the girl does not realize it.

None of Patty's friends have become pregnant illegitimately. There is no illegitimacy in Ric's family of which Patty is aware. Her cousin was pregnant, kept her baby, and later married. She is not close to that cousin. Patty feels that her mother is sympathetic toward her since her mother was pregnant with Patty illegitimately. (Patty did not learn of this until she was pregnant.)

If she were to offer advice to an unmarried pregnant girl, Patty would suggest that the girl, the putative father, and the girl's father discuss the situation. The dispensation of the child should depend on the decision of the girl. Patty does not like "the idea of abortion." If the girl does not want the baby, she would suggest adoption.

Patty discerns a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy. If the baby is deemed illegitimate, it will not have the support of a father. The mother becomes responsible for being both parents, plus being financially supportive. Patty thinks it is important for two persons to rear the child. She desires her baby to be close to its father.

Patty observes that more girls are choosing to keep their babies, even though they are not marrying. She feels that this choice is based on the girl's attitude. If the mother really loves the baby, she should keep it, since the love and caring of the natural mother would be stronger than that of foster parents. She thinks that girls keep their babies because they love and feel responsible for the baby. She would not want to give up her child, especially after experiencing the pain of delivery.

Patty was hesitant in answering a few of the questions. She is a

more recent student at Esperanza than the other girls who had been interviewed, and, therefore, not known as well by the researcher.

JENNIFER

Of the girls interviewed, Jennifer was the only one who had used any sort of contraceptive. She stopped taking the pill because she had wanted a baby. There seemed to be no reason to discuss the situation any further.

At sixteen years of age, Jennifer has quickly learned a sophisticated way of dodging people and their questions. Even though she spent over thirty minutes in the interviewing session, she did not reveal much of herself. She hesitated, and often evaded questions that concerned the father. In several instances, her answers to questions conflicted with information which the teacher later submitted.

Jennifer did not become particularly friendly or close with any of the other girls in the class. She often would sit apart from the others, either studying or looking at magazines. She seldom participated in the "girltalk" which went on in class. The other girls were involved in knitting, crocheting, sewing; Jennifer did none. She claimed that she was interested in completing her third and final year of high school this year so as to be graduated in June. Jennifer was not shy, but rather aloof. It appeared as if knitting and crocheting and small talk were below her. Jennifer did not admire nor cuddle the other girls' babies. A classmate once offered her baby to Jennifer to hold; Jennifer refused. Someone then questioned, "How are you going to take care of your baby when you seem to hate kids so much?" Jennifer

responded with her "Mona Lisa" smile. That was the end of the conversation.

Infrequently did Jennifer engage in conversations, and less often did she reveal anything about herself. On one occasion, she was relating her experience with the welfare worker. In order to qualify as a welfare recipient, the unmarried mother-to-be must name the father. Jennifer refused. Finally, the exasperated welfare worker asked, "Have you slept with so many men that you don't know which one the father is?" Jennifer smiled and nodded. She is now on the welfare rolls. (She told the teacher that she had told the welfare worker that the father was in Louisiana, assuming Welfare would not trail him.) The girls were shocked at Jennifer's reply. One commented, "I wouldn't want them to think that I was a slut."

The teacher often felt that Jennifer was attempting to bait her, and reported that Jennifer did not get along well with her. Once Jennifer had asked the teacher if she ever loses her patience. The teacher replied that she tries not to become angry.

Jennifer seemed friendlier to the researcher than she did to most of her classmates. After her interview, when the researcher would visit Esperanza, Jennifer would ask about the thesis. It appeared that she was attempting to make conversation, rather than showing actual interest in the thesis. She asked what a thesis is, but did not ask particular questions regarding this one.

Jennifer is an unattractive, slightly overweight girl. Her parents are divorced, and her mother has remarried three times since. She has one half brother and one half sister younger than she. Lately,

her attendance at school has been irregular, although she claims that she has not been ill. She volunteered no information as to her whereabouts.

Personal Relationship with Putative Father

Jennifer became pregnant in August, 1971; the baby is due in April, 1972. She was happy when she learned of her pregnancy because she "wanted to be." Jennifer had engaged in intercourse prior to pregnancy with a former boyfriend. She had met the father through a friend and dated him for about a year. They intended to marry before she became pregnant. However, her mother will not allow the marriage until she is 18. Jennifer decided to become pregnant when she did, for if she waited until she would be 18, she was afraid the father would be "too old." (She says that he is 35, but told the teacher he is 37.) The father is a college graduate and records for radio stations. Jennifer is not sure of all his job entails. When asked if he were married, Jennifer hedged, and then commented that she did not think so. (The teacher is inclined to think that he is married.) His family does not know about Jennifer. The father is happy about the pregnancy; he wanted Jennifer to become pregnant. He is paying expenses and child support privately rather than through a district attorney's office. (Jennifer predicts that when she is 18, all of her problems will be solved, and she will then be able to discuss this situation with the teacher.)

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Jennifer's mother "figured it" when she was told that Jennifer was four months pregnant. The mother wanted Jennifer to have the baby, but the baby is to be Jennifer's responsibility. Jennifer does not see

her father, so she does not know if he is yet aware of the situation. Jennifer's grandmother claimed that she suspected the pregnancy through her "intuition" regarding such occurrences. Jennifer feels support from her family towards her decision to keep the baby.

When Jennifer announced her pregnancy to her friends, they were happy for her. They like the father, and were glad that she was intending to keep the baby, although none of them choose to interfere with her decision. Her friends would encourage her to marry the father.

Present Situation

For a short time, Jennifer was living with her girlfriend's boyfriend. When the girlfriend moved in, Jennifer moved out. She is presently living alone in an apartment in Rubidoux. She plans to stay there; the father supposedly will move in before the birth of the baby. Jennifer does not want her mother to learn of these plans, for she fears her mother will have the father jailed. According to the teacher, Jennifer's mother knows the father but does not like him. During the interview, Jennifer said that her mother does not know the father, nor does she ever want to meet him.

During the time from the baby's birth in April until graduation in June, Jennifer plans to bring the baby to school. Following graduation, Jennifer intends to work. Her friends have offered to care for the baby when she is gone.

Attitude Toward Illegitimacy

Three of Jennifer's friends have become illegitimately pregnant; two aborted, and one kept the baby. Jennifer claims that she never advised her friends about their pregnancy since it was really not her bus-

iness. It is up to the girl to do what she wants to do, and no one else should influence her decision. Two of Jennifer's aunts became pregnant illegitimately while in their twenties. Both kept their babies. Jennifer is close to both aunts.

The students at school think it is "stupid" when a girl becomes pregnant, according to Jennifer. They make snide remarks, and look at a girl's stomach rather than her face. If "they look at your face, they are dying to look at your stomach."

If a friend of hers were pregnant, Jennifer said that she would suggest that the girl keep the baby. She feels that the final decision is the girl's, and no one should interfere. However, Jennifer could not suggest adoption, with the available benefits of welfare. She would not promote abortion necessarily since the girl could have prevented the pregnancy. Personally, she would not have aborted, but would consider abortion over adoption.

Jennifer thinks that her attitudes toward illegitimacy have not changed. The only difference in her mind is that a single mother has "to play the role of mother and father." There is also a stigma to bear. Being that she wanted her baby, however, she does feel that she is not affected by that.

KELLEY

Similar to Jennifer, Patty, and Janet, Kelley intended to marry the father of her baby. She is presently an 18 year old single mother of a two year old daughter. Neither she nor David used contraceptives. They had discussed it, but Kelley said "it never came to anything."

Kelley and David did discuss the possibility of pregnancy, and David wanted a baby "really bad." Kelley met him through friends, and dated him for three years before she became pregnant. David proposed marriage after she became pregnant.

Personal Relationship with David

David arranged with a physician to examine Kelley. He was "thrilled" when the physician confirmed Kelley as being two and one half months pregnant. Kelley had not expected pregnancy. "It couldn't happen to me!" Initially she was frightened, primarily because she had to tell her mother. From the beginning, she had decided to keep the baby, though. "It's mine," Kelley claimed, and loved the baby before it was born.

David, then 19, offered to marry Kelley, but her mother would not allow it. Initially he offered to pay expenses, but never came through with them. Kelley's parents did not like David. (When Kelley's mother discovered Kelley and David were having sex, she would not allow them to see each other anymore. That is when Kelley ran away with David, and, during this period, became pregnant.)

David has not paid any expenses or child support. Before pregnancy, Kelley had planned to marry him; presently, she does not intend to marry David. She is planning to marry someone else in May, and her fiance is going to adopt the baby. Kelley kept in touch with David until the baby was three or four months old. After that, she did not allow David to have any contact with the child. Janet reports that at that time, she and David had mutually terminated their relationship.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Kelley announced the news of her pregnancy to her family when she was three months pregnant. Her mother "became unglued," although her mother never offered any advice other than not allowing Kelley to marry David. Her father was calm. He said nothing and allowed Kelley to make her own decision. Her older sister and three older brothers "took the pregnancy well." Kelley's grandmother hoped that she would be happy, and one aunt did not believe it. Another aunt had told her daughter not to "end up like Kelley." (The month Kelley's baby was born, that cousin became pregnant.)

Together, David and Kelley relayed the news to his mother. She was happy, being that this would be the first grandchild in the family, and had no opinions one way or another. David does not have a father. Kelley still has contact with David's mother, although she does not see David.

Kelley's friends were surprised when they learned of her pregnancy, but they did not gossip. They did not encourage her to marry David; they felt that David "did Kelley wrong." "He let Kelley down" after "he got her pregnant." Other than that, Kelley's friends made no suggestions as to what she should do.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

There has been a record of illegitimacy in Kelley's family. Two of her older brothers "had to get married." One married when his wife was eight months pregnant. Kelley did not know at the time that the other brother also "had to marry." She also has a cousin who was pregnant when Kelley delivered. The cousin kept the baby and married the

father. Kelley knows of no illegitimacy in David's family.

Kelley knew about 12 girls at Esperanza from high school when she was there. Also, ten to twenty of her friends have been pregnant illegitimately. Most of them kept their babies and some eventually married. Some of the girls also had abortions. Kelley thinks that girls either keep their babies, or have abortions, rather than giving the babies up for adoption. After a girl has carried and delivered her baby, Kelley thinks it is hard to give it up for adoption. Kelley thinks adoptions were more prevalent before because of the difficulty of obtaining an abortion. She is against abortion, so she advised her friends to either keep the baby or adopt it out. However, the final decision was the girl's.

Kelley thinks that the students at school gossip when they discover a girl is pregnant. She also thinks that the boy is the subject of conversation as much as the girl. The students usually want to know "who got the girl pregnant."

Kelley never thought about illegitimacy prior to her pregnancy, since she considered herself "pretty young then." She nor her friends used contraceptives primarily because "they never thought about it." However, she does think there is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy. Kelley thinks it is easier on the child if the mother is married. If the mother is not married, the baby is the subject of gossip. Kelley worries very much about what the baby is going to think when she finds out about her birth. Kelley thinks the mother also suffers somewhat from illegitimacy. She has to bear "the brunt of the gossip." The mother also has to assume more of the father role.

