

DISSERTATION

HISPANIC AND WHITE NON-HISPANIC ADOLESCENT FATHERS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY USING SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

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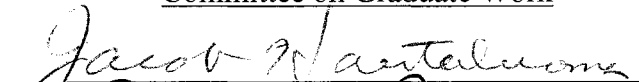
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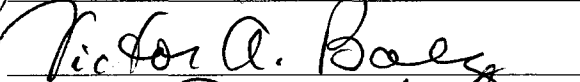
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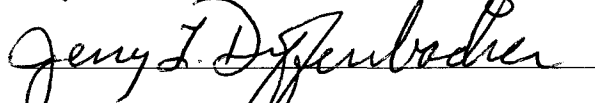
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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER
OUR SUPERVISION BY EDDIE PIÑON ORNELAS III ENTITLED HISPANIC AND
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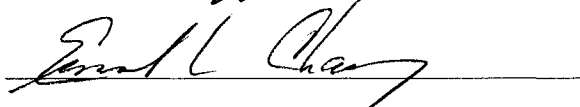
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

HISPANIC AND WHITE NON-HISPANIC ADOLESCENT FATHERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY USING SOCIO-CULTURAL VARIABLES

The study investigated a set of socio-cultural variables with young Hispanic and White non-Hispanic (WnH) fathers and non-fathers. The variables examined were gang involvement, legal involvement, cultural identification, and perceived caring among family, peers, and teachers. The sample for this study was selected to include actual and expectant adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers who only identified as Hispanic or WnH between the ages of 14 to 19 years. The total sample consisted of N=1,716 young males from a diverse Southwestern community. The study had twice as many Hispanic (N=1,159) than WnH (N=557) adolescent males. Specifically, there were N=246 Hispanic fathers and N=913 Hispanic non-fathers compared to N=37 White non-Hispanic fathers and N=520 White non-Hispanic non-fathers.

Several statistical models were used to test the hypotheses within the study. Univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) and chi-square techniques were conducted using age category, ethnicity, and paternity status across the variables of study. Only statistically significant differences and interactions were reported.

The results indicated several statistically significant main effects and interactions between adolescent fathers and adolescent non-fathers across the variables of delinquency and perceived caring. Regardless of ethnicity, adolescent fathers were more

likely to be have been arrested, jailed, or have lived in a juvenile home than non-fathers. Results also showed that fathers were more likely to have been in a gang compared to non-fathers.

Although there were no significant differences using cultural identification, there were a limited number of ethnicity and paternity differences found with the variables of perceived family caring and perceived peer caring, respectively. Logistical regression was performed, but due to weak fit the results were inconclusive. Implications for future researchers and community health professionals were outlined. Recommendations for future research were addressed.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the Southwest United States, Mexican Americans and people of Mexican descent now comprise the largest ethnic group. In 2002, the regional distribution of the Hispanic population ranged from 44.2 percent in the West and 34.8 percent in the South, while White non-Hispanics ranged from 19.2 percent in the West to 33.3 in the South (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). The Census Bureau also reported that Hispanics of Mexican origin are more likely to live in the West (54.6%) and the South (34.3%) in comparison to other Hispanic groups.

In 2002, there were 37.4 million Latinos in the civilian non-institutional population of the United States, representing 13.3 percent of the total U.S. population. Among the Hispanic population, two-thirds or 66.9 percent were of Mexican origin either born in Mexico or of Mexican heritage, 14.3 percent were either Central or South American, 8.6 percent were Puerto Rican, 3.7 percent were Cuban, and the remaining 6.5 percent were of other Hispanic origins (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). Today, more than one in eight people in the United States are of Hispanic origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” are used interchangeably to reflect the new terminology used by the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.

A brief report by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2000), states that the nation’s Hispanic subgroup population continues to grow faster and is younger than the rest of the population. The Hispanic population increased by 57.9 percent, from 22.4 million in

1990 to 35.3 million in 2000, compared with an overall increase of 13.2 percent for the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The reasons for this rapid increase in the Hispanic population are two-fold: a higher birth rate for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics and higher levels of immigration. By 2020, the U.S. Bureau of the Census projects that the Hispanic population will double from its 1995 levels to approximately 53 million, triple the 1995 size to 80 million by 2040 and reach nearly 97 million by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

In 2002, 34.4 percent of Hispanics were under the age of 18, compared with 22.8 percent of non-Hispanic Whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). The median age of Hispanics in 2002 was 26.3 years compared to 38.9 years for non-Hispanic Whites and over 40 percent or 15 million of the Hispanic population were born outside the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). According to U.S. birth rates, Hispanic women ages 15-44 years have the highest fertility rates of 82 births per 1,000 women compared to the national average of all race and origin groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002b). Although recent statistics indicate that the teenage birth rate has steadily declined since the early 1990s, the rates have declined the least for Hispanic teenagers in comparison to other ethnic groups (National Center for Health Statistics, 2001).

The statistics and projections suggest a variety of implications for researchers and professionals concerned with Hispanic youth and their families, especially in regions of the country where Hispanic populations are concentrated. For instance, a younger Hispanic generation may present with many culturally unique challenges related to varying developmental maturity levels, educational attainment levels, limited resources, social or economic policy pressures, and immigration status (Kiselica, 1995).

Thus, the need for research within the Hispanic community must continue in order to answer a plethora of questions which lead toward developing effective community prevention and health education programs, culturally appropriate intervention strategies, and information for community health professionals of risk and protective variables related to responsible decision-making. Similarly, future research is needed to examine the consequences related to the population growth, child-adolescent-adult development, cultural identity, adjustment, and other important issues facing the future generations of Hispanics in the U.S.

Although there has been consistent concern at both local and national levels in the prevention and intervention of adolescent pregnancy across all U.S. communities (Center for Disease Control, 2004), research with young Hispanic fathers remains limited (Kiselica, 1995; Zayas, Schinke & Casareno, 1987). Nonetheless, to investigate young fathers it is important to understand that within the Hispanic population people can vary significantly in terms of acculturation level, group membership, legal choices, ethnic identification, subjective perception of support or rejection within their larger social contexts of family, peer, and school, and thus in their cultural uniqueness. It could then be hypothesized that the successes or difficulties within this young growing population will be related to these and other socio-cultural variables.

Purpose

The purpose of this research study was to investigate adolescent fathers and non-fathers across several socio-cultural measures among a sample of Hispanic and WnH males living in the Southwest United States. The socio-cultural measures included; (1) legal and gang involvement items, (2) cultural identification scale, and (3) perceived

caring items among family, peers, and teachers. To date, no other research study has explored these potential mediating socio-cultural measures with Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers.

The study examined the following research questions: (1) What are similarities or differences between Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers and non-fathers across the legal and gang items? (2) What are similarities or differences between Hispanic and WnH fathers and non-fathers on cultural identification? and (3) What are similarities or differences between Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers and non-fathers on items of perceived caring?

Adolescent Developmental Theory

Research has only begun to highlight the developmental needs and challenges facing teenage fathers, while others have recognized the importance of constructing a developmental perspective with adolescent fathers (Elster & Lamb, 1986; Fry, 1983; Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997; Young, 1988). There is little known about the impact pregnancy on young males with respect to adolescence or the psychosocial development of these teenage fathers. Although there is a growing body of literature on adult male development as well as attempts to expand theories to adult paternity (Abell, 1999; Bozett, 1985; Dollahite, 2004; Palkovitz, 2002; Strauss & Goldberg, 1999), there is only limited scholarship in the area of adolescent paternity.

Developmental variations can exist in the impact that fatherhood has on adolescents, and not all males are adversely affected by teenage pregnancy to the same degree (Elster & Lamb, 1986). Research is needed to identify risk and protective factors of adolescent fatherhood, the immediate and long-term consequences of becoming a

father during adolescence, and explanations that account for the possible association between young fatherhood and its resulting social dilemmas.

Early studies have shown that many teenagers fail to anticipate the importance of contraception use, acting on impulse, misunderstanding the risks of becoming pregnant, think about the consequences of their behaviors, using good information about sex and birth control (Cobliner, 1974), and knowing about babies and their development (DeLissovoy, 1973). The cognitive limitations and knowledge gaps of many adolescents are associated with today's high rates of teenage pregnancy.

To date, there is no comprehensive developmental theory that explains or captures the complexity of understanding adolescent paternity, but there are a number of theoretical models that have attempted to examine the general influence of adolescent sexual development. Professionals have developed models that examine the possible effects that age, biology, cognitive-behavioral development, psychosocial development, and social learning have on adolescent sexual development.

For instance, one early view suggested that teenage pregnancy is strongly influenced by those forces found within the home, school, communities, neighborhood, and where educational and vocational opportunities are limited (Hamberg, 1986). Social changes including sexual permissiveness, limited parental supervision, more single-parent families and working mothers, media and technology, are strong influences in adolescent sexual development. To summarize, adolescent fatherhood is best understood as a result of multiple, interacting forces within an individual and within the individual's environmental systems in which they are developing.

The purpose of this section is to examine adolescent fathers within a comprehensive developmental context, and begin to answer the question: “What does it mean to be an adolescent father, specifically a Hispanic adolescent father?” Several aspects of the adolescent experience are discussed and the relevance for understanding adolescent fatherhood within a specific developmental perspective is considered.

Primary Socialization Theory (PST)

A recent comprehensive developmental theory has been proposed and researched to help explain youth’s substance use, delinquency, and other decision-making processes. Primary Socialization Theory (PST) is the result of an ongoing research program that posits three primary socializing agents: family, school and peers. It is through these influences that values and behavioral norms are transmitted to youth. PST highlights the importance of attachments with individuals and systems within the individual’s life. This system perspective may provide researchers and practitioners a view of normative and delinquent behaviors.

PST is a developmental theory with preschool, early school years, adolescent years and young adulthood as the primary stages (Oetting, Donnermeyer & Deffenbacher, 1998). PST states that the family is the principal socialization source up until the preschool years. In the early school years, the school gains importance and both family and school are primary influences for the developing child. During adolescence, peers now become the significant socialization influence. According to PST, the family and the school are believed to transmit the positive norms of social behavior, while peers are more likely to be influences of delinquent behavior. As young adults mature, social

influences shift to new sources of primary socialization and their rates of delinquency decrease as they become attached to sources of positive social influence.

The available literature on PST has covered a variety of areas including adolescent drug use and delinquency (Oetting, Deffenbacher & Donnermeyer, 1998; Oetting, Donnermeyer & Deffenbacher, 1998; Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble & Beauvais, 1998). PST has also addressed theories of psychopathology, personality traits, acculturation stress, anger/aggression and self-esteem. In addition, researchers have reviewed the literature linking drug use and delinquency to urbanization, workforce issues, population density/characteristics, poverty, media influences, family influences, and religion (Oetting, Donnermeyer & Deffenbacher, 1998), and cultural influences (Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble & Beauvais, 1998). The PST is another way of conceptualizing adolescent social issues by bringing together the aforementioned developmental theories and providing a language and structure easy to understand.

Family

In the PST model, family relationships and family context are the initial socialization influences for the developing infant and child. Important relationships and bonds are created during this time between parent/caregiver and developing child. These researchers acknowledge that gross pathological care in early childhood can result in the direct transmission of delinquency from parent to child. Furthermore, the weakening of family bonds with a child will allow for the creating of future bonds with delinquent peers (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998).