Kelley used to cut classes often prior to her pregnancy while attending high school. However, she did much better while in school at Esperanza. She seems to be a responsible mother and takes good care of her baby according to the teacher. She ended the interview by saying she was very happy her mother would not allow her to marry David.

KATHY

Wedding bells are supposed to ring for Kathy in two years. However, like Kelley, her husband-to-be is not the father of her baby. Mike is now in Germany, and will be there for two years with the Army. He is not the father of the baby and knows it, since Kathy did not begin dating him until after she was pregnant. She became pregnant in June and Mike left for Germany soon afterwards. She never had sex with him. The parents seem to be pleased with the future marriage.

Personal Relationship with John

Despite Kathy's uncomplimentary adjectives describing the baby's father, she finally admitted to the teacher that she still liked him. However, she wants no one to know, especially her mother who hates him very much. Kathy never verbalized her continued affection for the father during the interview, but insisted he was "a rat."

She met John through some friends when he was 22 and she 16. She dated him off and on for a year and had sex with him prior to her pregnancy, "but not very often." She thinks she became pregnant when she ran away with him for a short time. Neither used contraceptives, nor discussed the use of them. Nor did they consider together the possibility of pregnancy.

When Kathy discovered she was pregnant at one and a half months, she was initially scared, then happy. From the beginning she wanted to keep the baby. John also wanted her to keep the baby, although he did not offer to marry her, nor offer to pay expenses. Kathy described him as a "nothing" and "irresponsible." Prior to pregnancy, she thought she might marry him. Now she says "there's no chance." John has seen her twice since she became pregnant and called once in awhile. When she was interviewed, John was in jail. She will not let him see the baby, though he thinks he is going to.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Kathy was intending to tell her parents when they returned from vacation in July. In the meantime, she had been suffering from morning sickness. Instead of Kathy telling, her mother asked if she were pregnant. Her father was present when her mother asked. He did not say anything. Although her parents do not like John, they were very supportive and wanted to help. They thought Kathy should keep the baby. Kathy's parents seemed to be the most obviously involved of all the families of the girls.

Kathy's two older brothers do not like John. In fact, one thought "he ought to be shot." They thought Kathy should keep the baby. They are kind to her and bought things for the baby before it was born.

Friends were surprised when they heard of her pregnancy. They knew she was going to keep it, so they offered no advice. Kathy thought they should have nothing to say about it anyway. However, one friend did not want her to marry John. She has no contact with John or his family. She does not know if his family knows about the pregnancy.

Present Situation

Kathy's parents are presently supporting her and will be doing so until she marries in two years. She is also living with them. She does not plan to work until she finishes school. Even then she is not sure if she will work or not. She hopes to finish her eleventh and twelfth grade by June. Her mother will watch the baby.

Kathy said her social life is practically non-existent. She has stopped seeing her friends since they ask too many questions and seem so immature. She prefers being around adults. Prior to her pregnancy, she went steady with several fellows, but did very little casual dating. She does not plan to date at all now.

Attitude Toward Illegitimacy

The only incident of illegitimacy in the family is an aunt. She "had to get married" when she was about 15 or 16. (Kathy says that no one in the family knows, though. She did not say how she found out.) The aunt has since divorced and remarried. Kathy knows nothing about illegitimacy in John's family.

Kathy knew three of the girls in Esperanza from high school. Also, three of her friends were pregnant illegitimately. When students at school discover a girl is pregnant, Kathy thinks that they gossip, whisper, and joke about it. The students usually know the father of the baby, although they did not know John. Kathy thinks that the students gossip more about the girl than the boy.

If a friend of Kathy's were pregnant, she would tell the girl to "get rid of it" if she did not love it. She would suggest adoption rather than abortion since "there is a long waiting list" of people

wanting to adopt babies. However, if the girl were pregnant by a "nigger" the girl should abort since people will not adopt a "half and half."

Abortion depends on the person, but Kathy would not advise her friends to do it. Whatever she would suggest, she thinks that the final decision is the girl's, and no one can or should interfere with the girl's choice.

Kathy said she never thought "bad of illegitimacy." It is "something that happens." A girl "makes a mistake and gets caught." People should not condemn the girl. The older neighbors in her neighborhood condemn Kathy and gossip. They do not think she should keep the baby, but Kathy thinks what they do is wrong.

According to Kathy's way of thinking, the only difference between a legitimate and illegitimate family is that the mother will "have it rougher" since there is no father. She is responsible for the baby, not the grandparents, and therefore the mother will have to rear the child alone. Other than that, Kathy can see no difference.

Kathy is a 16 year old eleventh grader who hates school. She is eager to find any excuse she can to avoid coming to class. However, her mother urges her to finish and in fact brings her to school. In spite of Kathy's negative attitude toward school, she is learning, especially when the nurse brings films and has discussions. Kathy watched the film showing delivery four times. When she delivered her baby, she did not put up any fuss as one would expect. Many of her fears were eliminated by her knowledge of delivery, and the doctor was very pleased with her behaviour.

Although the doctor advised Kathy to be careful of her weight, she often made daily trips to the baker and indulged in various pastries. It seems that Kathy thinks the world revolves around her. She expects

her mother to do what Kathy wants immediately. She is upset if her mother does not arrive promptly to pick her up at school. Her mother has a difficult time controlling her.

Unfortunately for her, some of the aura of motherhood is beginning to tarnish. She seems to be having a difficult time adjusting to her new role. Kathy does not want to get up at night to care for the baby, so she makes her mother do so. She was repulsed at the thought of nursing her baby even though other girls wanted to nurse theirs. Kathy is in many ways a very unrealistic and immature "little girl." The teacher has been trying to help Kathy relate to her situation as an adult.

JOYCE

Joyce is the youngest of the girls interviewed. She was fourteen when she became pregnant. She believes that when a fellow is loving her body he is loving her. She had intercourse with other fellows besides the father, although the father is the only boy with whom she has ever gone steady. Often she would spend nights with her girlfriends and then sneak out and "mess around."

Joyce is not a very pretty 15 year old. Her face is suffering from blemishes and she is overweight. The doctor was fearful of her having toxemia if she did not watch her weight and drink enough water. Joyce is the eldest of five children and feels that she is the unloved one. Her younger sister is crippled and always received so much more attention. When Joyce brought the baby home from the hospital, she again felt left out. She remarked to the teacher, "Mother pays more attention to the baby than me."

There is a possibility that Joyce may be pregnant again. Soon after her return from the hospital, she made love with her uncle. Her plea for justification was, "but he was so kind and tender." She has not had a menstrual period yet. No one knows of this possible pregnancy.

Personal Relationship with Brent

Neither Brent nor Joyce used any contraceptives. They did not discuss the use of contraceptives or the possibility of pregnancy, although she thought she might get pregnant "one of these days, but not so soon."

Cousins introduced Joyce to Brent. He was 18 and a high school dropout. Joyce knew him four months before she became pregnant. The first month she skipped her period, she was not worried. She was happy when she found out she was pregnant. Brent did not find out until she was four months, although Joyce saw him during that time. Joyce planned to tell him, but his sister-in-law told him first.

Brent did not like the idea of her pregnancy. He wanted her to abort the baby. When she refused, he offered to marry her, but would not pay maternity expenses and child support.

Joyce has no contact with him now, though she thought she would marry him before she became pregnant. Now she has no plans to do so, especially after "what he did to me!" Joyce confused her story a little at this point. She said she broke up with him before the baby was born. Then she decided not to marry him when he broke up with her. Brent has never seen the baby and she does not intend to let him.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Joyce announced the news of her pregnancy to her family when she

was two months pregnant. She told her mother and father together. They were not happy and suggested an abortion. Her mother was hurt. Joyce wanted the baby and refused to abort. Her younger brothers and sisters wanted her to keep the baby also. Her parents then told her it was up to her. (When Joyce's mother brought her to Esperanza the first day, her mother told the teacher that Joyce thought she knew everything. But her mother was sure Joyce could learn something while there at school. Her mother said that Joyce needed to learn to make decisions for herself.) The family liked Brent at first, but now do not. They were in favour of marriage prior to her pregnancy. However, since he was not able to "pay for what he had done," they did not want her to marry him.

Brent told his family. His parents are divorced. His mother had no suggestions, but she did not believe it was his. His father, who is in a rest home, wanted Joyce to keep the baby and name it after him. The family did not offer to help with expenses. Joyce did not know Brent's family very well and she was not sure if they liked her or not. She has had no contact with them since her pregnancy.

Most of Joyce's friends were shocked when they heard of her pregnancy. Some suggested that she keep the baby and others advised abortion. Her friends liked Brent "pretty well" but some of them did not want her to marry him.

Joyce recently moved out of her home to live with some friends. The couple has a small child. She said she moved away because her friends had been "hassling" her, but intends to move back home. Even though she is gone from home, her mother continues to bring her to school. Her parents are still supporting her. She is not on welfare and hopes to get

a job soon. When she does work, her mother will take care of the baby. While in school, Joyce often brings the baby with her. Her family is supposed to move to Nebraska sometime soon and she plans to go with them. She is not sure how she will finish her three remaining years of school when they move. She intends to move out on her own even though not married when they move to Nebraska.

Her social life has been reduced to non-existence. Once pregnant, Brent never bothered to take her out. He came by to see her, and telephoned only once. Although she does not plan to date at the present, Joyce does hope to get married eventually to someone other than the father in the future.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Four of Joyce's friends have become pregnant illegitimately and all eventually married the father. One of the girls was her neighbor. The neighbor became pregnant by Brent's cousin. Joyce also had an aunt who bore three illegitimate babies and kept them all. Her aunt was in her late twenties when she was pregnant the first time. Joyce only knows of Brent's cousin in Brent's family.

Joyce thinks that many of the students gossip about the pregnant girl. The girl is usually the subject of the gossip even though the father is usually known. She also thinks that fellows think a girl is an "easy lay" once she has been pregnant.

If a friend of Joyce's were pregnant illegitimately, she would advise the girl to keep her baby rather than adopt or abort. If the girl loves the father, then they should marry. However, if the girl does not marry, she should still keep the baby. After all, if "you can

get pregnant, you can keep it. You are responsible for it."

Joyce thinks there is a difference between legitimate and illegitimate motherhood. She feels the mother is not as close to the baby when the mother is not married. She feels that because the mother does not have the supportive love of a husband, she cannot love her baby as much. The mother has to be mother and father to the baby.

Joyce answered her questions briefly, often not offering much information. Loneliness and bitterness crept into her responses. When she spoke of her pregnancy, she seemed to think of herself as a passive victim, rather than an active participant. She made several references to "what he had done to me" and "after what he did."

Joyce has brought the baby to school since his birth. She keeps the baby in his portable crib next to her constantly while she does her work and often stops what she is doing to hold and admire the baby. It seems as though this is the only person that will love and care for her, and she can love and care for someone without getting hurt or pregnant.

Joyce has done poorly in school. Since she cannot read well, the teacher gave her an elementary phonics and spelling book. She is also very poor in math. This appears to be frightening to her. She is worried about budgeting her money, shopping, and keeping house when she is on her own.

HEATHER

Unlike the other girls, Heather never intended to marry Steve and still has no intentions of doing so. She has known him for four years and dated him for two. Heather knew Steve's sister, and met him

when she was out for a walk. Steve has finished school and is nineteen.

Heather and Steve had intercourse prior to her pregnancy. Neither used contraceptives, nor discussed their use. She said that she had thought about pregnancy and "figured she would get pregnant." However, she would decide what she would do when that time came. She was living with Steve when she became pregnant at their apartment in November, 1971.

Heather was happy when she discovered she was pregnant. She wanted to keep the baby. She is very much opposed to abortion. Being Catholic, she thinks it is murder. She was three weeks pregnant when she knew she was pregnant, although it was not officially confirmed until she was two months.

Heather told Steve when she was three months. He had no reaction, but thought he had better get a job. At the time of the interview, he was still looking. He advised her to keep the baby and offered to marry her, but she said he did not really want to. He also offered to pay expenses, but is paying nothing yet. Heather is not living with him now, but they still keep in touch. He calls and they visit each other and she goes with him to dinner on weekends at his parents home.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Heather told her mother about her pregnancy at four months. Her mother was very angry. She has never consented to allow Heather to keep the baby. Heather said her mother "is still mad about it" although her mother does not know Steve. Her parents are divorced and Heather has seen her father only once since her pregnancy. He did not say anything. Steve told his family when she was three months pregnant. They said nothing and gave no advice.

Present Situation

Heather is sixteen and in the eleventh grade. She has one full sister who is older. There are thirty-six step, half, and foster siblings altogether, although she does not know many of them. Her parents are divorced and her mother has remarried. Her father has married twelve times (three of them to her mother). She has lived with her mother about six months every year all of her life. The other six months she spends with her father, grandmother, and/or sister.

Heather is presently living with her mother who is supporting her. She intends to live with Steve after the baby is born and he will then support them. After the baby's birth, she will probably receive welfare.

Heather intends to finish school if possible. She is working part time now and wants to continue after the baby is born. The baby's godmother will care for the baby. Heather does not know what she will do about school after the baby is born.

Attitude Toward Illegitimacy

Students at school do not usually think much about a girl being pregnant according to Heather. She said she does not think there is much gossip. The students just ask what the girl is going to do with the baby. Heather's friends had no reaction when they found out about her pregnancy. They did not offer any advice, and although they like Steve, they did not encourage her to marry him.

Five of her friends have become pregnant illegitimately. They all kept the baby and three of them eventually married. Heather knew two of the girls at Esperanza from high school. Four of her sisters, her brother's wife, and her father's girlfriend were pregnant illegitimately.

They all kept their babies and some eventually married. She knows of no illegitimacy in Steve's family.

Heather offered no advice to her friends when they were pregnant. She thought they should do what was right. If she were to advise a friend in the future, she would tell them the same thing. If the girl were to give the baby up, she would advise adoption since she is strongly against abortion.

Heather thinks more girls are keeping their babies, although she is not sure why. If the girls did not want the babies, they would have aborted them, rather than carrying them for nine months and then giving them up for adoption. She also thinks many girls do not use birth control because they do not believe in it and think it is wrong. Some do not use contraceptives because they want to get pregnant.

Heather's attitude toward illegitimacy has not changed. However, she does think there is some difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy. She thinks the biggest difference is the social pressures—there is a stigma. She does not think there is an actual difference for the mother and/or baby. Although the presence of a father makes a difference, a mother can rear her baby without a father. A father is preferable and important, but "you can go without it if you don't have it."

ELIZABETH

Elizabeth hopes that by keeping her baby, she will keep her boyfriend. She is 18 1/2 and finishing the twelfth grade. She became pregnant in April at her home, and the baby was born in January, 1972. She intended to fill a prescription for the pill before this happened.

Neither Elizabeth nor Tom used contraceptives. They talked about it but did nothing. They also discussed the possibility of pregnancy, although they were not planning on it. Tom said he would "work it out" if she became pregnant.

Elizabeth had had intercourse with other fellows before Tom. She met Tom, who is 22, at a swim party. She had been dating him nine months before having sex with him. According to her, "fate had it." She became pregnant after having sex with him the first time or so.

She discovered she was two months pregnant when she went to the physician's for a prescription for the pill. Her reaction was "oh, no!" Elizabeth considered both adoption and abortion. If she aborted, she would lose the father; if she kept the baby, she would have the father. She decided to keep it. If things "didn't work out with Tom," she could give the baby up for adoption.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

When Elizabeth found out she was pregnant, she moved in with her father, although her father did not know her condition. She stayed about a month. One day when her father was gone, she moved out to her own apartment. That same day her father confirmed his suspicion about her pregnancy by calling her physician. He could not do anything since she had already moved out.

Her father was in favour of her keeping the baby until he discovered the father was black. Then her father strongly voiced his opinion for adoption or abortion and even tried to bribe her. He does not want to meet Tom. Elizabeth said he has now resigned himself to her decision. He bought a crib for the baby, but still insists that he does not want to see Tom.

Elizabeth considers her mother "old-fashioned." Her parents are going through a divorce, so she seems to think her mother does not have time to think about her problems. Her mother said it was "okay" for her to keep the baby. Her sixteen year old sister would not say anything. Elizabeth calls her a "church girl." Finally her sister said that Elizabeth should not keep it, but rather abort it or give it up for adoption. Other relatives encouraged her not to keep it.

Tom's brother and sister-in-law, who know Elizabeth, told Tom's mother about her pregnancy. Tom told his family that he and Elizabeth were already married. His family now knows that they are not, but Tom told them if they had their rings, they would be. Tom's family lives in Texas. He came to California three years ago. His brother and sister-in-law live in Riverside. His parents are divorced and she does not know Tom's stepfather's reaction, but Tom's real father did not say anything.

Girlfriends encouraged her to abort. They thought she had "the sucker end of the deal." However, her male friends said she should keep it. They said if they were in that situation, they think "their broad ought to keep their kid."

Her friends like Tom, but they did not press marriage. They knew he could not afford it. She intends to marry someone even if she does not marry Tom. She said she will date other fellows as long as he dates other girls.

Present Situation

Elizabeth's parents were having marital difficulties when she was in her mid-teens. Her parents decided to send her to live in a foster-home. Elizabeth lasted in the home four months. The family "couldn't

handle me, and I couldn't handle them." At seventeen and a half, she went to court to contest her parents' action of placing her in a foster home.

Elizabeth was supporting herself and her unborn baby by welfare (AFDC) since her third month of pregnancy. According to Elizabeth, her welfare check was "messed up," and she did not receive the money. She invited Tom to move in with her in January. Welfare discovered that Tom was living with her, thus resulting in her ineligibility for welfare. Elizabeth claims that she needs Tom's money; therefore, she wants Tom to stay, but under the condition that he does not "run around" nor lie. Elizabeth says that she will not marry him until he is committed to her. In those terms, however, she has not been loyal, for she "messed around" during her pregnancy with other fellows.

Elizabeth plans to finish school, and would like to attend college by enrolling in night school this summer. She is interested in nursing, and then eventually wants to become involved in a computer and a probation course. She plans to work at a hamburger stand in the morning, a rootbeer stand in the afternoon, and at a hotel on weekends. Elizabeth brings the baby to school with her now, but when she begins working, the baby will be cared by Tom's brother's mother-in-law. Tom does not want the baby to have "just any babysitter." Tom would like his daughter to go to college, but does not think Elizabeth should. Tom has finished high school and "tried college," but did not make it.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Elizabeth thinks the students made a girl "feel bad" when they learn of her pregnancy. Gossip usually follows. She observes that some of the fellows "run if a girl is pregnant."

Elizabeth knew of three girls from high school who were students at Esperanza when she was. She also had three friends who were illegitimately pregnant. One kept the baby, and the father disappeared. Another kept her baby because she was jealous of her boyfriend. She then decided to give the baby up for adoption to lure back her boyfriend; however, this plan did not materialize as she had hoped. The third friend wanted an abortion. Elizabeth advised that the girl should inform the father, but her stronger suggestion was for the girl to keep the baby until it was born. If the mother had no support by then, she could always give it up for adoption. Elizabeth emphasized that she only suggested; the final decision is the girl's.

Elizabeth's mother was pregnant with Elizabeth before she married. She was not pregnant by her fiance. Elizabeth said her mother worked as a waitress and often went out with men. Her mother knew her fiance one week before she had married him. He did not know her mother was pregnant at the time of the marriage. Elizabeth and her father suspect that perhaps her biological father was black. Elizabeth thinks her mother can say nothing about her pregnancy. Elizabeth has a half cousin who had kept her baby; she does not think the cousin married. There is no illegitimacy in Tom's family of which she knows.

According to Elizabeth, her attitude toward illegitimacy has not changed much. Before she was pregnant, Elizabeth had thought that fellows would run away if they "got a girl pregnant." Elizabeth thinks that "some had good timing and some didn't." Some girls become pregnant because sex "is a way of enjoyment," and some "get caught at it." "It sneaks up on them." She thinks that girls use contraceptives as "an easy

way out." They do not have to worry about pregnancy. These girls "let themselves go." A boy "can get something off the girl and he doesn't need to worry." She says they rationalize "less risk--less worry." She observes that girls on contraceptives are "looser" than others. She thinks that it does not matter to these girls who the fellow is.

Elizabeth thinks there is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy. When a mother is single, she must support herself and her baby. "It's more convenient if someone else would support." She fears that the baby may bear the stigma, but "it would depend on how you tell him." Elizabeth does think it is "bad" not to have a father around.

Elizabeth's attendance at school has been irregular. She is not required to finish school being that she is over eighteen years of age, but she wants to graduate. Elizabeth is not articulate and, during the interview, although she did not usually hesitate to answer questions, she did have difficulty trying to express herself. She continually said that she and Tom would be married "when things were right." When asked what she had meant by "things being right," she responded with "oh, just things." Never did she clarify that statement.

RHONDA

If a boy, the baby's name would have been John William III. John William I was his father; John William II, his half brother. John William I insisted that every son of his be named after him, and the mothers seemed to agree. If the baby were a girl, she would carry John's last name. Rhonda was the third girl to bear him a child. At 15, she is an unmarried mother of a little girl.

Personal Relationship with John

Rhonda was 14 years old when she became pregnant. Conception occurred in May while in the home of her sister-in-law. She had been dating John one and a half years before she became pregnant. (Rhonda and John had met on the street.) Rhonda had had sex with him prior to pregnancy, and also had sex with two other fellows before dating John. Linda (mother number two) was six months pregnant when Rhonda became pregnant. Rhonda refused to explain how this happened, since she had remarked that she had been dating John steadily for one and a half years. However, she did not verify the fact that he was dating her steadily during that time. (When Rhonda did not wish to answer a question, she would act as if she did not understand the question. No amount of explaining would clarify it for her.)

Rhonda had just filled a physician's prescription for the pill when she became pregnant. She and John had discussed the use of contraceptives, but John used none. They also discussed the possibility of pregnancy. Rhonda's story changes somewhat at this point. Previously, Rhonda had stated that she and John were going together for one and a half years. She now had claimed that she had met John while he was dating Linda. John and Rhonda began "messing around." John had decided that he would rather have Rhonda bear his child, even though Linda was already pregnant. Rhonda never mentioned anything about mother number one.