The influence of family on delinquency has been studied from many perspectives using various social variables. The psychological literature available on adolescent development has consistently found that family plays a significant role in the initiation,

maintenance, and exacerbation of delinquency. For instance, researchers studying family attachment have found a significant relationship between it and each of the deviant behaviors they studied (Sokol-Katz, Dunham & Zimmerman, 1997). Similarly, others have found that family supervision was negatively associated with addiction. They found that family factors including positive home environment, strong parental adherence to traditional norms, and parental disapproval of misbehaviors, were inversely related to later addiction (Nurco & Lerner, 1996).

The research literature suggests that the importance of the family may vary by ethnically diverse groups. For instance, Domenech-Rodriguez (1999) found limited family sanctions of drug use was predictive of marijuana use for Mexican American youth. For White youth, the literature has consistently found that family influences are also mediated by other variables such as peer and school influences during adolescence (Oetting & Beauvais, 1986). Specifically, family functioning appears to be an important moderator in the emergence of behavior problems for Hispanic youth. Researchers highlight two areas as being responsible for problems in Hispanic families: stressful social conditions and acculturative stress (Santisteban, Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1995).

Researchers have found evidence that lack of family involvement was a direct predictor of delinquency for Hispanic youth, but only an indirect predictor for non-Hispanics (Rodriguez & Weisburd, 1991), and a lack of caring was related to gang membership (Watson, 1995). Frauenglass and colleagues (1997) found that family social support reduced the influence of deviant peers on some of the problem behaviors, specifically marijuana and tobacco use. These findings are consistent with PST in that

family support can decrease or increase the probability of establishing relationships with delinquent peers or developing delinquent behaviors.

School

Similar to family, school is also considered influential in the transmission of adolescent behaviors. Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, and Beauvais (1998) highlight the importance of schools given that they are institutions in which youth are expected to acquire basic skills and knowledge. Schools are expected to “monitor and control personal and social behaviors while students are in attendance” (Oetting & Donnermeyer, 1998; p. 1007). PST acknowledges there may be problems within the school environment that may hinder the development of healthy school adjustment or achievement. However, similar to the premise that parents are most likely to promote prosocial behaviors, PST holds that schools are most likely to serve as sources for prosocial norms (Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble & Beauvais, 1998).

According to PST, school emerges as a primary socialization influence around ages 5-6 when a child enters school for the first time. The child learns norms and rules in the new environment without the shelter of parents and is expected to abide by the rules and regulations of authority figures or be faced with the consequences. As with parents, schools with poorly trained staff and limited resources can have a significant influence on the child. For instance, a child may develop maladaptive behaviors related to the misdiagnosis of a learning disability.

Schools are also the primary socialization source wherein ethnic differences are particularly notable and Mexican American youth fare differently from White children. Watson, Bell and Chavez (1994) found significant differences in the approach to resolving school conflict between Mexican Americans and White youth. The kind of

school system that promotes competition will likely influence ethnically diverse youth to behave in a manner filled with social dilemma. These findings are consistent with the literature on Latino dropout rates (Chavez, 1993). This is an issue that cannot be ignored given that the dropout rates for Latino youth are far higher than for White youth (Chavez, 1993; Rumberger, 1991).

These findings are congruent with the claim that, for Mexican American youth, there needs to be compatibility between behaviors and school requirements (Bernal, Saenz, & Knight, 1991). A student that can identify and embrace White cultural demands is likely to do well regardless of his or her level of identification with Mexican American culture. Students who are not able to negotiate school demands with cultural prescriptions of behavior may choose to abandon the school setting in favor of a more accepting setting.

It is interesting to note that there is a similar pattern between Mexican-descent and Mexican American dropout rates. While the reasons for dropping out may vary among these groups, rates are strikingly similar with only 54 percent of Mexican youths in high school and about 44 percent of Mexicans in the U.S. having a high school diploma or higher (Medina-Mora, 1991; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). These findings speak to the influence of the school-child interaction in the PST model and the potential differential strengths in these links by ethnicity.

Peers

In 1986, researchers Oetting and Beauvais developed Peer Cluster Theory—a precursor to Primary Socialization Theory—as the result of numerous years of collecting epidemiological data on adolescents’ substance use. They found that peer encouragement and peer sanctions had the highest correlations—positive and negative, respectively with drug use. Specifically, they found that peer associations accounted for more than half of

the variance in drug use. It is important to note that this model consisted mostly (97%) of White adolescents (Swaim, Oetting, Jumper-Thurman, Beauvais & Edwards, 1993). For these White adolescents, peers drug associations' account for 55% of the variance in substance use while family sanctions do not directly affect drug use (Oetting & Beauvais, 1987).

According to theory, peers are the most significant socialization influences during pre-adolescence and adolescence (Adler & Lotecka, 1973; Oetting & Beauvais, 1986, 1987; Swaim et al., 1993). This is seen as the last step in the developmental progression into adulthood, according to PST. At this point, PST posits that the children will usually form relationships with other youth because of the strength or weakness of prior bonds. The weaker the bonds to family and school, the greater the likelihood of forming bonds with delinquent youth. Research has consistently found that peer encouragement and peer sanctions have the highest correlations with substance use, positive and negative, respectively (Oetting & Beauvais, 1987). Although the PST model has been tested with various ethnic groups in relation to substance use, it has not been tested with Mexican American adolescent fathers among the variable of delinquency: gang and legal involvement, cultural identification, and perceived caring among family, peers, and teachers.

Adolescent Fatherhood

A review of the young paternity literature indicates that in comparison to young mothers, relatively little information is available regarding young fathers in general, and even less regarding young Hispanic fathers specifically (Lesser, Tello & Koniak-Griffin, 2001; Zayas, Schinke & Casareno, 1987). According to one national survey, the

prevalence of teen fatherhood was 2% among Hispanic and White males and 5% for African American males (Sonenstein, Pleck & Ku, 1993). A second national longitudinal survey estimated that 5% of Hispanics are teen fathers, 11% of African Americans, and 1% for Whites (Lerman & Ooms 1993). The estimates appear to highlight the limitations of the survey data and the challenges of collecting a representative sample of this population. Others suggest the prevalence of teen fatherhood may be higher among urban, minority youth (Thornberry & Smith, 1997).

Teenage sex and pregnancy researchers have reported that nearly two-thirds or 64 percent of sexually active 15-17 year old women have partners who are within two years of their age and 29 percent have sexual partners who are 3-5 years older (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1999). Most sexually active young men have female partners close in age: 76 percent of the partners of 19-year old men are 17 (33%) or 18 (43%); 16 (13%) and are 13-15 (11%) (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1999). Also, the fathers of babies born to teenage mothers are likely to be older than the women, but within 5 years or less in age than the mothers (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1999).

In the early 1980's, the first researchers began exploring the aspects of emotional, health, and educational risks of young paternity (Elster & Lamb, 1982; Elster & Lamb, 1986; Elster & Panzarine, 1981; Panzarine & Elster, 1983). The late 80's studies examined the relational experiences, unique attitudes, and educational outcomes of young fathers (Hanson, Morrison & Ginsberg, 1989; Hardy & Duggan, 1988; Marsiglio, 1987). More recent research literature has continued to examine early socio-cultural risk variables, preparation for young paternal roles, and policies in relation to young paternity

(Kiselica, Rotzien & Doms, 1994; Sonenstein et al., 1993; as cited in Lerman et al., 1993).

Other risk factors related to young paternity have included social class, educational performance, precocious sexual activity, and drug use (Thornberry et al., 1997). Other studies have suggested a relationship between delinquency, other problem behaviors, and early fathering. For instance, one of the first studies using a national sample of adolescent youth found an association between behavioral and school problems and fatherhood (Elster, Lamb & Tavaré, 1987). Another study found that adolescent fathers were more likely to report problems associated with cocaine use (Christmon & Luckey, 1994).

A study conducted in Great Britain reports that males who become fathers while teenagers were at higher risk for experiencing problems at home and school and were more likely to be aggressive, truant and display law-breaking behaviors (Dearden et al., 1995). Researchers have reported findings that males who are at high risk of becoming young fathers have friends and parents who place lower value on education and have lower educational expectation (Hanson et al., 1989). Similarly, researchers have found that young fathers indicate a dislike of school and have frequent thoughts about leaving home (Resnick et al., 1993).

Early age at first intercourse was also found to be associated with increased involvement in problem behaviors (Ketterlinus, Lamb, Nitz & Elster, 1992). Although there are a number of personal, social, and legal risk factors related to young paternity, few studies have focused specifically on the Hispanic population and the socio-cultural variables of gang membership, legal involvement, ethnic identification, and perceived

social support from family, peers, and teachers which may influence young paternity for this population.

Delinquency

Two areas of research most associated with young paternity in the Hispanic population are gang membership and legal involvement. Clearly, gang membership is not only restricted to Hispanic youth. It also exists within other ethnically diverse populations and White non-Hispanic communities. However, the extensive growth of gang influence in the Southwest is of particular concern because of the regional distribution and rapid growth of an underclass that generates conditions for gang membership (Vigil, 1988).

The majority of researchers have traditionally viewed gang involvement within socioeconomic, socio-cultural, and psychological components (Calabrese & Noboa, 1995). Studies have found that the majority of gang members come disproportionately from single parent households that experience periods of poverty (Alder, Ovando & Hocevar, 1984). Moreover, Mexican American and Mexican gang members represent families that have significantly more involvement with law enforcement agencies, lower socioeconomic status, poor housing, alcohol use, and family conflict (Alder et al., 1984).

In an unpublished manuscript, researchers found a reciprocal association between gang involvement and perceived caring. They concluded that gang and former gang members perceived their families to be less caring for them and gang members felt less caring for their family (Watson, Ford, Bell, Chavez & Edwards, under review). Results from a large Northwestern longitudinal study examining risk factors for adolescent gang membership found that for every investigated domain of children's experience

significantly predicted adolescent gang involvement (Hill, Howell, Hawkins & Battin-Pearson, 1999). The strongest predictors were the availability of marijuana in the neighborhood, the number of neighborhood youth in trouble, one-parent households and another non-parent adult in the home, having initiated marijuana use, having engaged in violence, low academic achievement, and by being identified as learning disabled in school. Youth exposed to multiple risk factors were much more likely to join a gang (Hill et al., 1999).

The first gang theorists viewed gang delinquency as a result of social disorganization, endemic to slum areas. One outgrowth of this line of reasoning was “Control Theory”, suggesting that entry into deviant peer groups is a function of a lack of social control experienced by youth (Hirschi, 1969). Deviant groups such as gangs also have been viewed as the context for differential association through which criminal behaviors are learned (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978; as cited in Hill et al., 1999). Other theorists described delinquent subcultures within the lower- and working-class communities to be the origin of gang formation (Cohen 1955; as cited in Hill et al., 1999).

In 1960, professionals proposed yet another gang theory used to explain gang formation called “Strain Theory”. Strain theorists suggested that delinquency and gang involvement were an adaptation to structural pressures or limited opportunities which leads to frustration, and then to antisocial acts and the pursuit of gain through illegitimate opportunities (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; as cited in Hill et al., 1999). Recent contributors to gang theory have revived the social disorganization tradition (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; as cited in Hill et al., 1999), often embedding it in the underclass concept of social

disadvantage and economic inequality (Fagan, 1996; Short, 1996; Wilson 1996; as cited in Hill et al., 1999).

The findings from gang research may well be the strongest predictor of young paternity, especially among young ethnically diverse males. A few research studies have cited a relation between adolescent paternity and gang involvement. The first study found that adolescent fathers were four to five times more likely to indicate some kind of gang involvement (Resnick et al., 1993). In a dissertation study, Wei (2000) stated that young fathers were significantly more likely to be gang members, be engaged in violence, and to have been arrested. Most recently, Unruh and her colleagues (2004) found gang membership as one of six variables predictive of adolescent fatherhood. Researchers examining the process leading to early fatherhood have found that young fathers are substantially more delinquent than non-fathers even prior to conception and birth of the children (Pirog-Good, 1985).