Although Rhonda's pregnancy was not officially confirmed until the fourth month, Rhonda claimed she "just knew the first day." She did not have her menstrual period, which confirmed her suspicions. Rhonda felt neither happy nor sad when pregnancy occurred. She wanted to

keep the baby since it would be her first. "I would never put it up for adoption." She would rather abort. Rhonda was not sure why she would not adopt her baby out, although later in the interview, she remarked, "you suffer nine months to have it; what's the use of giving it away?"

John also "just knew" she was pregnant, and was happy. Rhonda states that "every man should have a son—married or not." (Perhaps in her thinking, this is characteristic of man's virility.) John demanded Rhonda to keep the baby, and threatened to hurt her if she "got rid of it." He supported his threat with the argument, "why should you put the baby up for adoption when your mother didn't adopt you out?" Rhonda seemed to incorporate this argument into her own thinking, for she used it in her defense of anti-adoption.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Together John and Rhonda told her family when she was about four months pregnant. She observed her mother as being neither happy nor sad. Her mother encouraged Rhonda to keep the baby, and spoke against adoption. She did not suggest abortion. If Rhonda had not wanted the baby, she would have aborted before this. Her brothers and sisters were surprised. Her eldest brother was disappointed because Rhonda had not informed him sooner. He did think it was a "beautiful thing" as long as she "got her education." According to Rhonda, the second eldest brother did not seem to understand. She said that he was glad, but thought she was too young. Rhonda's father did not know that Rhonda was pregnant. He now knows through Rhonda's grandmother. Rhonda's other relatives know about the baby, but Rhonda feels that they should have no say in her decision about the child. The family likes John.

Her mother allows John to visit and to call Rhonda.

Rhonda is unsure when John told his mother, but thinks it was sometime during her fourth month of pregnancy. His mother was upset, particularly since Linda was already pregnant. She had suggested that if John were to marry, it should be to Linda. John said he wanted nothing to do with Linda. If he were to marry, Rhonda claims that it would be to her. John's mother made no suggestions about Rhonda's baby; Rhonda felt it was none of her business. Rhonda has visited John's mother with the baby.

Rhonda and John were engaged before pregnancy. She claims that they are not ready to marry now. If and when they do, they will live with her mother for a short time. No definite plans and dates have been made, but she sees John everyday.

Friends did not say anything about her pregnancy, although her cousin was excited about the baby. Rhonda made it clear that no one had anything to say about her baby.

Present Situation

Rhonda is a 15 year old black girl who has lived in Rubidoux for about eight years. Because of Esperanza's contract system, she hopes to finish the eleventh grade in June. She is the third child in a family of seven children. She has two older brothers (both who have been in jail), three younger sisters, and one younger brother. Her parents are divorced, and her mother has not remarried. Apparently she has no contact with her father, for she does not know where he lives. She considers herself a Baptist.

Rhonda's mother is presently housing her. She is supporting her-

self through Welfare's AFDC, from which her mother is paid for rent and food. John will sometimes give Rhonda money, or bring something for the baby. (When applying for welfare, Rhonda would not state John as the father.) He does not now have a steady job, but when he does, he promises to pay child support privately. Apparently Linda has filed for child support, but John does not pay. When he becomes employed, he is to see the district attorney so as to begin making payments. Again, Rhonda said nothing about mother number one. (The teacher thought that John had managed to convince all three of the mothers not to state him as the father so he would not have to pay child support.)

When Rhonda finishes school in a year, she intends to work full time. Her mother will take care of the baby, as she is now doing while Rhonda is in school. Rhonda hopes to finish the year at Esperanza, and then to return to regular high school for her senior year.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

According to Rhonda, most of the students at school usually gossip when a girl becomes pregnant. They generally assume that the girl is too young and inexperienced to take proper care of her baby. Rhonda said that she paid little attention to their attacks, especially since one of the girls who had done much of the talking is now pregnant.

Although Rhonda knew none of the girls at Esperanza prior to her pregnancy, several of her friends have become pregnant illegitimately. When approached as to what they did with their babies, Rhonda responded, "Keep them, what else?" She reported that the girls never get rid of the babies, and, thus far, most of them have not married. Rhonda never offered to them any advice, mainly because she was not asked.

When Rhonda became pregnant, she asked no advice from her friends. She claimed they "have nothing to say about the baby." It is the girl and the father who decide what to do with the baby. Her friends accept John, but, again, they voice no opinion.

Illegitimacy runs in Rhonda's family. Several of her aunts have kept their babies; a few of them eventually married the father. Presently one of the girls in Esperanza is pregnant by Rhonda's cousin. Rhonda also has a stepsister (a stepdaughter of her father's) who kept her baby, and is now going to marry someone other than the father. When asked if there were any additional instances of illegitimacy, Rhonda hedged and said "no." The teacher commented that her two year old brother is illegitimate. Rhonda said her mother never remarried after her divorce. However, the baby carries a different last name than does Rhonda and her mother.

John's family also has a record of illegitimacy. His sister-in-law had three babies before she married. His sister kept her baby and married later. His cousin kept her baby but did not marry. Also, Rhonda's baby is John's third illegitimate child.

Rhonda believes that the father has a great influence on the girl's decision regarding the baby. She observes that generally the father wants the girl to keep the baby. Even if he does not marry her, he wants his son to carry his name. ("Every man wants a son!") Rhonda thinks that most girls give the baby the father's last name even if they do not marry. If the girl did not have her baby carry the father's last name, and married someone other than the father, the baby would not know his father. (Apparently she felt that a husband should not adopt

his wife's child.)

Rhonda claims that her attitude toward illegitimacy has not changed since her pregnancy. She feels that most people think there is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy; Rhonda does not acknowledge this difference. If she were to offer advice, she would suggest that the girl keep the baby, married or not. After all, "my mother did not give me up for adoption." Rhonda says that she just "can't see adoption."

As long as the father "stays around, it's okay." Now, she and John can leave each other since they have no commitment to each other. Circumstances would be different if Rhonda and John were married. In marriage, they would have the "child in common." If he were to desert her during marriage, she would keep his name. Rhonda felt that the baby would benefit if the parents were married. The baby would know its father. She did not comment about the effects on the baby of its illegitimate status, otherwise; nor, was the issue of financial support brought up.

Rhonda spoke less comfortably in the interview than she did in the classroom. Perhaps in knowing that her responses were being recorded, she hesitated. Rhonda had spoken freely of Linda while in the classroom, and that Linda had been invited to Rhonda's baby shower. She did not attend, but did send a gift after the baby was born. During the interview, Rhonda hesitated talking about Linda, and then asked, "You know about Linda?" The interviewer responded affirmatively. Rhonda then proceeded to speak more freely of Linda. She refused to talk of her mother's illegitimacy. She would not acknowledge it during the interview.

During the two months prior to delivery, Rhonda had no contact with John. He did not call her. After the birth of the baby, John hovered over mother and daughter constantly. For almost a month following delivery, John would not allow Rhonda to come to school. When she was finally able to attend, John would accompany her to school, often stay for a few hours, then come back to take her home. On one occasion, the teacher had to ask him to leave after several hours.

In the classroom, Rhonda revealed very little about her family. When she did mention them, it was when she was knitting or crocheting something for them. Apparently she had not yet faced the full responsibility of motherhood. Presently she is dependent on welfare, her mother, and John. She made no comment of the increased responsibility due to her being unmarried. She related to Linda as if she were playing games or "house," and not as the mother of her child's half-brother. Rhonda believes that when John decides to marry, he will marry her. She apparently feels that she will not end up in the same predicament as mother one and mother two.

GIRLS WHO HAVE MARRIED

The following section is comprised of summaries of interviews with six girls who have married and kept their babies. All conceived illegitimately. The girls wanted to marry, but were not granted parental permission; therefore, they utilized the norm of legitimacy in a manipulative way in order to persuade their parents into giving them permission to marry. These girls intended to conform to the norm of legitimacy.

CINDY

Cindy is a very pretty sixteen year old who married when she was five months pregnant. She and Gene were engaged and intended to marry in June, 1972. Other than foam that a friend gave her when the friend filled a prescription for the pill, she nor Gene used contraceptives, nor did they discuss their use. Cindy said she did not use the foam because she did not care if she did get pregnant. Gene wanted her to get pregnant so they could marry sooner. She said that "all of a sudden she was pregnant." She had engaged in intercourse prior to pregnancy, "but not very often and only with Gene."

At three and a half months, the doctor told her she was pregnant, although Cindy had guessed before that. At first, because her periods were always irregular, she suspected nothing. However, Gene suspected it after the first month. Besides skipping her period, she was also sick. Both Gene and Cindy were pleased about the pregnancy and wanted to keep the baby. They decided to marry sooner.

Gene is 18. Cindy met him at school and has known him for four years. She has been dating him all of that time. All her friends like him, and some have even dated him before her. She said his friends are good to her. Gene is presently working part time in a restaurant and will finish school in June. Cindy is also working part time. She attended summer school, so she finished school at midterm. However, she was attending Esperanza to get out of the house, and also to learn about pre and post natal care, and how to knit and crochet.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Gene and Cindy told their families about the pregnancy at about

three and a half months, as soon as the doctor told them. They told Gene's mother first. Her reaction was "when are you getting married?" She advised them to marry. Gene and Cindy had decided to tell his mother first since was younger than Cindy's parents and hopefully would more readily understand. His father is deceased. Gene's two brothers were happy for them. Cindy is treated like a member of Gene's family; the two brothers call her "sis."

Because Cindy's father has a temper, Gene's mother advised them to inform Cindy's parents separately. When Cindy's father was told, he became angry and upset. He claimed he "knew it would happen." Cindy and Gene were hurt when her father said he once trusted Gene. Gene is well liked by Cindy's family. The confrontation ended up in an argument with her father. Cindy and Gene intended to tell Cindy's mother at the same time, but they were upset, so left. Cindy's father decided eventually that marriage and keeping the baby would be the best solution.

Cindy's father told her mother, who was hurt because Gene and Cindy did not tell her in person. She felt that she was being excluded, but Gene and Cindy were afraid she would not understand. Her mother also thought it best that they marry. Cindy said her parents love Gene as a son.

Cindy seems to be very close to her older brother and only sibling. He was very understanding and supportive of the marriage. She feels that she can confide in him anytime.

Friends of Gene and Cindy were happy about the pregnancy. They realized that Cindy and Gene were engaged to be married, so they offered no advice.

Present Situation

They are living with his mother while awaiting the arrival of the baby. They decided to live with his mother, thinking she would be more understanding. There was also more room with his mother. However, she has since found out that her mother-in-law is not so sympathetic. She is very unhappy although her mother-in-law is not aware of it. Even though Cindy has finished her schooling, she still attends Esperanza to get away from her mother-in-law.

Gene knows of Cindy's unhappiness and promises to accept her parents' invitation to move in with them and will do so before the baby is born. Cindy thinks they will stay with her parents until the baby is about a month old, and then move out on their own. Cindy does not intend to work after the baby is born. Gene will get a full time job in June and support them.

Besides their parents' support, both Gene and Cindy are working part time in restaurants. Cindy is not on welfare, but is receiving Medi-Cal. They are paying for room and board even though his mother has not asked for it.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Cindy does not think her attitude toward illegitimacy has changed since "it happens all of the time." She does not think it is bad. The students at school usually do gossip, generally more about the girl than the fellow.

Cindy attributes part of her father's violent reaction to his own situation. While in the service, he got a woman pregnant, then married her. However, he left her and now has no contact with the woman or

his son. That is the only illegitimacy in Cindy's family. She said that Gene had an uncle who got a woman pregnant and then married her.

She had about five friends who were pregnant illegitimately, although all married and kept the baby. None would have an abortion or consider adoption. She only knew one girl at Esperanza when she first began attending.

If Cindy were to advise a friend who was pregnant illegitimately, she would encourage her to keep it, although it would depend on the situation. Being Catholic, she had qualms about abortion. Although she did not favour adoption, it was better than abortion.

Cindy thinks it is better to bear children legitimately. The family is more sure of support. She thinks some of the hardships of illegitimacy are that the father leaves, often there is no steady support, and the girl has the responsibility of being both mother and father.

Although Cindy was somewhat nervous at the beginning of the interview she calmed down and spoke freely and easily. She seemed to sparkle when she spoke of Gene and often said how much in love she is with him, and feels confident that he loves her just as much. They are very optimistic about their future.

Cindy is learning to crochet and knit, and acquiring additional information and material from the nurse and teacher about pregnancy and motherhood. She seemed to be rather naive about the responsibility of motherhood, but is very eager to learn all that she can. Even though not required, her attendance at Esperanza is very regular.

LISA

Lisa is pregnant because she wanted to keep Don. Her parents,

particularly her mother, opposed Lisa's relationship with Don. She feels her mother is prejudiced against Don because he is Mexican. When she would not end the relationship with him, her parents began putting restrictions on the friendship. Don was no longer allowed to take Lisa to school. She could see him only once a week on the weekend. Her mother expected them to stay in the same room with her and watch television. She would get upset if they went into another room to talk privately. The mother would not allow Lisa to go out with Don when he came. The parents also made stipulations on the phone conversations, allowing her to talk for ten minutes to him.

Lisa said her parents "forced her to get pregnant." When her parents were gone, Don would sneak over. It was during one of these private sessions that Lisa became pregnant. Neither of them used contraceptives, nor did they discuss their use. However, they did consider the possibility of pregnancy. They did not care if Lisa did get pregnant, for then they could marry. If she were not pregnant, Lisa was afraid her parents would end the relationship. She insisted during the interview that she did not get pregnant to hurt her parents. Lisa and Don intended to marry in about a year and a half, even though her parents objected.

Lisa found out she was pregnant while at her sister-in-law's. She was initially scared since she was not with Don or her parents. She told Don as soon as she could. In case he did not want to "stick by her," Lisa felt this would give her plenty of time to decide what to do. She doubts that she would have aborted the baby, but rather given it up for adoption. She felt that if Don left her, it would be better to give the baby away, rather than keeping it.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Lisa was four months pregnant when her mother asked her about her condition. The next day Don came over, and Lisa, Don, and her parents discussed the situation. Her mother cried, which hurt Lisa. Her mother wanted her to abort. Don told her of their marriage plans, and eventually Lisa's mother told them to do what they wanted. Her father was more supportive. He was not against the marriage and liked Don. Lisa felt her father took it "quite well" even though he was upset and hurt. Lisa felt she had "done something wrong." Even though Lisa deliberately got pregnant, she still felt guilty about her illegitimate condition. In order to rectify her guilt, her parents took them to Las Vegas to marry when she was five months pregnant.

Lisa has two older half brothers, an adopted older sister (her father adopted his niece) to whom she is not close, and a younger brother. Lisa is very close to her older half brother, Charles. He is very understanding since he also is married to a Mexican. Her mother opposed this marriage also. Lisa felt she could always talk with Charles. She felt she could not talk to her mother since her mother was always working and did not have time. Lisa told her other brother over the phone. He did not say anything. At the time of the interview, she did not know if her adopted sister knew yet. Her little brother likes Don and did not "think anything of the pregnancy."

Don told his family at breakfast one morning soon after he found out. Don's mother likes Lisa and was in favour of the marriage, although she offered no advice. His stepfather also wanted Lisa to have the baby. Don, age 18, is the only child in the family. His father died when he

was young and his mother remarried recently. There seems to be a great deal of jealousy in the home between Don and his stepfather. He had always taken care of his mother and had been "the man of the house." Now he has another man with whom he must contend and does not know how to handle the situation. He gets very upset if his stepfather does not treat his mother well and interferes in their arguments. When this happens, his stepfather will walk out.

Don's friends were kind to Lisa when they found out she was pregnant. However, Lisa's friends were surprised. She said they gossiped and always were asking, "What are you going to do with the baby?" Lisa felt they were being rude and "nosey" and she did not want to talk about it. She felt that some of them "looked down on her" because she was pregnant. Her friends did not offer any advice although they asked if she were going to keep it.

Present Situation

Don and Lisa lived with his parents at first. However, his arguments with his stepfather upset Lisa, so they finally moved to her parents. Don would have preferred living with his family since her mother does not like him. However, recently they moved into their own apartment. Lisa has been busy trying to fix it up since it is not completely furnished. She seemed to be happy to have her own home and was crocheting a rug for their bedroom and a bedspread.

Don and Lisa are not on welfare and do not intend to apply for it. Don finished school in January and is now working. Lisa plans to finish eleventh and twelfth grades by June. After the baby is born in April, she will bring him to school with her. She does not want to work. If she has to, she hopes she can work part time in her home. Lisa said

her mother worked even though Lisa begged that she "wanted a mother, not things." Lisa does not know any babysitters, so she says if she works outside of the home, she will have to wait until the baby is old enough to go to a nursery.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Lisa thinks the girls in school gossip when they discover a girl is pregnant. They make it sound like a girl is "loose." She says the students do not understand that two people their age can love someone very much. The girls gossip and the boys think the girl is "an easy catch." The father of the baby is usually known if he is a student at school. If the fellow is not going to marry the girl and was just "messing around," he usually "blabs," according to Lisa. However, if the fellow was dating the girl regularly and/or planning to marry her, he does not talk.

Lisa's attitude toward illegitimacy has changed since her own pregnancy. Before, she thought it was terrible and that it was only the "bad girls" that "got caught." Now she is more understanding since she knows how easy it is to get pregnant. She now does not think it is "bad" although she still "looks down" on promiscuous girls.

The attitudes toward illegitimacy are generally changing according to Lisa. More girls are keeping their babies. Her explanation was that girls get pregnant because they want to get married. If she did not want to get married, she would do or have done something about it, like having used contraceptives, or getting an abortion.

None of Lisa's friends have become pregnant before marriage. She only knew one girl at Esperanza, but not well. There has been an incident

of illegitimacy in her family. Lisa is a product of an illegitimate conception, although she did not know this until after she was pregnant. Lisa had been looking for her birth certificate when she discovered the facts of her birth. Lisa's mother married the first time when she was very young, and had two sons. She divorced and remarried, but had no children by this second husband. (Lisa did not know about the second marriage until she had learned about her own conception.) Before Lisa's mother divorced her second husband, she was pregnant with Lisa by her third husband-to-be. Lisa was hurt in learning this. Lisa felt that her mother is afraid for Lisa's marriage, since her own was unsuccessful when she married young the first time. (Lisa added that if her baby asks about its birth, she will tell it the truth, but will not volunteer information.) Lisa knows of no illegitimacy in Don's family.

If any of Lisa's friends would become pregnant illegitimately, Lisa would not offer any advice. She would suggest that the girl do what she wanted and not let others tell her what to do. It is her decision.

To Lisa, conception is no different legitimately or illegitimately. "It's not that bad if the baby is born illegitimately, if the father comes around and is supportive." Lisa considers marriage a "beautiful thing." She thinks that two persons can share much more in marriage. Lisa said she thought marriage would make a difference, and it would be different for the baby. When the mother is not married, the baby has only one parent, and there is not father "to do things with." Lisa says that the mother is busy with housework and other things, and does not have too much time to spend with the baby. Lisa thinks that boys especially need a father more than a mother, and the girls need a mother more than a

father. However, "to be really happy, the baby needs both, maybe not when it is tiny, but as it is growing."

Lisa was nervous at the beginning of the interview. She wrung her hands and played with her ring. As the interview progressed, she relaxed and talked more freely about her pregnancy. She seems to be doing well and is attending school regularly and making projects for the house and baby. She intends to breast feed her baby since it will be more convenient.

Lisa said very little about her relationship to Don, although he has come to school to see a film on delivery. The teacher said that Don can be mean and pushy to Lisa and makes her cry. He gets angry with her for not making Mexican food, even though she does not know how. Don has "screwed" girls before he married Lisa. His stepfather raped Don's girlfriend before Lisa, although Lisa does not know this. He also has been in trouble with school authorities. When Lisa spoke of Don in the interview, she seemed to be trying to defend his actions.

DANA

Like Lisa, Dana used pregnancy as a means "to get around the folks to get married." Dana is a 17 year old mother of a 16 month old baby boy. She married her husband when she was two months pregnant. She wanted to marry before she was pregnant, but her parents would not allow the marriage, saying she was too young.

Dana became pregnant in Keith's car. It was the first time she had sex with him even though she had been dating him for a year and a half. Her old boyfriend had introduced her to him. Neither of them used

contraceptives that night. They did not discuss their use, nor the possibility of pregnancy.

When Dana discovered she was pregnant, she "wasn't worried." She knew her parents would now allow her to marry. Dana wanted to keep the baby from the beginning. Keith was happy since he also wanted to get married. (After Dana was married, she did not want to have sex with Keith and was somewhat repulsed by it. However, the teacher discussed it with her while she was at Esperanza. She began to understand the meaning of sex, and their sex life improved.)

Dana and Keith married when she was two months pregnant. They have lived in their own trailer from the beginning. Keith finished school and was working to support them. Dana is now finishing her last semester by night school. Keith or her parents take care of the baby when she is gone. Dana would like to work, but Keith will not allow her.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

At six and a half weeks, Dana told her mother. Her mother was shocked and suggested an abortion, although she did not pressure her. Her mother told her father and he suggested they allow Dana to get married. He made no mention of abortion. Dana has five brothers, two younger and three older. An older brother suggested that she marry.

Keith told his parents and they suggested marriage. Dana knows part of his family and gets along well with them. Her friends were shocked when they heard she was pregnant, but soon accepted it. They offered no advice, but were in favour of the marriage.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

According to Dana, the students expect girls who are "tramps" to

get pregnant. This is why her friends were shocked when she became pregnant. Dana does not think that students gossip very much. They usually know the father and gossip less about him.

Seven of Dana's friends (not really close ones) have been pregnant illegitimately. One had an abortion and the other six kept their babies. One was going to give the baby up for adoption, but Dana advised her not to. The girl decided to keep the baby. Some of the girls eventually married. Dana knew six of the girls at Esperanza from high school.

Dana's brother "had to get married," and he and his wife kept the baby. Keith's older sister also was pregnant illegitimately. She kept the baby and married the father.