Also, young fathers were twice as likely to be classified as delinquent than non-fathers (Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998), and twice as likely to have more juvenile arrests, use more drugs, and complete high school at lower rates (Fagot, Pears, Capaldi, Crosby & Leve, 1998). In 2002, Wei and colleagues found that by age 19, almost half of repeat serious male delinquents had caused a pregnancy, and nearly a third had fathered children. The rates of impregnation and fatherhood were also twice as high among juvenile delinquents compared with juvenile non-delinquents. These delinquent youth were more likely than others to father multiple children due to their continuing practice of unsafe sex with multiple partners.

Culturally, there are potential socio-cultural aspects of the Hispanic experience that may predispose youth to join or not join a gang. That is, the inevitable challenges and cultural conflicts that arise between Mexican immigrants and our society at large can be significant across generations (Calabrese & Noboa, 1995; Reynoso, Felice & Shragg, 1993). Specifically, these conflicts can be exacerbated by cultural linguistic dissonance between school and home, adolescent and parent, adolescent and teacher, and adolescent and peer (Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil & Warheit, 1995). In this context, gang involvement serves as both a socialization process and sub-cultural adaptation to the socioeconomic and bicultural pressures faced by Mexican and Mexican American youth (Calabrese et al., 1995). In another study, results indicated that the absence of parental or teacher role models was the best predictor of gang membership among White non-Hispanic and African American adolescent (Wang, 1994).

Health professionals and researchers must integrate gang theory and research with socio-cultural variables to understand the complex dynamics leading to gang involvement of young Hispanic fathers and non-fathers. A researcher has proposed that cultural-familial, personal, cultural identification, and acculturation factors are all pertinent to the conceptualization, assessment, and prevention of gang involved youth and their families (Vigil, 1997). Incorporating these factors would also seem to be applicable to the etiology, assessment, prevention, and intervention of young paternity. Therefore, researchers must investigate the potential socio-cultural influences to understand the social dynamics of gang involvement and young paternity. Again, there is little information regarding the potential mediating variables of gang participation, legal involvement, ethnic identification, and perceived social support in relation to adolescent

fatherhood or related to the protective factors among young fathers versus non-fathers and gang involved versus non-gang involved youth.

Cultural Identification

In 1993, a small group of researchers examined and concluded that acculturation level and ethnic identification play important roles in Hispanic teenage pregnancy (Reynoso et al., 1993). That is, an adolescents' cultural reference group or acculturation level will likely affect their adjustment during stressful or life-changing events, especially with young Hispanic fathers. Initially, researchers assumed that every person from an ethnic minority group would be forced to make a choice between their own culture and that of the dominant group (Berry, 1965; Stonequist, 1937; as cited in Sue & Sue, 1990). Over the years various models have been created with respect to understanding ethnic identity development and formation (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1996). Early theorists believed that choosing across ethnic identities would cause conflict, anxiety, distrust, hostility, defensiveness, insecurity, and stress believed to be associated with minority status (Goodman, 1964; as cited in Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo & Cota, 1990). More recently this assumption has been challenged with the emphasis on biculturalism (Ramirez, 1984) or four separate and distinct ethnic identification categories (Oyserman, Bybee & Terry, 2003).

Empirical data on the impact of one's ethnic identification has primarily examined the areas of self-esteem and adjustment. However, the reliability and validity of instruments as well as the interpretation of data are central issues facing researchers. According to literature, specific components have been suggested as being key elements of ethnic identification including "self-identification as a group member; attitudes and

evaluations relative to one's group; attitudes about oneself as a group member; extent of ethnic knowledge and commitment, and ethnic behaviors and practices" (Phinney, 1991, pp.194).

Other researchers similarly define ethnic identity as a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group that includes the ownership of ethnic group membership and its related understanding, values, behaviors, and feelings that are direct implications of that ownership. As such, it is influenced in its formation by the normal socialization processes that influence everyone, as well as by inter-group phenomena resulting from the minority status of ethnic individuals (Bernal & Knight, 1993). Although researchers have used several components to measure ethnic identification, this present study and scale was limited and only includes (1) the subjective sense of ethnic group membership held by individual group members; and (2) the cultural values, attitudes, and behaviors that distinguish ethnic group membership from other groups.

Cultural identification is best understood by examining two contrasting models of ethnic identification: continuum and orthogonal. The former suggests that identification follows opposite ends of a continuum ranging from high or positive to low or negative (Phinney, 1991). When individuals self-identify as group members, evaluate their group positively, prefer or are comfortable with their group membership, are interested in, knowledgeable about, and committed to the group, and are involved in ethnic practices, they may be said to have a high ethnic identity. Conversely, when there is little interest, knowledge, commitment, or involvement, and negative evaluation of the group and of one's membership in the group, then ethnic identity could be called low, weak or diffuse. Interestingly, research findings based on this simple model of ethnic identification have

been confounded based on the theory that this variable is considerably more complex than a continuum model suggests (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991).

As a result, another theory of ethnic identification has been presented suggesting that identification with different cultures is orthogonal. In contrast to the continuum model, the theory proposed that ethnic identification dimensions are independent of each other, and increasing identification with one culture does not require decreasing identification with another (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). For instance, a person may identify with a group and have positive feelings about it, but may exhibit few specific ethnic behaviors associated with it. On the other hand, someone may be very involved in the language and culture of the group, but have negative feelings about the group or about being a member of the group. Consequently, results are interpreted differently based on the theoretical model being referenced.

Ethnic identity research has examined its possible effect on the psychological well being of culturally diverse group members, as well as its role in self-esteem and a host of other adaptive/functional outcomes (Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 1987; as cited in Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb & Myers, 1994), with mixed results. For instance, based on the continuum model the choice to be strongly identified with one's group has shown to be positively related to self-esteem among Puerto Rican adolescents (Montijo, 1975), in minority adolescents (Rotheram-Borus, 1989; as cited in Rotheram & Phinney, 1990), Mexican American and Black children (Rotheram-Borus & Phinney, 1990).

Studies of Mexican American youth indicate that identification with either minority or the majority culture is a source of personal and social strength (Wong, 2000). One study found that individuals with high ethnic identity had higher self-esteem than

individuals with low ethnic identity (Chavira & Phinney, 1991). Another suggested that a strong ethnic identity accompanied by a positive mainstream orientation leads to a high self-esteem (Phinney, 1991). More recent research has found that higher ethnic identifications was associated with higher self esteem in African Americans (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997), while Martinez and Dukes (1997) found similar results with various ethnic groups in that high levels of ethnic identity were associated with high self-esteem levels, self-confidence, and purpose in life.

Other studies examining adolescent ethnic identity and delinquency have found mixed results. For instance, youth who reported being highly identified on Spanish American cultural identity tended to be more delinquent than those who were least identified on Spanish American cultural identification (Watson et al., under review). In the same study, non-gang youth were the highest on their respective identities, either Mexican-Spanish (Hispanic) or White non-Hispanic cultural identities. In comparison, youth who are currently in gang or associate with a gang were the least identified with either culture (Watson et al., under review).

A dissertation study investigating the relationship between ethnic-American and delinquent behavior found that ethnic identification was significantly related to disposition to deviance either directly or indirectly through deviant peers (Wong, 2000). Another study investigated psychosocial variables associated with delinquency using comparison by gender and ethnicity and found that ethnicity was not a significant variable and never accounted for more than a small proportion of the variance in any of the variables examined (Rial, 2003). Also, Corral (2001) examined perceived parent support and ethnic identification related psychological adjustment of Mexican-American

and White-American/Anglo adolescents and found that the variable of perceived parental support was more significantly associated with psychological adjustment than ethnic identity on measures of depression, anger, blame, and self-esteem.

Recently in 2004, studies conducted by Oyserman and colleagues with ethnically diverse adolescents found that students do better if they have relatively complex beliefs about their ethnic identities. The findings may suggest answers to the paradoxes in the existing research literature on ethnicity and academic attainment. Oyserman and colleagues have interviewed students about how, if at all, their ethnicity shaped their self-concepts and compared those results in association with student grades and school attendance or with effort on math problems. In other studies, Oyserman and colleagues found students with complex self-concepts were significantly more likely than their peers to perform well on academic tasks. The results of these studies has led to the development of grouped subjects into four separate and distinct ethnic identification categories, two of which seem to be correlated with academic performance and two with disengagement (Oyserman et al., 2003).

The two helpful types of racial self-concepts included a “dual identity” or a person who is an “optimistic, assimilationist position,” in which one has positive beliefs about both their cultural group and about their membership in the larger dominant society. The second was called a “minority” identity in which students combined positive beliefs about their own ethnic group with caution toward the larger society. The other two complex self-concepts were called “in-group-focused” and “aschematic” identities. These students tend to reject norms of academic performance and support an “oppositional culture” identity (Oyserman, Kemmelmeir & Fryberg, 2003).

These new findings on ethnic identification will further assist in the definition, application, and results interpretation of this complex construct within future research studies. This study will hypothesize that ethnic identification with young Hispanic fathers and non-fathers will be orthogonal versus along a continuum.

Perceived Caring

Another important area of investigation is adolescent male perceptions of caring among their family, peers, and teachers. Regardless of age or ethnicity, social support received and the perceived quality of social network resources are hypothesized to be strong influences in adjusting to the parental role (Unger & Wandersman, 1988) and promoting psychological adjustment (Corral, 2001). Even more than their older counterparts, social support may be especially significant among ethnically disadvantaged groups (McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson & Fromer, 1998). Barrera (1986) defined perceived social support as the “cognitive appraisal of being reliably connected to others” (p.416). Weber and colleagues (1995) were one of the earliest groups comparing the reliability and validity of social bonding constructs across racial/ethnic groupings and assessed the influence of Social Bonding Theory and delinquency and found that there are indicators of cultural influence.

In the last two decades researchers have begun exploring the relationships between socio-cultural factors and adolescent pregnancy, but only in young women. Research in this area has primarily focused on the importance of emotional and financial support from the teenage mother’s family, peers, the baby’s father, and other community resources. Studies with adolescent mothers have found significant differences in perception of their relationships with their own mothers. In an early study, researchers

found that pregnant adolescent mothers perceive less affection, disclosure, and had fewer demands; and more rejection and causal rule setting regarding the relationship with their mothers (Olson & Worobey, 1984). A study of English adolescent mothers found them to be more responsive to their babies' needs when they receive family social support (Crockenberg, 1988). Stevenson, Maton and Teti (1999) reported that the reciprocal exchange of support between parents and teenagers was correlated with increased task mastery, life satisfaction, and decreased depression or anxiety.

Researchers have found that African American teenage mothers identify their family members or mothers to be their primary source of positive support (Cosey & Bechtel, 2001; Davis, 2002; Nitz, Ketterlinus & Brandt, 1995). Researchers found that African American pregnant and parenting teenage women received significantly more emotional support, tangible assistance, cognitive guidance, positive feedback, and social support from their mothers than from their fathers (Davis, Rhodes & Hamilton-Leaks, 1997). Another cross-cultural study examined social support and adjustment among Puerto Rican adolescent mothers using the moderating effect of acculturation and found an association between support and adjustment moderated by the adolescents' acculturation level (Contreras, Lopez, Rivera-Mosquera, Raymond-Smith & Rothstein, 1999).

More specifically, the results indicated with greater support came less symptomatology and parental stress when acculturation was high (Contreras et al., 1999). In other cross-cultural studies with Hispanic adolescents, researchers have investigated the interaction of family support on adolescent delinquency. The results of these studies suggest that family social support reduce the influence of deviant peers on problems such

as tobacco and marijuana use (Frauenglass, Routh, Panin & Mason, 1997), and delinquent behaviors (Watson et al., under review).

Differences across ethnic groups have been reported, especially regarding the primary providers and types of support received. Wasserman and colleagues (1990) found that African American mothers reported higher levels of guidance and tangible, emotional, and social support from family members than reported by their Hispanic counterparts. Conversely, Dore and Dumios (1990) found that Hispanic mothers reported significantly closer ties and stronger feelings of family support than did a comparable group of African American adolescent mothers. Compared to White non-Hispanic Americans, teenage Hispanic mothers report having more contact with extended family, but report having fewer friends (Codega, Pasley & Kreutzer, 1990). In sum, White non-Hispanic American teenagers have been found to rely more on formal agency sources of social support than either African American or Hispanic teenage mothers (Mitchell, Barbarin & Hurley, 1981).

Another source of support comes by way of peers. Richardson and colleagues (1995) found that friends provide moderate levels of support and are perceived by adolescent mothers as more emotionally supportive than their family members. Friends were perceived as interfering less than family members and so were viewed as a more supportive social network by adolescent mothers. Investigations involving peers again reveal ethnic differences. African American and White non-Hispanic American teens mothers are likely to turn to their friends for support (Garcia-Coll, Hoffman & Oh, 1987), young Hispanic mothers turn more often to their family (Codega et al., 1990). Another study showed peer support was positively related to well being for African American

youth but not for White non-Hispanic youth (Maton, Teti, Corns, Vieira-Baker & Lavine, 1996).

It is not surprising to find that for many young African American and Hispanic women that the majority of their support systems are comprised of family members (Dore & Dumois, 1990). However, aside from familial support, help provided by a spouse independently contributes to positive maternal adjustment (Belsky, Robins & Gamble, 1984; as cited in McCubbin et al., 1998). Also, researchers found significant and positive associations between perceptions of maternal competence and the quality of the marital relationship (Teti & Gelfand, 1991). Some studies indicate support from the baby's father tends to decrease risk of child abuse and enhance overall adjustment to parenting for adolescent mothers (Zelenko, Huffman, Lock, Kennedy & Steiner, 2001). Ethnic differences among various young mothers differ in the amount of support and assistance they report receiving from male partners. Young African American mothers tend to rely almost exclusively on their own mothers, rarely turning to male partners for support (Wilson & Tolson, 1990). In contrast, young Hispanic mothers are more likely to either be living with a partner or married than African American or Anglo American teenagers (Dore & Dumios, 1990).

A recent dissertation exploring family risk and protective factors in relation to gang affiliation among ethnically diverse adolescents researchers found that the interaction of family conflict, perceived social support and ethnicity significantly predicted gang affiliation (Greenwald, 2002). Although these studies have been important in the area of social support and delinquency research, future studies must

continue to emphasize studying youth in the context of their multiple systems (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; as cited in Samaniego & Gonzalez, 1999).

Investigations of adolescent parent populations have consistently found that the most positive outcomes are significantly dependent on the quality of a young mother's social support network (Barth, 1988; Boyce, Kay & Uitti, 1988; Kissman, 1988; Panzarine, 1986; as cited in McCubbin et al., 1998). Although the majority of research in this area has primarily focused on the social support of teenage mothers, no literature exists investigating the unique population and social support influences of young ethnically diverse fathers, especially young Hispanic fathers. The relationships that Hispanic Americans have within their multiple social systems can differ significantly from those of other groups in the United States based on important socio-cultural aspects of immigration status, generation, acculturation level, ethnic identification, and language to name a few. Investigating the perceived social support systems of young Hispanic fathers is imperative in understanding the complexity of risk and protective factors related to young paternity and dynamics leading to effective and culturally appropriate prevention and intervention programs.

Hypotheses and Research Question

Adolescent paternity research for all ethnically diverse populations particularly with the Hispanic population is still needed. Since the late 1980's, few studies have examined the importance of research with Hispanic youth and young paternity in order to highlight and address the needs of one of the fastest growing at-risk and underserved populations in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a; Zayas, Schinke & Casareno, 1987). This unique exploratory study focuses on Hispanic and WnH male

youth who first became fathers between the ages of 14 to 19 years using several socio-cultural variables.

In addition to understanding the variables and items in light of paternity status, the same socio-cultural items were used to explore interactions and investigate predictors of adolescent paternity. This study examines items related to aspects of gang and legal involvement to assess if there are differences between young Hispanic and WnH fathers and non-fathers. This study also examined the cultural identifications of Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers and non-fathers for similarities or differences. Last, this study explores aspects of perceived caring from family, peers, and teachers for differences among young Hispanic and WnH fathers and non-fathers. The following results are predicted:

H1: Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers will more likely endorse the delinquency or legal and gang items compared to the Hispanic and WnH non-father groups.

H2: Within the group of Hispanic participants, those who are high (traditional) or low (assimilated) in Spanish or Mexican American cultural identification will be more likely to be adolescent fathers than those who have a bicultural identification with Spanish or Mexican American culture.

RQ: How does cultural identification influence WnH youths' parent status?

H3: Hispanic adolescent fathers will more likely perceive higher family caring across items compared to WnH adolescent fathers.

H4: Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers will equally perceive low peer caring across items compared to non-father comparison groups.

H5: WnH adolescent fathers will more likely perceive higher teacher caring across items compared to Hispanic adolescent fathers.

H6: Altogether, participants who consistently endorse the gang items will have the greatest likelihood of adolescent paternity for both Hispanic and WnH groups, compared to legal items, cultural identification scale, and the perceived caring items.

II. METHOD

Participants

The study sampled 14 to 19 year old males from several Southwestern schools. The samples were large- more than 150,000 geographically dispersed, and ethnically diverse (Beauvais, 1992; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). The names of the schools are withheld to maintain anonymity. The data for this study were combined and taken from the 1993-94 through 1996-97 American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) and Prevention Planning Survey (PPS). The initial school sample included youth of various ethnic backgrounds (African American, American Indian, Mexican American, Asian American, Spanish American, Puerto Rican, White and other), grades, and age ranges.

The sample selection involved several steps. The sample in this study included those males who only identified as Hispanic and WnH. The sample was selected to include young expectant young fathers and actual adolescent fathers who identified as Hispanic or WnH between the ages of 14 to 19 years and who are attending school. The Hispanic sample was inclusive of Mexican, Mexican American, Spanish American, and Puerto Rican youth.

Initially there were 571 WnH and 1,183 Hispanic adolescents. The sample also omitted participants with necessary missing data of the complete socio-cultural items under investigation. The final sample in this study consisted of 1,716 participants, with twice as many Hispanic (n=1,159) youth compared to WnH (n=557) youth- 67.5% and

32.5% respectively (see Table 1). Hispanic youth out numbered WnH youth in each age category.

Table 1. Ethnicity and age of the sample (n)

Age	Hispanic	White non-Hispanic	Total
14-15	245	63	308
16-17	644	327	971
18-19	270	167	437
Total n	1,159	557	1,716

Hispanic participants indicating that they were fathers (n=246) out numbered the WnH fathers (n=37), or 14.3% and 2.2% of their sample, respectively (see Table 2).

Table 2. Ethnicity, paternity, and age of the sample

Age	Hispanic		White non-Hispanic		Total n
	Fathers	Non-Fathers	Father	Non-Father	
14-15	45	200	3	60	308
16-17	151	493	25	302	971
18-19	50	220	9	158	437
Total n	246	913	37	520	1,716

The mean age for all fathers was 16.5 years compared to 16.7 years for non-fathers. By ethnicity, the mean age for Hispanic adolescent fathers was 16.5 years compared to 16.6 years for Hispanic non-fathers. Similarly, the mean age for WnH fathers was 16.9 years compared to 16.8 years for WnH non-fathers.

Measures

Cultural Identification Scale (CIS). The CIS measures cultural identification using an orthogonal design such that for a given question (e.g., Do you live by or follow ...?), the participant can independently report the degree of cultural identification for each ethnic / cultural context (e.g., the Anglo or White American way of life, the Spanish or Mexican American way of life). The CIS was developed by Oetting and Beauvais (1990-1991) and measures the extent to which individuals perceive themselves as members of

certain ethnic groups and the degree to which their behavior supports their perceived group membership.

The CIS has two versions: an adolescent form consisting of four items and an adult form consisting of six items. This study uses the four item adolescent scale. Reliability analyses have been previously performed with various ethnic and age groups, and the scales tend to show good properties. Although a Cronbach reliability of .89 suggests evidence for reliability, other researchers state modest reliability levels (approximately .70) are adequate (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

Kurilla (1998) reported that the Cronbach's alpha for the adult form was over .85. Oetting and Beauvais (1990-1991) reported that the Cronbach's alpha for the Latino subscale, when administered to Mexican American youth, was .80, and that the Caucasian subscale, when administered to Caucasian American youth, was .88. The developers provided a Spanish version of the CIS, but no studies were identified which established the psychometric properties of the Spanish version.

This study uses the CIS scale score of each respondent to show high, medium or low identification with any culture using splits, independent of the level of identification with any other culture. Item responses are scored from 4 (a lot) to 1 (not at all), an average item score of more than 3 was assigned to "traditional/high" identification and an average item score of less than 2 was assigned "assimilated/low" identification. Items scores from 2 to 3 were classified as "bicultural/medium" identification (Oetting et al., 1990-1991).

Paternity. Adolescents' parenting status was assessed via two self-report questions. The questions included, "Do you have any children?" and "Are you expecting

a baby?”. Answers to these questions were used to categorize males into non-fathers and fathers.

Gang involvement. Adolescent male gang membership was assessed using four face valid self-report questions regarding aspects of gang involvement and gang peer association. Items were scored independently of each other using item analysis. No scale scores were used in this section. The questions included, “Have you ever been in a street gang?”, “How many of your friends are in a street gang?”, “How old were you when you joined a street gang for the first time?”, and “Which best describes you?”. The last question used the following anchors, “I will never join a gang”, “Used to be in a gang, but not now”, “I will probably join a gang later”, “Not a member of a gang, but hang out with a gang” and “In a gang now”. The four questions were analyzed separately for fathers and non-fathers to explore differences and similarities.

Legal involvement. Adolescent male legal involvement was assessed using five face valid self-report questions regarding aspects of involvement including arrest, court, probation or parole, and juvenile detention/placement. Items were scored independently of each other using item analysis. The questions included: “Have you ever been on parole?”; “Have you ever been on probation for a crime?”; “Have you ever been in jail or juvenile home?”; “Are you currently awaiting trial?”; and “Have you ever been arrested?”. All questions were answered based on a “yes” or “no” response. These questions were also analyzed separately for fathers and non-fathers for differences and similarities.

Perceived Caring

In this section, face valid items were presented within three categories: family caring, peer caring, and teacher caring. The categories and items were scored independently of each other using item analysis. No scale scores were used in this section. Scoring was based on previous research criteria. Respondents who scored, “Do not have” to any of the items were recoded as missing data.

Family items. Adolescents’ perceived family caring was measured using seven separate face valid questions regarding caring, emotional support, and closeness. The first two questions included, “How much do the following people care about you?” and “How much do you care about...”, and each question had the following anchors of “Mother”, “Father”, “Stepfather”, “Stepmother”, “Brothers”, “Sisters”, “Others in your family” and “The person you are living with?”.