Dana says her attitude toward illegitimacy has not changed. If she were to advise a friend who was pregnant illegitimately, she would tell the girl to marry the father if he wanted to marry her. If not, the girl should keep the baby anyway. Dana said that since "I got myself in trouble, I should take care of the baby." She says her attitude has not changed, but she still considers illegitimacy as "trouble." She became pregnant to get married, and suggested that friends marry also if the father wants them. Apparently, Dana felt that girls who were illegitimately pregnant were not tramps, even though many of her friends thought so. Dana is against abortion unless the baby is deformed.

Although there is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy, "it is not bad" says Dana. In marriage, the baby is planned, and the mother is usually happier since there is someone there to help and support her. Dana also thinks it is better for the baby to have both parents. She thinks it is wrong for a girl to get pregnant "out of sex."

If the girl loves the fellow, it is different.

Dana was interviewed in her trailer home. She had been in Esperanza two years before, so the interviewer never had the opportunity to observe her in class. The baby was present, playing with his toys. She was a bit apprehensive at first when she saw the list of questions, but soon relaxed and cooperated. Dana said they hoped to move to a bigger home soon so they could have another baby.

While in school, Dana had to be pushed by the teacher since the situation seemed to be too unstructured for her. However, with the teacher's help and encouragement, she finished. She has accepted her responsibility well as wife and mother according to the teacher.

MARGARET

Like the other girls that are married, Margaret wanted to marry Tim, but knew her father would not allow it unless she were pregnant. Margaret is seventeen and Tim is nineteen. She became pregnant in April, 1971, at her brother-in-law's. She tried using the rhythm method, but other than that, no contraceptives were used. They did not discuss their use. However, they did consider pregnancy. Margaret wanted a baby; "it didn't bother Tim."

Margaret was scared when she discovered she was pregnant at about six weeks. However, she wanted to keep the baby whether Tim married her or not. Tim was not surprised when she told him she was pregnant. She told him she wanted to keep it. He did not say anything, nor offer to marry her right away. It took him a week "to make up his mind."

Margaret is the only child in the family. She finished high school in January at Esperanza. She had taken quite a bit of drugs while

in school, but has since quit. However, she had smoked constantly while being interviewed in her home. Of all the boys Margaret had dated, Tim is the only boyfriend her father had liked.

Tim had quit school in the eleventh grade, but is hoping to write a high school equivalency test so as to receive his diploma. He is now working, but wants to find a better job.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Margaret's mother had guessed that Margaret was pregnant. Her mother cried, but acted as if she had wanted Margaret to keep the baby. Both Margaret and her mother had related the news to Margaret's father. According to Margaret, "he was mad." He could not convince her to give up the baby; and he would not allow Tim to visit Margaret for a week.

Tim immediately informed his parents. His mother remarked that "mistakes can happen." His father did not have much to say. Margaret said that "he really didn't care." Tim's parents like Margaret.

When both sets of parents had discussed the situation, they had decided to permit Tim and Margaret to marry. Margaret was two months pregnant when they were married in a church ceremony.

Margaret's friends seemed happy when they learned of her pregnancy. Only one friend knew of the pregnancy prior to the marriage, and she had encouraged Margaret to marry Tim.

After their marriage, Tim and Margaret moved in with her parents. Her parents provide their rent and food, and Tim pays the additional bills. Tim and Margaret hope to move out on their own when the bills are paid, and, hopefully, by that time, Tim will have found a better job. Tim and Margaret do not intend to receive welfare, nor does she intend to work.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Margaret knew four girls at Esperanza from high school. She does not think the students at school gossip much when a girl is pregnant, although some of the fellows think the girl may be an "easy lay." The father of the baby is usually known. Margaret does not think that one generally hears many bad things.

None of Margaret's friends have become pregnant. She had four or five male cousins who "had to get married." In Tim's family, his older brother also "had to get married."

If she were to advise a friend who was illegitimately pregnant, Margaret would suggest the girl keep the baby (married or not) if she wanted it. She is against abortion unless the baby were deformed. Adoption is better than abortion.

Margaret is more tolerant toward illegitimacy since her own pregnancy. She does think there is a difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy. It is "harder on the girl." She does not think it is good for the girl to be alone in the labour room. Also, the unwed girl does not have a wedding ring, which causes gossip. The single mother has more responsibility. She thought illegitimacy was also different for the child. She would not explain the difference except the baby had no father.

Margaret is a pretty, slender girl. She seemed to work diligently on her assignments and craft projects while in Esperanza. She did not seem particularly close to any of the girls at Esperanza. She seldom talked, but was friendly in her own quiet way. She never talked about herself or family in the classroom unless asked a specific question. The

teacher considers Margaret one of the more responsible girls.

DEBBIE

Debbie and Bill were engaged when Debbie became pregnant. Bill was 19 and Debbie was 15. They had been dating over two years after being introduced to each other by Bill's sister. Debbie never thought she would become pregnant; thus, used no contraceptives, although Bill used prophylactics. They did not discuss pregnancy. Bill is the only boy with whom she has had sex. She became pregnant in his bedroom.

Being that she was sick, Debbie had decided that she was pregnant at three weeks. She was frightened, but wanted to keep the baby from the beginning. Debbie is against abortion. After a physician had confirmed her pregnancy at two months, Debbie informed Bill. Since they were already engaged, Bill suggested they marry. He also wanted Debbie to keep the baby. Bill and Debbie were married when she was three or four months pregnant.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Debbie told her parents of her pregnancy when she was two months pregnant. Debbie's mother "cried for a month." At first, she wanted Debbie to give her baby up for adoption, but then decided it was Debbie's decision. Debbie would have the responsibility of rearing the child. Debbie's father did not say anything. Neither he nor Debbie's mother wanted her to marry, even though they liked Bill. They did, finally, give their permission. Debbie's two older sisters, one younger sister, and one younger brother called her unkind names.

Jointly, Debbie and Bill told his mother. According to Debbie,

Bill's mother "screamed her head off," and was very angry. She admitted that Debbie and Bill should get married, and wanted Debbie to keep the baby.

Debbie's friends were sorry for her when they learned of her pregnancy. They liked Bill and encouraged her to marry him, and felt that she should keep the baby.

Present Situation

Debbie and Bill are now living on their own. Following their marriage, they lived with Bill's mother for about a month, then moved to their own apartment. Debbie was not eligible for welfare since her father is in the military. Bill had finished high school and was working full time. He has two years of college and hopes to return and complete a business course eventually. Debbie is now 17 and has finished high school. Presently, she is attending night classes at a city college. Bill watches the baby while she is away.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Most of the students gossip about both the boy and girl responsible for the pregnancy. According to Debbie, the gossipers "just don't get caught. The pregnant girl did." Debbie knew several of the girls at Esperanza from high school days. Most of her friends (nearly forty) have been illegitimately pregnant. If these are the same friends who felt sorry for Debbie when they learned of her pregnancy, perhaps circumstances did not meet their expectations; yet, they encouraged Debbie to marry and keep her baby. One of her pregnant friends aborted; another gave her child up for adoption; the others kept their babies because "they wanted to." Debbie observes that the majority of her friends eventually mar-

ried. There has been no illegitimacy in Debbie's family. Bill's step-sister was illegitimately pregnant, and had an abortion.

Debbie would suggest that her friends keep their babies, even if they do not marry. Debbie does not think the father has much influence on the girl's decision. She did say that if the girl did not marry, it would "depend on whether the girl wanted the boy's baby as to whether she would keep it or not." (This seems like the father would have some influence on the decision, though indirectly.)

Debbie's attitude toward illegitimacy has not changed. She does not think it is "bad." Debbie feels that physicians shame girls into obtaining abortions.

Debbie thinks that illegitimately pregnant girls are "put down." It is difficult for the mother to explain the situation to her child. She thinks the child will feel ashamed if its mother does not marry its biological father. Debbie also thinks that most girls who do not marry live with their mothers. When a girl is married, her mother is not there, and the girl is forced to rear the baby alone, with some help from her husband. Debbie seemed to indicate that this was a negative factor of marriage.

While attending Esperanza, Debbie clamoured for attention. She used vulgar language which upset the other girls, until they finally asked her to stop using it. Debbie did not receive much attention at home since she had several brothers and sisters, and her parents were separated.

Debbie was interviewed at Kelley's home, where she was watching hers and Kelley's babies. Debbie yelled at the two small children.

Kelley's baby cried; she spent most of the remaining time of the interview on the interviewer's lap. Debbie seemed fidgety and nervous. She was in and out of her chair several times during the interview, either retrieving toys for the children, slapping them, yelling at them, or getting something to drink for herself.

TRICIA

Tricia knew that if she were pregnant, she should marry Dean sooner than their original plans. She and Dean had discussed the use of contraceptives, but decided not to use them. Tricia was afraid of pregnancy, but Dean did not care. Pregnancy occurred in November, 1971. She was happy, but initially frightened to tell her parents. She realized, however, that this would mean an earlier marriage. Tricia never considered abortion or adoption.

Dean took Tricia to the physician when she was about two months pregnant. Both of them suspected pregnancy. Dean was happy and wanted Tricia to keep the baby. They had a church wedding immediately.

Relationship with Dean

Tricia had known Dean for three years. They dated "off and on" for the first two years and steadily the last one. Prior to that, Dean was Tricia's girlfriend's boyfriend. Dean is twenty years old, and is presently completing his A. A. degree at a city college. He has been awarded a scholarship to a school in Texas beginning next fall. Tricia is 16 and will finish high school in June. When Dean finishes college, Tricia intends to begin. Her grandmother has established a trust fund for her college education.

Reactions to Her Illegitimate Pregnancy

Tricia and Dean had planned on telling Tricia's parents together; however, Tricia alone told them on her own. Her mother cried and was in a daze for two days, but said very little. Tricia's father suggested alternatives, but the final decision was to be hers. She could either marry, or live with her grandmother in Utah, or stay and live with her parents. Her father had never suggested abortion.

Dean visited her parents while she was at work. They were not upset with him. Tricia said her parents were "really neat about it." Tricia's two younger brothers and one younger sister did not know she was pregnant. The family likes Dean and were in favour of the original June wedding date. They settled for a January church wedding and seemed happy about.

Tricia and Dean jointly told Dean's parents the day after their visit to the physician's. Dean's mother was happy for the marriage, and his father made no suggestions. Dean is very close to his older brother. The brother, who "had to marry" when a senior in high school, thought it would be good for the two to marry.

Tricia's friends were surprised, but happy when they learned of her pregnancy. They liked Dean, but said nothing about marrying him. They offered no suggestions about the baby.

Present Situation

Tricia and Dean lived with Dean's parents about two months following their marriage; his parents supported them. In the beginning of March, they moved into his grandmother's house while she was gone. Tricia does not care for her father-in-law, so was glad for the oppor-

tunity to move, even though their new location is around the corner from her in-laws. They do not have to pay rent and utilities. Dean is receiving disability insurance from a football injury. Dean and Tricia are using that money and their savings to support themselves. Tricia was also working for awhile. After the baby is born, Dean and Tricia plan to move to Texas where Dean will be attending school. Tricia plans to work full time when the baby is older, and will hire a babysitter.

Attitudes Toward Illegitimacy

Tricia thinks that generally the students gossip about the pregnant girl. The girl gets the "raw end of the deal." Many of the girls who gossip are having sex; they have not "got caught yet."