Other questions included, “Do you get emotional help and support you need from your parents?”, “Are you close to your parents?”, “Do you feel that you can talk about your problems with your parents?”, “Are your parents willing to help you make decisions?”, and “Do your parents care about what you do?”. Item responses were scored using original research scoring criteria and analyzed separately for fathers and non-fathers.

The scores and anchors were recoded as 4 (A lot), 3 (Some), 2 (Not Much), and 1 (Not at all). An item score of more than 3 was assigned to “high” family caring and an average item score of less than 2 was assigned “low” family caring. Items scores from 2 to 3 were classified as “medium” family caring.

Peer items. Adolescents' perceived peer caring was measured using six separate face valid questions regarding perceived caring and emotional support. The questions included, "Do your friends care about you?", "Do you care about your friends?", "Do your friends really try to help you?", "Can you count on your friends when things go wrong?", "Do you have friends with whom you can share your joys and sorrows", and "Do you feel you can talk about your problems with your friends?". Item responses were scored using original research scoring criteria and analyzed separately for fathers and non-fathers. The scores and anchors were 4 (A lot), 3 (Some), 2 (Not much), and 1 (not at all). An item score of more than 3 was assigned to "high" peer caring and an average item score of less than 2 was assigned "low" peer caring. Items scores from 2 to 3 were classified as "medium" peer caring.

Teacher items. Adolescents' teacher caring was measured using two separate face valid questions regarding perceived caring. The questions included, "Did you like your teachers" and "Did your teachers like you?" Item responses were scored using original research scoring criteria and analyzed separately for fathers and non-fathers. That is, item responses were scored from 4 (a lot) to 1 (not at all), an item score of more than 3 was assigned to "high" caring and an average item score of less than 2 was assigned "low" caring. Items scores from 2 to 3 were classified as "medium" caring. For a complete listing of all measures and anchors, see Appendix I.

Procedures

The data for this study were taken from the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) and Prevention Planning Survey (PPS). The ADAS is a survey administered in schools across the United States for a variety of purposes including community education

and the design and evaluation of prevention programs (Beauvais, 1992; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). The PPS is a supplement to the ADAS, usually included as an insert and including questions about school, aspects of gang and legal involvement, perceived family/peer/teacher caring, and cultural identification items, among many others. The surveys are only administered in schools, during class hours. Participants took approximately one hour to complete measures. Although the school data does represent a sample of convenience, it is likely that the data are reliable (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990).

III. RESULTS

Statistical data were presented for adolescent Hispanic and WnH fathers and non-fathers, respectively. In the initial set of statistics, item by item analysis were conducted using the legal and gang items, cultural identification scale, and perceived caring items. Item analyses were conducted using chi-square (χ^2) and/or univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA), if statistically appropriate. Differences between- and within- groups were reported for statistical significance.

The items indicating significant main effects or interaction were summarized in the final analyses. Although main effects were included as part of a significant interaction, results were cautiously interpreted because their effects were only interpretable in the presence of the interaction term. The remaining main effects and interactions across all items- legal and gang items, cultural identification scale, and perceived caring items- were reported within each socio-cultural category.

Item Analysis

Legal involvement

Chi-square procedures were conducted independently with each of the legal items. First, the results indicate statistical differences by age category, $\chi^2 (4, N = 368) = 10.59, p < .01$, on the item, “Ever been on probation for a crime”. The 18 to 19-year old participant group were more likely to report they have not been on probation for a crime when

compared to the younger age groups of 14 to 15-years and 16 to 17-years old, but there were no main effects by ethnicity and fatherhood (see Table 3).

Fathers were more likely to indicate a history of arrest compared to non-fathers, $\chi^2(4, N = 373) = 11.08, p < .01$, but there was no interaction by age or ethnicity (see Table 4). The last significant relationship was on the legal item, “Ever been in jail or juvenile home”. Although there were no relationships by age category, Hispanic youth were more likely to indicate a history of being jailed or living in a juvenile home than WnH youth, $\chi^2(4, N = 372) = 8.87, p < .01$ (see Table 5). Using the same item, fathers were more likely to indicate a history of being in jail or living in a juvenile home than non-fathers, $\chi^2(4, N = 372) = 28.97, p < .01$ (see Table 6).

Gang involvement

Next, chi-square analyses were performed independently with each of the gang items. The first set of results indicated that for the age group of 14 to 15-years old there was less likelihood that they would ever join a gang, but were more likely to indicate they were already in a gang compared to the age groups of 16 to 17-years and 18 to 19-years old, $\chi^2(15, N = 797) = 27.99, p < .01$ (see Table 7).

In regards to ethnicity, there were also statistical differences. Hispanic youth were more likely than WnH youth to indicate either current or previous gang involvement, $\chi^2(10, N = 807) = 54.32, p < .01$ (see Table 8). In relation to fatherhood, there were several significant relationships. Non-fathers were more likely than fathers to indicate they will never join a gang, $\chi^2(10, N = 807) = 51.04, p < .01$, whereas, fathers were more likely than non-fathers to indicate previous gang involvement (see Table 9).

An ANOVA was performed on the item, “How many of your friends are in a street gang?” and results show differences between WnH ($M = 1.23$) and Hispanic youth, ($M = 1.77$), $F(1, 795) = 20.67$, $p < .01$, and between fathers ($M = 1.92$) and non-fathers ($M = 1.44$), $F(1, 795) = 11.78$, $p < .01$, but there were no age or interaction effects found. In other words, Hispanic youth and young fathers, regardless of ethnicity were more likely to indicate having more friends who were gang involved.

Cultural Identification

In the initial analyses of cultural identification, univariate ANOVA were performed by age category, ethnicity, and paternity status. The results indicate there were no main or interaction effects for either Hispanic or WnH youth. Similarly, chi-square analyses were performed using age, ethnicity, and paternity as independent variables to determine whether the differences in levels of these categorical variables were distributed randomly or not among the categories of responses with the cultural identification scaled scores. Again, there were no significant relationships among any of the variables. In sum, Hispanic and WnH fathers and non-fathers did not significantly differ by age or their cultural identification scaled scores.

Perceived Caring

The items of perceived caring were based on three separate categories: family caring, peer caring, and teacher caring. The items within the three categories were scored independently of each other and as quantitative items. Participants who scored, “Do not have” to any item were recoded as missing data. Values on the remaining variables were recoded to correspond to 4 = “a lot” and 1 = “not at all”. A higher score indicates greater agreement and a lower score less agreement. The variable items were treated as

dependent variables and differences among categorical age, ethnicity, and fatherhood status interactions were explored using univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA). The results were as follows:

Family caring. First, statistical differences were found when participants were asked, “How much your stepfather cares about you”. WnH youth had a significantly lower mean ($M = 3.11$) than did Hispanic youth ($M = 3.38$), $F(1, 154) = 5.76$, $p < .02$, with no reported age or fatherhood status differences. Thus, WnH youth tend to perceive less caring from their stepfathers than do Hispanic youth. Similarly when participants were asked, “How much do you care about your stepfather”, WnH youth had a lower mean ($M = 3.10$) than did Hispanic youth ($M = 3.35$), $F(1, 150) = 4.93$, $p < .03$, but again with no age or fatherhood status differences. In other words, Hispanic youth tend to care more about their stepfathers than WnH youth.

In regards to only one sibling caring item, fathers had a lower mean ($M = 3.55$) than did non-fathers ($M = 3.71$) when asked, “How much your brother(s) care about you”, $F(1, 576) = 5.43$, $p < .02$, but this time there were no ethnicity or age differences. In this case, non-fathers perceived more support from their brothers than did fathers.

However, when participants were asked, “How much do you care about your stepmother”, there were no main effects of age, ethnicity or fatherhood, but there was an interaction of ethnicity and fatherhood, $F(2, 120) = 4.34$, $p < .04$. WnH non-fathers ($M = 3.04$) perceive more caring toward their stepmother than WnH fathers ($M = 2.57$). The opposite is true for Hispanic non-fathers ($M = 2.86$) who perceive less caring toward their stepmother than Hispanic fathers ($M = 3.26$). The interaction between ethnicity and fatherhood suggests that WnH non-fathers perceive more caring towards their

stepmothers than WnH fathers. The opposite is true for Hispanic non-fathers who perceive less caring towards their stepmothers than Hispanic fathers (see Figure 1).

Peer caring. The peer caring items were each treated as a dependent variable and differences among categorical age, ethnicity, and any interaction were explored using univariate ANOVA. All significant ANOVA results between two or more groups were analyzed using Scheffe post hoc analyses. Statistical differences were found when participants were asked, “Do you care about your friends”, 18 to 19-year-olds ($M = 3.60$) perceive more caring toward friends than 16 to 17-year-olds ($M = 3.42$), $F(2, 665) = 3.93$, $p < .02$, but there were no ethnicity, fatherhood status or interaction effects.

When participants were asked, “Do you have friends who you can share joys and sorrows”, the 16 to 17-year-olds ($M = 3.10$) perceive less potential support from friends than 18 to 19-year-olds ($M = 3.31$), $F(2, 665) = 3.65$, $p < .03$. Similarly, fathers ($M = 2.93$) also perceive less potential support from friends than non-fathers ($M = 3.28$), $F(1, 665) = 9.63$, $p < .01$, yet, there were no ethnicity or interaction effects. The findings suggest that non-fathers and 18 to 19-year olds perceive more caring from friends than fathers and younger age groups, respectively.

Similarly, when participants were asked, “Do you feel that you can talk about problems with friends”, the fathers ($M = 2.92$) perceive less caring or feeling that they can talk to friends about problems than non-fathers ($M = 3.28$), $F(1, 669) = 11.67$, $p < .01$, but there were no age, ethnicity or interaction effects. This would suggest that fathers perceive less caring from friends than non-fathers.

Lastly, when participants were asked, “Can you count on your friends when things go wrong”, the results indicated an interaction between age and fatherhood.

Fathers 14 to 15 years-old ($M = 3.47$), 16 to 17 years-old ($M = 2.90$), 18 to 19 years-old ($M = 3.25$) statistically differed from non-fathers 14 to 15 years-old ($M = 3.19$), 16 to 17 years-old ($M = 3.37$), and 18 to 19 years-old ($M = 3.38$), $F(2, 669) = 4.67$, $p < .03$, but there were no other main effects or interactions (see Figure 2).

These findings suggest that non-fathers and males 18 to 19 years old tend to perceive more caring from their peers than young fathers or younger males, respectively. This new information may assist with understanding the developmental changes occurring for adolescent males within their perceived peer relationships, especially during times of young paternity.

Teacher caring. In the final analyses, univariate ANOVA were performed using the teacher caring items, and a statistical difference was found with the question, “Did your teachers like you?”. WnH youth ($M = 3.05$) had a significantly higher mean than did Hispanic youth ($M = 2.94$), $F(1, 792) = 4.83$, $p < .03$, but there were no age, fatherhood status, or interaction effects. This appears to indicate that WnH youth perceive more caring from teachers compared to Hispanic youth. No differences or interactions were found when participants were asked, “Did you like your teachers.”

Logistical Regression

Next, in order to address the central research question in predicting young paternity using the socio-cultural items, several logistic regression analyses were conducted. All regressions were prospective in design, predicting paternity between the ages of 14 to 19 from the socio-cultural items. Given the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, paternity during adolescence, logistical regression was used. To identify socio-cultural predictors of young paternity, separate logistical regressions were

run for each potential predictor item. Results were separated and reported within three categories: delinquency or legal and gang items, cultural identification, and perceived caring items. The final logistical regression was conducted using age, ethnicity and only those significant value items taken from each of the three previous regressions in order to predict paternity.

The basic analysis used for this data was logistical regression models using forward stepwise procedures with each independent variable item category. That is, four separate regression models were conducted using the following: (1.) gang/legal items, (2.) cultural identification scale, and (3.) perceived caring items. In the final regression model, a forward stepwise procedure was conducted by combining only the statistically significant socio-cultural items one by one until no items remained. Variables were included in the models as long as they initially related to paternity at the .05 level. Once a variable item was placed in the model it remained even if no longer significantly related with the other variables.

In the first model, logistical regression analyses were conducted using age, ethnicity, and legal/gang items. The findings indicate that both ethnicity and the legal item, “have you ever been in jail or a juvenile home” were the best predictors of young paternity. Age was not a significant predictor of young paternity. That is, Hispanic youth who reported to have ever been in jail or a juvenile home were less likely to be a father (see Table 10).

Next, logistical regression analyses were conducted using age, ethnicity, and the cultural identification scaled scores. In sum, there were no statistically significant differences between age, cultural identification scaled scores, and paternity status.

However, regression results indicate that ethnicity along with the following items, “family live by or follow the White-American way” and “success in the White-American way of life” were best predictors of young paternity. That is, Hispanic and WnH youth who more likely endorsed these cultural identification questions were less likely to be a father (see Table 11).

In the third, logistical regression analyses were conducted using age, ethnicity, and each of the perceived caring items. Using these items, participants with higher scores on the following items, “How much do you care about your stepmother” and “Are you close to your parents”, but who have lower scores on the items, “Do your parents care about what you do” and “Do you feel you can talk about problems with friends,” were more likely to be a young father. However, based on the final significance values, this model was actually a poor predictor of young paternity (see Table 12). Using this model, ethnicity and age were not significant predictors of young paternity.

In the final model, age, ethnicity and statistically significant items from each of the previous models were combined and entered into one logistical regression analysis. By performing a forward stepwise regression the only the variable that was significant was the legal item, “Have you ever been in jail or a juvenile home.” Age and ethnicity were not significant predictors of paternity. Based on the final significance values using logistical regression analyses the results suggest a weak fit model for the prediction of adolescent paternity (see Table 13).

Hypothesis testing summary

H1: Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers will more likely endorse the delinquency or legal and gang items compared to the Hispanic and WnH non-father

groups. This hypothesis was only partially supported. In general, Hispanic and WnH fathers were more likely to have been either arrested, jailed or placed in a juvenile home than Hispanic and WnH non-fathers. Similarly, fathers had a higher than expected chance to state that they were once in gang, but were no longer and have more friends that were in a street gang than non-fathers.

H2: Within the group of Hispanic participants, those youth who are high (traditional) or low (assimilated) in Spanish or Mexican American identification will be more likely to be adolescent fathers than those who have a bicultural identification in Spanish or Mexican American culture. This hypothesis was not supported and there were no interactions between cultural identification and paternity status.

RQ: How does cultural identification influence WnH youths' parent status?

Cultural Identification does not predict either WnH or MA youths' paternity status. There were no significant differences or interactions between ethnicity, paternity status, and cultural identification.

H3: Hispanic adolescent fathers will more likely perceive higher family caring across items compared to WnH adolescent fathers. This hypothesis was partially supported based on a few of the family caring items. For instance, Hispanic fathers perceived more caring from their stepmothers than did WnH fathers.

In regards to paternity status, fathers tended to have lower than expected mean than non-fathers on perceived brother caring, but there were no ethnicity differences. However, an interaction of ethnicity and paternity was found within the family stepmother caring item. WnH non-fathers had a significantly higher than expected mean

than WnH fathers and MA non-fathers had a significantly lower than expected mean than Hispanic fathers (see Figure 1).

H4: Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers will equally perceive low peer caring across items compared to non-father comparison groups. This hypothesis was partially supported. There were statistical differences across the means of several peer caring items by age category, ethnicity, or paternity.

H5: WnH adolescent fathers will more likely perceive higher teacher caring across items compared to Hispanic adolescent fathers. There were no interactions between teacher caring and fatherhood status, thus this hypothesis was not supported. The only significant difference was that WnH youth tended to like their teachers more than did Hispanic youth.

H6: Altogether, participants who consistently endorse the gang items will have the greatest likelihood of adolescent paternity for both Hispanic and WnH groups, compared to legal items, cultural identification scale, and the perceived caring items. Based on a weak fit model using several logistical regressions, there were no good predictors of paternity for Hispanic and WnH youth.

IV. DISCUSSION

This study explored adolescent paternity using various socio-cultural items with young Hispanic and WnH fathers. This section will discuss implications, limitations of the study, culturally sensitive outreach, cultural intervention strategies and research recommendations.

Implications

Although several findings lend partial support of the hypotheses, others were not supported in this study. According to the study's findings aspects of delinquency involvement (i.e., legal and gang items) play varying roles within ethnicity, age category, and paternity status. There were few interactions between the variables considered and adolescent paternity, but several findings were consistent with previous research that found young fathers more likely to have increased delinquency rates (Pirog-Good, 1985; Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998; Wei et al., 2002), and gang involvement (Resnick et al., 1993; Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998; Unruh et al., 2004; Wei, 2000) compared to young non-fathers.

In general, the results indicate Hispanic and WnH fathers were more likely to have been arrested, jailed, or placed in a juvenile home compared to non-fathers. Hispanic fathers were more likely to have been in gangs, but indicated they were not in a gang at the time of the survey. Similarly, fathers indicated a greater likelihood of having more friends in gangs than non-fathers. One explanation may include a developmental

socialization process unique for young Hispanic males or adolescent fathers. That is, disproportionate numbers of Hispanic youth or young fathers are being raised with limited structure, positive parental role models and/or are exposed very early to gangs, gang members, and gang culture.

A significant social change process may also be occurring for the young at-risk Hispanic or adolescent male who becomes a father. That is, many young fathers may begin to make remarkably responsible decisions about their present and future behaviors. In this case, the young Hispanic or adolescent father may begin to recognize the risk of continued gang involvement including death, arrest, or incarceration. This may also be indicative of an actual transitional process in which young fathers learn to incorporate and balance the role of being a new father with being a young adolescent male.

In contrast, this study found no statistically significant differences between age, ethnicity, cultural identification and paternity status. Cultural identification did not appear to influence or predict paternal status. Thus, the cultural identification scale may not be an accurate measure of the salient variable under investigation. On the other hand, there may be no relation between cultural identification and paternity status. Future studies using focus groups and qualitative interviews similar to Oyserman and colleagues may assist with understanding this complex variable within young paternity (Oyserman, Bybee & Terry, 2004).

A few family caring differences were found between Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers, but only in regards to stepmother and brother(s). Although there were these two family caring differences, the study's findings were similar when compared to

an earlier study that found many young African and Hispanic women report the majority of their support systems are comprised of family members (Dore & Dumois, 1990).

The findings may indicate young Hispanic fathers tend to perceive more caring from their stepmother than WnH youth because stepmothers may be viewed as being non-judgmental or objective with their support. This may also be a cultural dynamic specific with young Hispanic males in which a stepmother takes an active role in supporting the young father during this challenging time.

The lack of perceived caring from brother(s) reported by young fathers may be influenced by feelings of disappointment, relational shifts, or sibling socialization processes. Unfortunately, no other research study has explored the area of sibling support, especially in relation to adolescent paternity.

Using the peer caring items, young Hispanic and WnH fathers did not equally perceive low peer caring across the items compared to non-father groups. However, the results here were complex and varied by age, ethnicity, and peer item. WnH and 18 to 19 year olds indicated more caring towards their peers than Hispanic and younger 14 to 17 year olds, respectively. Similarly, non-fathers and 18 to 19 year olds perceived more caring related to sharing their joys and sorrows with friends compared to fathers and younger 14 to 17 year olds, respectively. These findings were similar for WnH adolescent fathers when compared to a previous study that found White non-Hispanic adolescent mothers were more likely to turn to their friends for support (Garcia-Coll, Hoffman & Oh, 1987).

Young fathers perceive less support from their peers regarding talking about their problems with friends, but regardless of age young fathers tend to perceive they can

count on friends when things go wrong. These perceived peer caring results suggest participants may be interpreting the items as various forms of support and caring. An item asking participants, “Can you count on your friends when things go wrong?” may be interpreted and answered differently than the item, “Do you feel that you can talk about problems with friends?” Although fathers may perceive less caring when it comes talking about problems, young fathers perceive still being able to count on friends whenever things go wrong. This would suggest that information could be clarified by conducting small focus groups asking participants to clarify their responses or discuss their interpretation of the items.

No statistical differences or interactions were found among the perceived teacher caring items. Again, the study only used two items to measure the variable. Thus, the teacher items used may not be an accurate measure of perceived teacher caring. In contrast, perceived teacher caring may not be associated with adolescent paternity.

Finally, the logistical regression models used to predict paternity based on the socio-cultural items were inconclusive. Several separate regression models were conducted and categorized as delinquency, cultural identification, perceived caring, and all significant variables. Although the best predictor of paternity was the legal item indicating participants either being in jail or a juvenile home, based on the final significance values this predictor item was quite weak. In sum, the logistical regression results suggest young paternity is difficult to predict using the socio-cultural items under investigation. Future researchers must continue to explore the possible risk and protective factors that influence adolescent paternity instead of investigating predictors.

The significance of these findings suggests adolescent fathers display at-risk behaviors leading to higher incidences of legal involvement and its consequences. In particular, adolescent fathers who engage in at-risk behaviors have an increased likelihood of some form of previous gang involvement. The findings suggest early prevention efforts must continue within families, schools, social/justice systems, and other local community agencies. Multi-agency collaboration with adolescent and the adolescent family is necessary if young paternity is to be effectively addressed. Collaboration allows for ongoing assessment of risk or protective factors, communication, and prevention/intervention strategies.

Limitations

There are obvious limitations to this survey study. First, the study only included Hispanic and White non-Hispanic adolescent fathers and non-father groups from the Southwest. Therefore, the sample may not be representative of other comparison groups living in other regions of the United States, or of fathers from other ethnically diverse groups such as African American or Native Americans. The Hispanic sample in this study included Mexican American, Spanish American and Puerto Rican youth. However, methodology problems may arise when researching Hispanic groups and using a global label such as “Hispanic or Latino”. Researchers have stated that the use of such labels makes it difficult to interpret results particularly because many cultural groups fall under this global ethnic categorization (Gilbert & Cervantes, 1986; Trimble, 1995).

Next, the study only focused on the 14 to 19 year old range in order to consider varying degrees of developmental maturity and cognition. A comparison study using younger 12 to 13 or 20 to 21 year old males may provide additional information related to

the specific developmental needs of these potentially unique groups. The paternity survey questions were also limited in terms of understanding paternity proximity or residence with the child(ren). It was unknown if the young fathers or expectant fathers were living with their children or their pregnant partners.

According to methodologies, researchers agree that multiple methods of data collection and analyses are more informative than quantitative or qualitative methodologies alone (Newman & Benz, 1998). In following that orientation, the lack of qualitative data in this study is a limitation. The inclusion of qualitative data would provide more information about the meaning that the respondents ascribe to the constructs used here. The collection of qualitative data would also provide more information about the subjective experience of participants in order to gain a better understanding of the experiences of Hispanic and WnH adolescent fathers, and the evolution of their decision to engage in early sexual experiences. The use of small focus groups with Mexican American and WnH adolescent fathers would assist the qualitative data analyses.