Five of Tricia's friends have become pregnant prior to marriage. They were all intending to marry the boy before pregnancy. They had never asked Tricia's advice, and she never offered them any. She knew two girls at Esperanza from high school. There has been no illegitimacy in her family. Dean had an older brother who "had to get married."

Tricia claims that she would not offer her friends advice if they were to become illegitimately pregnant. Pregnancy is a girl's "own doing." Tricia does not believe in abortion. If the girl wants to give up her baby, adoption would be more acceptable. Tricia would encourage the pregnant girl to keep the baby, even if she did not marry.

Tricia does not think her attitude toward illegitimacy has changed. When a girl is married, she has someone with whom to share the baby and her life. She does not know how it would be different if the mother were not married, but she thinks it would be different. Tricia feels that it is important for the baby to have a father, but she

would still encourage a single girl to keep her baby. She does think that the unwed mother will eventually marry. Tricia does not think that she will tell her child she "had to get married" unless the child should ask.

Tricia was in Esperanza only two weeks when she agreed to be interviewed. She answered the questions, but only after they were reworded several times. Whether Tricia did not understand the questions, or if she were trying to evade them, the researcher is uncertain. Tricia was in a hurry to leave at the termination of the interview, although she did not appear to be nervous during the interview. She seemed to be fairly realistic about her present situation and her future. Tricia is not so knowledgeable regarding the tasks of homemaking. She has cooked only hamburgers and tacos for their meals. The teacher offered to take Tricia home with her and give Tricia instructions in cooking. Tricia seemed to appreciate the offer.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

RESEARCH
FINDINGS

The Principle of Legitimacy states "the most important moral and legal rule concerning the physiological side of kinship is that no child should be brought into the world without a man--one man at that-- assuming the role of sociological father, that is, guardian, protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community" (Malinowski; 1964:13). Self-sufficient as the mother/child dyad might conceivably be both economically and socially, the family is incomplete sociologically and considered illegitimate. The Principle of Legitimacy defines the family sociologically. It also defines the role of the father (the father is guardian, protector, male link), the relationship between parents (the father is responsible for the social status of the mother), and the relationship between parent and child (the father gives social status to the child). Because this norm is increasingly being violated, a problem exists. The group violating this norm insists that it is not necessarily important to have a father in the family.

Not only has scholarly literature discussed the problem of illegitimacy, but popular magazines and newspapers are acknowledging the recent trend of single motherhood (see bibliography). The purpose of this exploratory research was to study the various factors that might influence the pregnant high school girl to keep her baby, whether she married or not, rather than to abort the baby or give it up for

adoption. It has been fairly popular in the Black and Mexican-American communities for the unwed mother to keep her child. However, of the fifteen girls in the sample, only one girl was black; the others were white. The practice of keeping the illegitimate child is creeping into white society, and not only in the lower class. How is this recent trend affecting the norm of legitimacy?

USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES

Of the fifteen girls in the sample, only one used the pill; one tried the rhythm method; and one tried foam which belonged to a friend (which she admitted she did not use). Only one of the putative fathers used contraceptives. The possibility of pregnancy was discussed more often than was the use of contraceptives. Even though the familiar cry "it could never happen to me" was voiced, there remains an undertone, sometimes verbally expressed, that a girl becomes pregnant because she wants to. If she did not want the baby, she would have prevented the pregnancy by the use of contraceptives (which is an admission of interest in sexual activity, and the possibility of engaging in intercourse in the future), or else would have aborted.

INITIAL REACTION TO THE PREGNANCY

Only two girls had initially considered aborting their babies. Another would have given her baby up for adoption if the father "hadn't stuck by" her. The other thirteen girls wanted to keep their babies from the beginning. All but two were against abortion, although one said that

abortion was better than adoption. Eight of the girls were against adoption. Six thought adoption was better than abortion. Only one considered adoption a viable solution to pregnancy. (On one occasion in class, several of the girls were discussing adoption. Many thought it to be "immoral.") If pregnant girls are opposed to adoption and abortion, and do not intend or do not have permission to marry their sex partner, there is not much choice other than for the girl to keep her baby. Even though the girl may be aware that she is deviating from the norm of legitimacy, apparently it is "less immoral" than adoption or abortion. Unless girls expressing these attitudes use contraceptives, her only alternative is that of single motherhood.

EXPOSURE TO ILLEGITIMACY

Vincent found in his study (1961) that unwed mothers who keep their children have "minimal positive identification with the individuals and social groups who might communicate to them in a meaningful way the traditional sex mores and the stigma concomitant with giving birth out of wedlock" (193). In this sample, the girls with no illegitimacy in the family, or whose parents were pregnant illegitimately but tried to keep it from the girls, and those girls with few or no friends who were pregnant illegitimately were more concerned about the stigma and friends "looking down on them." They are the ones with the most verbally expressed changes in attitudes toward illegitimacy. Three of the girls had no incidents of illegitimacy in the family, and three did not have friends who were illegitimately pregnant. The other twelve girls had over one hundred two friends who were illegitimately pregnant. (This number does

not include Rhonda's "several friends"). Of the 102 girls, about six aborted, two gave their babies up for adoption, and the rest of the girls kept their babies. Not all of the mothers married. Apparently, keeping the baby is becoming an acceptable alternative among teenage girls, whether or not one is married. Also, perhaps these girls, surrounded by illegitimacy, did not have strong positive identification with anyone who might have communicated to them the Principle of Legitimacy and any stigmas concomitant with violation of the norm.

INFLUENCE OF PARENTS ON GIRLS' DECISIONS

Although all of the girls said they were happy about their pregnancy, most of them were afraid to tell their parents. Parental reactions ranged from "figured it" to "very angry" and "unglued." Often the mothers cried, sometimes for days. Only two girls' parents were in full agreement for them to keep the child. One girl's parents wanted her to marry, and another's mother wanted her to keep the baby, but it was to be the girl's responsibility. One mother did not say much. The rest of the parents wanted the girl either to abort or to adopt the baby. The boys' parents seemed to be much less concerned about the situation, and offered very little advice, generally.

Evidently the parents' jurisdiction was not strong enough to counteract the girls' determination unless the parents and daughter happened to be in agreement. Two girls ran away from home and became pregnant. Six girls who married claimed that they became pregnant so they could marry sooner, against their parents' wishes. Three of the girls' pregnancies were "defying their parents" for not allowing them

to continue seeing the boy, or for permission for marriage. Pregnancy was a way of "getting around the folks." These girls who became pregnant so they could marry sooner were using the norm in a manipulative way.

INFLUENCE OF FRIENDS ON GIRLS' DECISIONS

The general impression given by the girls when asked about friends' advice concerning their pregnancy, whether verbalized or not, was "it's really none of their business. It is my decision." Two girls offered advice suggesting abortion. The other girls were encouraged to keep their babies by their friends, though they were not always advised to marry the father. How much influence these friends had on the girls' decisions is difficult to calculate, but most of the friends were supportive of the girls' decisions.

INFLUENCE OF PUTATIVE FATHERS ON GIRLS' DECISIONS

Although one girl (who was engaged prior to pregnancy, and then married against her parents' will) says she does not think putative fathers have much influence over the girls' decisions about their babies, the other girls seemed to indicate the opposite. It seems that the girl is heavily influenced by the father, whether directly or indirectly. Only one putative father was upset by the pregnancy and suggested abortion. Two of the girls became pregnant to keep their boyfriends. One kept the baby because "it was Jim's." The other putative fathers encouraged the girls to keep their babies. One putative father threatened to hurt the girl if she did anything but keep the baby. Despite the fathers' encouragement to keep the baby, of the nine girls who are not married, only

three fathers are contributing financially (though not much nor on a regular basis) to the support of the mother and child.

Eight of the girls said the father of their child had incident(s) of illegitimacy in the family. Seven girls said there were no incidents, or they knew of no illegitimacy in the family. If this information is accurate, there are more incidents of illegitimacy in the girls' families. Even though the putative father is less exposed to violation of the norm of legitimacy, eight of the nine fathers who did not marry the girl still encouraged her to violate the norm. Often, the fathers have quite a bit of influence in the girls' decision to violate that norm.

ADVICE OFFERED BY GIRLS

All the girls claimed that if a friend of theirs were illegitimately pregnant, they would suggest that the girl do what she herself wants to do. The decision is hers, and she should not allow anyone to influence her, nor should she listen to anyone. The girls suggested, however, that the friend should keep the baby if she really loves it. (The girls seemed to equate keeping the baby with love for it. Only one girl thought it would be better for the baby to be adopted if it had no father; yet she said she loved her baby.) Marriage was rather incidental at this point. Rhonda's recurring argument was "your mother didn't give you up for adoption."

INFLUENCE OF GUILT ON GIRLS' DECISIONS

Davis (1971:124) suggested that single mothers, on the whole,

are "guilt ridden over the fact that their child has no father in the home." Although it is doubtful that any of the girls would admit to feeling guilty, guilt was expressed in their responses. The girls feeling overtly more guilty and bitter about their pregnancy thought more often that others looked down on them and/or the students at school gossiped more often. Continually, the girls said that other girls were "screwing around," but had not "got caught" (by pregnancy). One girl thought that using contraceptives was an easy way out, implying that pregnancy was the penalty for "screwing around." Vincent (1961:101) stated

. . . mores do not affect guilt feelings so consistently nor to the same degree among the sizable number of females who engage in illicit coition, as among those females who "get caught" by becoming pregnant.

Also, the girls mentioned that pregnancy was a girl's "own doing," (even though some said "fate had it," or "I didn't think it would happen to me," or "not so soon, anyway"). She could have prevented it if she had wanted to, either by contraceptives or abortion. Many said that since she "got herself in trouble, she should take care of it." "Why should somebody raise my mistake?" (when speaking of adoption). It seemed that by keeping one's baby, a girl was paying her penance to herself and to society for her mistake.

There seemed to be a resentment toward other girls who "messed around," but did not "get caught," especially if they were principal gossipers about another girl's pregnancy. The girls at Esperanza thought that many of the gossipers and other girls engaged in illicit behavior just as much, or more often, but had not "been caught."

Another girl seemed to express guilt when she said she would not

give her baby up for adoption. She would feel responsible for his being rejected because she had given him up to someone else.

Besides having feelings of guilt, the girls seem to think that the baby was their "reward" for the "nine month ordeal." Several girls expressed their wish to keep the baby after "nine months of pain and inconvenience, and then delivery." Rhonda wondered "what's the use of giving it [the baby] away after suffering for nine months." Girls would say "after I suffered, I'm going to keep it, it's mine."

ATTITUDES TOWARD BABY

Very often, the baby is viewed as an object, a possession, a thing. In several cases (particularly among the married girls) the baby (in the form of pregnancy) was used as a "weapon" to defy the parents, or to hold on to the boy. The girl "got pregnant to get around the folks." The baby is not seen as a human being. The baby is often used as a means of getting back at the father. When the girl had felt that the boy "did her wrong," she would not let the boy see the child or have any contact with it. It seemed to be a tool with which to attack the boy for "what he did" to her.