Culturally Sensitive Outreach

In an attempt to explore the complexity of adolescent paternity using the socio-cultural variables under investigation one fact becomes clear. Researchers and professionals alike must continue to investigate this important area of limited scholarship. In the mean time, social service professionals, educators, and practitioners must become aware of community wide information and referral sources for parents of adolescents as well as adolescent parents themselves, especially young fathers. At the same time, professionals must remain culturally aware and understand the cultural, institutional, and

political barriers that often discourage Hispanics from using formal resources (De La Cencela & Guzman, 1991; Rogler, Malgady & Rodriguez, 1989), culturally specific resources, and knowledge of multi-agency organizations dedicated to serving Hispanic adolescents and their families (Kiselica, 1995).

National agencies such as *Chicanos Por La Causa* and *Planned Parenthood* or other local educational programs for young or expecting fathers will benefit by educating on the basics of childcare, parenting, and child development. Other researchers have also suggested the importance of understanding the unique Hispanic values of the family, or *la familia*, while including the extended family such as aunts/uncles (*tias/tios*), grandparents (*abuelos*), neighbors, godparents (*padrinos*) and/or other church affiliations (Martinez, 1979 & 1989; Padilla, 1980; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980).

This approach is consistent with models that incorporate the social embeddedness of systems and the importance of research within the context of multiple systems (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; as cited in Samaniego & Gonzalez, 1999). The cultural awareness will assist with the identification and recruitment of Hispanic and White non-Hispanic adolescent fathers, but also provide an understanding of the risk and protective factors within the social support networks of these youth and their families.

Furthermore, professionals must be aware of the dynamics and perceptions held by adolescent fathers regarding their relationships with stepparents, especially caring towards stepmothers. This could be interpreted as a positive or unique relationship between Hispanic fathers and their stepmothers in comparison to Hispanic non-fathers. Yet, the opposite was found for WnH fathers who perceive less caring towards stepmothers than WnH non-fathers. This is evidence on family caring that partially

supports similar findings with Hispanic mothers who have also reported closer ties to family support with the majority of their support systems comprising family members (Dore & Dumios, 1990), and turning more often to their family in times of need (Codega et al., 1990).

Next, sensitivity to language barriers is required in efforts to educate Hispanic adolescent fathers and their families about resources and programs. Therefore, employing Spanish-speaking staff sensitive to Hispanic cultural issues and concerned with Hispanic youth and families is extremely important. It is also recommended that all printed information regarding adolescent father programs be written in both Spanish and English (Kiselica, 1995).

Other measures necessary for culturally sensitive outreach with Hispanic families include follow-up home visits, attending community events, providing invitations to community/school activities, and other recruitment techniques found to be effective by coordinators of school/partnerships who participated in programs designed to resolve the barriers between Hispanic parents and schools (Nicholau & Ramos, 1990). In addition to these strategies, other culturally sensitive approaches can specifically target the Mexican American adolescent father. Researchers have found that programs with curriculum offering job readiness and job placement (Perez & Duany, 1992), and information regarding their legal rights as a father and the legal rights of the child can significantly increase participation (Hendricks, 1988).

Cultural Intervention Strategies

Social service professionals, educators, parents of teenagers, and parents supporting adolescent fathers must become familiar with current literature on meeting the

service or counseling needs of adolescents, especially young fathers (Kiselica, 1999; Lane & Clay, 2000), and preparing the adolescent father for parenthood or parenting skills training (Kiselica, 1996; Kiselica, Rotzien & Doms, 1994). The form of obtaining educational information through these and other literary resources promotes greater awareness and an ability to communicate effectively.

The information will also assist future parents of at-risk youth by teaching effective parental strategies including, but not limited to on how to increase parental involvement and provide age-appropriate adolescent supervision. Professionals must also assist with teaching parents ways to facilitate and maintain open communication on adolescent psychosexual development, and promote responsible decision-making skills.

Professionals should consider the following recommendations for building rapport with Hispanic adolescent fathers. Padilla and Salgado de Snyder (1985) concluded that dominant Spanish-speaking clients are more positive about counseling when the counselor is bilingual or when trained bilingual interpreters are available. Small talk with a genuine orientation toward people over concepts and ideas or *personalismo* at the beginning of the session may help ease tension for the Hispanic male (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977). It is also important to assess the Hispanic adolescent's acculturation level and ethnic identification prior to counseling and basing treatment on this objective assessment (Ruiz, 1981). Applying these recommendations to counseling with Hispanic adolescent fathers, it is suggested that action-oriented, problem-solving approaches are appropriate for traditional Hispanic adolescent males (Ruiz, 1981).

Researchers further suggest investigating acculturation as another important aspect influencing Hispanic adolescents' attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge regarding

sexual reproduction and contraception (de Anda & Becerra, 1989). The approach will also provide important information in developing culturally sensitive services for Hispanic Americans, especially Hispanic adolescent fathers.

Through initial assessment and engagement process, professionals may learn when and how to incorporate other culturally sensitive interventions into practice with Hispanic adolescent fathers and their families. For instance, in 1980 with a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, the first article was written on *Cuento* therapy was written (Constantino, 1980). Since then, researchers have concluded that the use of folktales or *Cuento* therapy was found to be culturally sensitive and appropriate within the Hispanic populations counseling (Constantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1984, 1985, 1986 & 1988; Malgady, Rogler & Constantino, 1990).

Systematic research has been conducted supporting the therapeutic use of *Cuentos* in counseling (Constantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1984, 1985, 1986 & 1988; Malgady, Rogler & Constantino, 1990). These same researchers have suggested that this treatment modality facilitates and increases rapport building with adolescents' and their families, motivation in treatment, self-esteem and cultural pride, insight, emotional expression, coping strategies, exploration of cultural values and identity, self-monitoring, behavior changes, and cognitive restructuring. Similarly, the modality decreases defensiveness and other social or acculturative stressors. The application of this culturally sensitive approach is especially appropriate given Hispanic adolescent fathers potentially face a number of psychological or emotional issues including stress, fear, anxiety, confusion, and ambivalence.

Another similar cultural intervention used to promote rapport and cultural understanding includes the use of proverbs or *dichos* in therapy. *Dichos* are defined as a self-contained speech unit that expresses a truth or some bit of folk wisdom in language that is simple and invariably picturesque (Cobos, 1985). According to Zuniga (1991), *dichos* are idiomatic expressions that are able to crystallize human situations and frailties, and do so from a particular cultural perspective in addressing a multitude of social issues, and the paradox of the human condition. They are also used by people as guidelines in the development of attitudes, values, and behaviors. In the ongoing communication and assessment of the Hispanic adolescent father and their families, *dichos* can and do reveal the worldview and psychology of an ethnically diverse people (Zuniga, 1992).

Research Recommendations

A study comparing young fathers living with their children in comparison to young fathers not living with their children may shed light on the issue of paternal proximity, involvement or influence. Research with adult fathers has found that Hispanic fathers who reported having been reared by an involved father were more likely to be involved in the rearing of their children (Hofferth, 2003). Similarly, exploring the sexual behaviors of young fathers, jailed/incarcerated youth, and youth placed in juvenile homes will assist in developing educational prevention and community reintegration programs aimed with these high at-risk groups (Unruh, Bullis & Yovanoff, 2003; Watson & Kelly, 1989).

Furthermore, conducting research that incorporates other developmental frameworks within the social context of change during adolescent paternity is warranted. It is also important to conduct longitudinal studies of intergenerational continuity and the

It is also important to conduct longitudinal studies of intergenerational continuity and the transfer of risk with parents of adolescent fathers, actual adolescent fathers, and the offspring of young fathers. Exploring behaviors and processes across generations of characteristics, history, and experiences will assist in understanding risk and protective factors for various social, psychological, relational, and health issues. A recent epidemiological study of the prevalence and needs of children of incarcerated parents is strong evidence that more studies are needed to understand the needs of this growing at-risk population (Arizona Parent's Commission on Drug Education and Prevention, 2005).

Next, a study that examines the differences or similarities between young Mexican American and Mexican immigrant fathers may be useful in exploring other socio-cultural variables such as acculturation and/or paternal involvement. A study conducted by Parkes, Coltrane, and Borthwick-Duffy (2004) investigated father involvement among low-income adult Mexican American fathers and found that Mexican-identified fathers were more likely to engage interaction with their offspring than more acculturated Mexican American males.

Although no significant differences or interactions were found among the age, ethnicity, paternity, and cultural identification variables, gathering information similar to Osyerman and colleagues may provide more important subjective information lost to quantified statistical analyses. That is to say, given the complexity of the cultural identification construct conducting future research in this area must incorporate interviews with respondents on how, if at all, their cultural identification influences their self-concepts and/or ability to adjust to change or stress. Finally, more research studies

are needed in order to explore and identify the educational, emotional, and relationship support needs of adolescent fathers, especially the Hispanic adolescent father.

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VI. FIGURES

Figure 1. Interaction of ethnicity x paternity x stepmother caring.

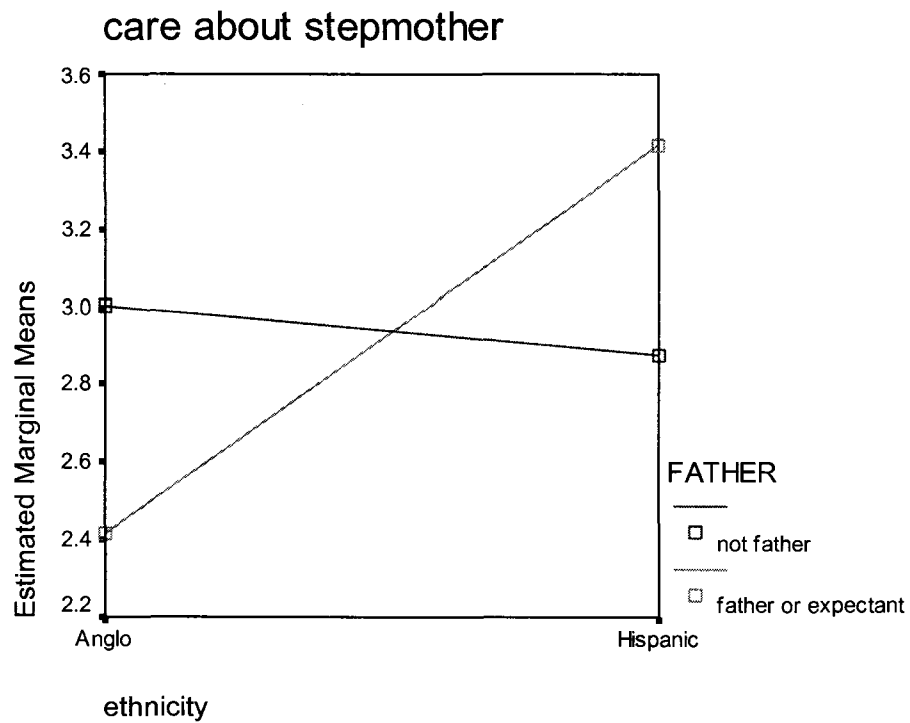
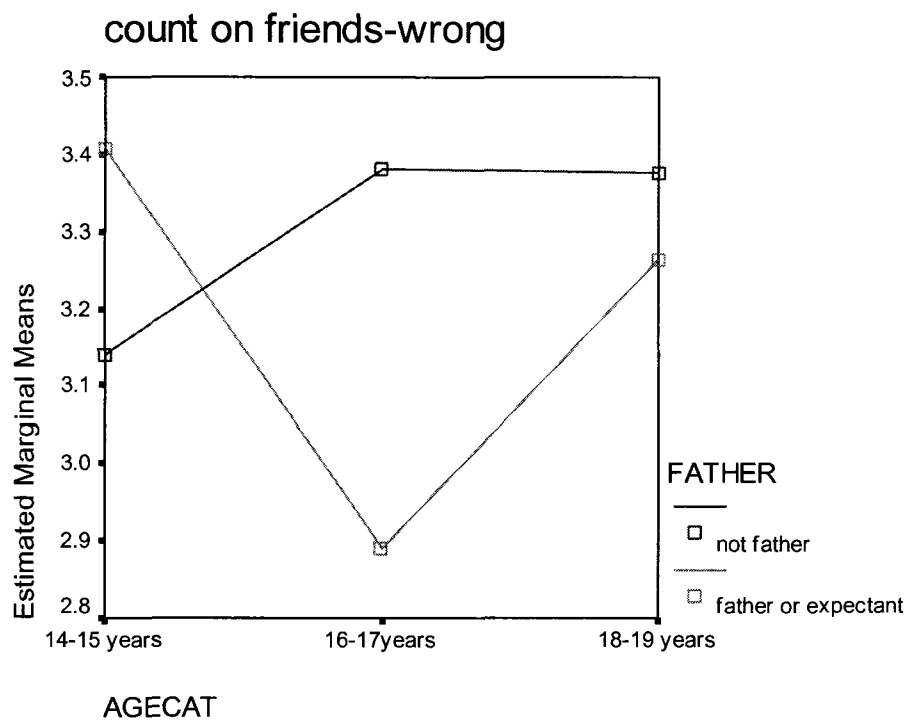


Figure 2. Interaction of age category x paternity x count on friends- wrong.