If pregnancy is a "status symbol" as Cottman (1971) suggests, motherhood soon explodes the myth for these girls. The girls who have already given birth to their babies are beginning to see the glamour of motherhood fade. Night feedings, sick cranky babies, being both mother and father, apparently was not what they had in mind. Kathy does not feel like getting up at night to care for the baby, so her mother does. Mothers usually end up babysitting when the girl wants to go out, or

attend school. Some of the girls become upset when their mothers suggest they find their own babysitters. The teacher has been well informed by these girls of some of the "inconveniences of Baby."

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEGITIMACY AND ILLEGITIMACY

When the girls discussed illegitimacy, and the difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy, their answers focused primarily on the woes of single motherhood. Unless prodded, very few girls ever mentioned the effects that illegitimacy would have on the child. The responses usually were "the mother has to be mother and father," "the mother has more work to do," "the mother has more responsibility," "the mother has to worry about finances and support," "the mother gets lonely and has no one to share with." The main disadvantages for the baby which these girls realized are that he would have to bear gossip and a stigma. Some of the girls expressed their wish to have the baby's father close to the baby. Some of the girls initially said they saw no difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy until they were prodded. Often they would then say "yeah, I guess there is a difference." One girl thought every boy should have a father, and that every girl should have a mother. Heather summed it up by saying "if you don't have it [father] you can do without it."

The girls seem to lack any sense of mature social responsibility. (It seems as though they are making an immature, perhaps childish, response to correct their mistakes by keeping their babies. They claim it was their mistake; they should take care of it.) The girls do not think anyone should tell them what to do about the baby. Rhonda

thought it was none of her boyfriend's mother's business what she should do with the baby, and the mother had nothing to say in the matter. That is the general attitude of most of the girls toward anybody and everybody who offers advice. Even though many of the girls feared the confrontation with their parents when telling them of their pregnancy, they still kept the baby, most often against the parents' will.

Most of the girls, particularly those who have not married, do not seem to have any picture of the future. Many seem to imply that they have not thought about it carefully. It is what they feel at the moment that determines their decisions, most of these feelings centering around themselves, not their babies.

The girls seem to have little consideration concerning the effects of illegitimacy on their parents (who often end up caring for and supporting their daughters and grandchildren and often sons-in-law). One of the girls thought an inconvenience of marriage was that "you didn't have your mother around to help take care of the baby and rear it." All but two have lived or are living with parents, married or not. All, at least initially, received some type of financial support from parents, if they are not doing so now. The girls seem to lack consideration for other family members who may feel some sort of stigma or embarrassment. Nothing is thought of the taxpayer who is supplying money to Welfare to support the girl and her baby. One girl made the remark concerning illegitimacy and support "there's always welfare." Of the mothers receiving welfare, 9.2% are under 19, many lacking high school diplomas. Over 80% of the girls served at Los Angeles' three maternity homes--Florence Crittendon, Booth Memorial,

and St. Anne's are receiving some type of welfare assistance (Cottman, 1971:12, 15). Four of the fifteen girls in the sample are receiving some type of welfare.

Up to this time in history, the father has given the family full legal status, and has defined the family sociologically. However, because of the recent trend of single motherhood, pressure is being applied to redefine "family" both legally and socially. Though the Principle of Legitimacy is still considered normative, the mother/child dyad is becoming more prominent and acceptable as a family unit.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There are other areas that need research concerning illegitimacy. More study is needed in the area of factors influencing a girl to keep her baby, why she is keeping the baby, what is the role of the putative father (especially now that some men are beginning to "demand rights: concerning their babies), single motherhood in middle class females, the effect of single motherhood on the present social and family systems. Also, what is the girl's relationship to her father? Is he a significant figure in the family (five of the fifteen girls' parents were divorced)? Perhaps they feel like Heather who said "they are nice to have, but if you don't have them, you can get along without them." If the father does not provide and contribute more than custodial maintenance to the family, what is the difference if he supports the family financially by alimony (as in divorce), child support (as in illegitimacy and in divorce), or providing a paycheck as a regular family member. If the father's role is seen only or primarily as this, perhaps the single mother feels

no other need for a husband and father in the house. If her father was not significant in her life, perhaps she feels her baby does not need one.

Whether or not single motherhood is a viable alternative to the present family, it is an undeniable fact that many girls and women are trying it, and the number is increasing. If this is one direction in which the family structure is moving, then changes must be made, both in laws and in attitudes toward the mother and child.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Married Girls

1. Did you marry your husband after you found out you were pregnant?
 2. How many months pregnant were you?
 3. Who suggest the marriage—you, him, parents, etc.?
 4. Did your parents favor the marriage?
 5. Did his parents favor the marriage?
 6. Were you planning to marry before you became pregnant?
-

Unmarried Girls--Already Delivered

1. How old is your baby now?
 2. When did you become pregnant?
 3. Do you know where?
 4. Did you ever use any contraceptives prior to pregnancy? What kind?
 5. Are you using any now?
-

Unmarried Pregnant Girls

1. When did you get pregnant?
2. Do you know where?
3. When is the baby due?
4. Have you ever used any kind of contraceptive? What kind?
5. Did the father ever use any kind of contraceptive?
6. Did you ever discuss the use of contraceptives?

7. Did you ever think about or discuss the possibility of pregnancy with the father? What were his reactions?
8. What was your reaction when you discovered you were pregnant?
9. Did you engage in sexual intercourse prior to pregnancy?
10. With one person, or several?
11. How far along were you when you found out you were pregnant?
12. Did you consider keeping, aborting, or adopting your baby? Why or why not?

13. Does the baby's father know?
14. What was his reaction?
15. How far along were you when you told him?

16. What did the father advise you to do with the baby?

17. Did he offer to marry you?
18. Did he offer to help with the expenses?
19. Is he or will he be paying child support? Did he offer or did you have to see the District Attorney.
20. How long have you known the father?
21. Was he one of your fellow students?
22. How old is he?
23. Where did you meet him?
24. Had you been dating him prior to pregnancy? How long?
25. Are you keeping in touch with him now? In what ways?
26. Do you plan to marry him in the future?
27. Do you want to marry him in the future?
28. Does he plan to marry you in the future?
29. Did you plan to marry before you became pregnant?
30. What do you see as the future relationship between the baby and its father in the future if you do not marry him? Will you allow any communication between them?
31. How many months pregnant were you when you told your family?
32. Who told them? you, the boy, both, the school, gossip, etc.
33. What was their reaction to the pregnancy? mother, father, siblings, other relatives.
34. What is your family's reaction to the father of the baby?
35. Do they allow you to see him now?
36. What did they advise you to do with the baby? Why?
37. Does the boy's family know?
38. Who told them?
39. How far along were you when they found out?
40. What was their reaction?
41. What did they advise you to do with the baby? Why?
42. What are their reactions to you? Do you have any contact with them now?
43. Has any other member of your family been pregnant out of wedlock, or pregnant by someone other than her husband? Who? What did they do with the baby?
44. Has any member of his family been pregnant out of wedlock or by someone other than her husband? Who? What did they do with the baby?
45. Where are you living now?
46. Who is supporting you?
47. Where will you live after the baby is born?
48. Who will support you then?
49. Are you receiving any type of welfare now? What kind?
50. Do you plan to finish school? When do you hope to be graduated?
51. Has the father finished high school?
52. Do you plan to work after the baby is born? How much?

53. Who will take care of the baby?
54. Have any of your friends become pregnant before marriage? How many?
55. What did they do with their babies?
56. Did you advise them then what they should do? What did you say?
57. Did you know any of the girls here before coming? How many? From where?
58. How do most of the students at school (fellows and girls) react to a girl when they find out she is pregnant?
59. How did most of your friends react when they found out you were pregnant?
60. What did they advise you to do with the baby? Why?
61. How do your friends react to the father of the baby?
62. Do they encourage you to marry him?
63. How do most of the students react to the father? Do they usually know who he is?
64. How is your social life now compared to what it was prior to pregnancy?
65. If you don't marry the father, do you plan to date now or after the baby is born?
66. Do you plan to marry someone other than the father in the future?
67. If a friend of yours were pregnant, what would you advise her to do with the baby? Why?
68. What is your attitude toward illegitimacy now? Is it different than before you were pregnant?
69. Do you think having a baby out of wedlock is any different than having one while married? How so?

Name

Age

Grade in School

Age at conception

Age at delivery

Marital status

Marital status of parents

Address

How long have you lived in this area

Number of siblings--number of girls, number of boys, rank in birth order

Religion

Race

Race of father

Religion of father

LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY

Graduate School

CHILDREN BEAR BABIES

by

Danielle E. Wuchenich

An Abstract of a Thesis

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree Master of Arts

in the Field of Sociology

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on 15 high school girls who have become pregnant illegitimately and have kept their babies, whether married or not. The purpose of this exploratory research was to study factors influencing pregnant high school girls to keep their babies. These girls are attending or have attended the Rubidoux High School program for pregnant girls called Esperanza. The data were collected by observing these girls in class, and by interviewing them privately. The interviews ranged in time length from 35 minutes to nearly 90 minutes.

The Principle of Legitimacy states that every child needs a man as guardian, protector, and the child's link to society. A man makes the family sociologically complete. However, even though contraceptives are available, and abortions are accessible, the illegitimacy rate continues to climb. Also, the number of single mothers is increasing. Though legally, the single mother has every right to keep her child, socially she has not yet been granted that right. Various terms have been employed to describe the mother and child (whore, bastard). A stigma is usually attached to the mother/child dyad, and the girl is supposed to feel guilty. Yet, even though society has not yet condoned illegitimacy, the recent trend shows that more girls and women are trying it. How is this recent trend affecting and going to affect

the norm of legitimacy?

Most of the girls interviewed have had incidents of illegitimacy in their families and among friends. Particularly among the friends, the baby was kept, whether the girl married or not. Most of the girls studied opposed abortion and adoption. They thought both were "immoral."

Despite the family opposition to the girl's keeping the baby, the girl chose to do so. Even though the girls said their friends had nothing to say about their decisions, most of the friends were in favor of their keeping their babies. Fourteen of the fifteen putative fathers were in favor of the girl keeping the baby. One father even threatened to hurt the girl if she "got rid" of the baby. Six of the fifteen fathers eventually married the girl.

Although the girls made remarks such as "pregnancy just happens," or "I thought it would never happen to me," or "other girls have sex, but I got caught," the girls generally felt that pregnancy was a girl's "own doing." She could have avoided pregnancy through the use of contraceptives, or having an abortion after conception. Since pregnancy was deemed the girl's "mistake," or "doing," the girls felt it was their responsibility to care for the child. One girl did not think that someone other than herself should rear her responsibility (such

as adoptive parents). Guilt, though not directly, was expressed.

One girl did not want to give her baby up for adoption because she did not want to be responsible for her child feeling "rejected" when he was told the circumstances of his birth.

When the girls spoke of the differences between legitimacy and illegitimacy, their remarks focused on the mother, and often the disadvantage of single motherhood. Unless prodded, the girls did not say how the absence of a father would affect the baby, other than a stigma would probably be attached to the baby. One girl said "they [fathers] are nice to have, but you can get along without them if you have to."

Many of the girls viewed the baby as an object or possession. Some of the girls used the pregnancy to "get around the folks" so they could marry. Some used the baby as a way to get back at the father, or a way of keeping the father.