VII. APPENDICES

Appendix I. Measures and anchors used in analyses.

Paternity

The questions used to determine paternity are all self-report measures using two survey items.

1. Do you have any children?; response choices were “yes or no”.
2. Are you expecting a baby?; (If female, are you pregnant, if male, are you going to be a father?); response choices were “yes or no”.

Gang items

The study addresses gang involvement using four items. The questions were:

1. Have you ever been in a gang?; responses “yes or no”

In addition, a question used to measure levels of gang involvement:

2. Which best describes you?; response categories were “I will never join a gang”; “Used to be in a gang, but not now”, “I will probably join a gang later”; “Not a member of a gang, but hang out with a gang” and “In a gang now”
3. How many of your friends are in a “street gang?; response categories were “none of them”, “a few of them”, “most of them”, and “all of them”
4. How old were you when you joined a “street gang” for the first time?; response range were “never been in a gang” or “7 to 21 years or older.”

Legal items

The questions used to measure legal involvement included five survey items. The questions were:

1. Have you ever been on probation for a crime?
2. Have you ever been on parole?
3. Have you ever been arrested?
4. Have you ever been in jail or juvenile home?
5. Are you currently awaiting trial?

Response choices for all of these questions were “yes or no”.

Cultural Identification

There were four items were used to measure cultural identity derived to be consistent with Orthogonal Culture Identification Theory (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990b). The items allowed the subject to show high or low identification with a culture, independent of the level of cultural identification with any other culture. In the current study, these classifications were restricted to those based on Hispanic and White-American dimensions. The ethnic identification items used in the present investigation have been shown to have internal consistency reliabilities in the high .80's. High correlations with items consistent with appropriate culture, and small correlations with items related to other cultures, provide evidence of concurrent and discriminate validity of both Hispanic and White-American ethnic identification measures (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990b).

The cultural identification scale consisted of the following four items.

1. “Does your family live by or follow the...”
2. “Do you live by or follow the...”

3. "Is your family a success in the..."

4. "Are you a success in the..."

All questions were asked independently within each of the following culture categories of Spanish or Mexican-American way of life, American Indian way of life, White-American way of life, Black-American way of life, and the Asian-American way of life. Similarly, responses within each of the culture categories included "a lot", "some", "not much", and "not at all".

Perceived Caring items

Fifteen independent items were used to analyze general perceived caring. The first seven independent questions were used in analyzing aspects of family caring: The questions included:

1. How much do the following people care about you?

2. How much do you care about...?"

In these two questions each respondent was asked regarding family members including "Mother", "Father", "Stepfather", "Stepmother", "Brothers", "Sisters", "Others in your family", and "The person you are living with (spouse, partner, boyfriend/girlfriend)". Each question had a scored response using "a lot", "some", "not much" or "not at all". The next five questions included:

3. Do your parents care about what you do?

4. Do you get the emotional help and support you need from your parents?

5. Do you feel that you can talk about your problems with your parents?

6. Are your parents willing to help you make decisions?

7. Are you close to your parents?

All response choices to these questions included: "a lot", "some", "not much", "not at all", and "no parents"

Six independent items were used in analyzing aspects of peer caring; response categories on this scale were "a lot", "some", "not much", and "not at all".

1. Do your friends care about you?

2. Do you care about your friends?

3. Do your friends really try to help you?

4. Can you count on your friends when things go wrong?

5. Do you have friends with whom you can share your joys and sorrows?

6. Do you feel you can talk about your problems with your friends?

Two independent items were used in analyzing aspects of teacher caring; response categories on this scale were "a lot", "some", "not much", and "not at all". The questions were: 1. Did you like your teachers? and 2. Did your teachers like you?

Appendix II. Tables used in the final analyses.

Table 3. Legal item: age category X ever been on probation for a crime.

			AGE CATEGORY			Total
			14-15 years	16-17 years	18-19 years	
EVER BEEN ON PROBATION FOR A CRIME	No	(N =)	36	110	55	201
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	45.0%	52.6%	69.6%	54.6%
		Adjusted Residual	-2.0	-.9	3.0	
	Yes	(N =)	44	99	24	167
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	55.0%	47.4%	30.4%	45.4%
		Adjusted Residual	2.0	.9	-3.0	
Total		(N =)	80	209	79	368
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4. Legal item: paternity status x ever been arrested.

			PATERNITY STATUS		Total
			Non-fathers	Fathers	
EVER BEEN ARRESTED	No	(N =)	110	37	147
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	45.6%	28.0%	39.4%
		Adjusted Residual	3.3	-3.3	
	Yes	(N=)	131	95	226
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	54.4%	72.0%	60.6%
		Adjusted Residual	-3.3	3.3	
Total		(N =)	241	132	373
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. Legal item: ethnicity X ever been in jail or juvenile home.

			ETHNICITY		Total
			WnH	Hispanic	
EVER BEEN IN JAIL OR JUVENILE HOME	No	(N =)	70	107	177
		% within-ETHNICITY	58.8%	42.3%	47.6%
		Adjusted Residual	3.0	-3.0	
	Yes	(N =)	49	146	195
		% within-ETHNICITY	41.2%	57.7%	52.4%
		Adjusted Residual	-3.0	3.0	
Total		(N =)	119	253	372
		% within-ETHNICITY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. Legal item: paternity status X ever been in jail or juvenile home.

			PATERNITY STATUS		Total
			Non-fathers	Fathers	
EVER BEEN IN JAIL OR JUVENILE HOME	No	(N =)	139	38	177
		% within-PATERNITY STATUS	57.9%	28.8%	47.6%
		Adjusted Residual	5.4	-5.4	
	Yes	(N =)	101	94	195
		% within-PATERNITY STATUS	42.1%	71.2%	52.4%
		Adjusted Residual	-5.4	5.4	
Total		(N =)	240	132	372
		% within-PATERNITY STATUS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7. Gang item: age category X which describes you...never join gang, used to, join later, hang out.

			AGE CATEGORY			Total
			14-15 years	16-17 years	18-19 years	
WHICH DESCRIBES YOU-NEVER JOIN GANG,USED TO BE,LATER,HANG	I will never join a gang	(N =)	90	342	129	561
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	58.1%	72.5%	75.9%	70.4%
		Adjusted Residual	-3.7	1.5	1.8	
	Used to be in gang but not now	(N =)	33	79	32	144
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	21.3%	16.7%	18.8%	18.1%
		Adjusted Residual	1.2	-1.2	.3	
	I will join a gang later	(N =)	0	1	0	1
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%
		Adjusted Residual	-.5	.8	-.5	
	Not member but hang out	(N =)	10	18	7	35
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	6.5%	3.8%	4.1%	4.4%
		Adjusted Residual	1.4	-1.0	-.2	
	In a gang now	(N =)	22	32	2	56
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	14.2%	6.8%	1.2%	7.0%
		Adjusted Residual	3.9	-.3	-3.4	
Total		(N =)	155	472	170	797
		% within- AGE CATEGORY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8. Gang item: ethnicity X which describes you...never join gang, used to, join later, hang out.

			ETHNICITY		Total
			WnH	Hispanic	
WHICH DESCRIBES YOU- NEVER JOIN GANG,USED TO BE,LATER,HANG	I will never join a gang	(N =)	215	350	565
		% within- ETHNICITY	87.4%	62.4%	70.0%
		Adjusted Residual	7.1	-7.1	
	Used to be in gang but not now	(N =)	22	122	144
		% within- ETHNICITY	8.9%	21.7%	17.8%
		Adjusted Residual	-4.4	4.4	
	I will join a gang later	(N =)	0	1	1
		% within- ETHNICITY	.0%	.2%	.1%
		Adjusted Residual	-.7	.7	
	Not member but hang out	(N =)	7	32	39
		% within- ETHNICITY	2.8%	5.7%	4.8%
		Adjusted Residual	-1.7	1.7	
	In a gang now	(N =)	2	56	58
		% within- ETHNICITY	.8%	10.0%	7.2%
		Adjusted Residual	-4.6	4.6	
Total		(N =)	246	561	807
		% within- ETHNICITY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9. Gang item: paternity status X which describes you...never join gang, used to, join later, hang out.

			PATERNITY STATUS		Total
			Non-fathers	Fathers	
WHICH DESCRIBES YOU- NEVER JOIN GANG,USED TO BE,LATER,HANG	I will never join a gang	(N =)	411	154	565
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	77.4%	55.8%	70.0%
		Adjusted Residual	6.4	-6.4	
	Used to be in gang but not now	(N =)	62	82	144
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	11.7%	29.7%	17.8%
		Adjusted Residual	-6.3	6.3	
	I will join a gang later	(N =)	1	0	1
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	.2%	.0%	.1%
		Adjusted Residual	.7	-.7	
	Not member but hang out	(N =)	27	12	39
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	5.1%	4.3%	4.8%
		Adjusted Residual	.5	-.5	
	In a gang now	(N =)	30	28	58
		% within- PATERNITY STATUS	5.6%	10.1%	7.2%
		Adjusted Residual	-2.3	2.3	
Total	(N =)	531	276	807	
	% within- PATERNITY STATUS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 10. Logistical regression using age x ethnicity x delinquency items

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)	ACEI1(1)-Ethnicity	-1.652	.300	30.382	1	.000	.192
	Constant	-.181	.132	1.888	1	.169	.835
Step 2(b)	ACEI1(1)-Ethnicity	-1.569	.306	26.252	1	.000	.208
	FUDV159-...been in jail or juvenile home	-1.108	.250	19.632	1	.000	.330
	Constant	.277	.168	2.716	1	.099	1.319

a Variable(s) entered on step 1: ACEI1-Ethnicity.

b Variable(s) entered on step 2: FUDV159-Have you ever been in jail or a juvenile home.

Table 11. Logistical regression using age x ethnicity x cultural identification

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)	ACEI1(1)-Ethnicity	-1.702	.357	22.743	1	.000	.182
	Constant	-.244	.153	2.537	1	.111	.784
Step 2(b)	ACEI1(1)-Ethnicity	-1.318	.380	12.010	1	.001	.268
	FUCI22-...live by or follow White-Am. Way	-.378	.136	7.694	1	.006	.685
	Constant	.437	.286	2.333	1	.127	1.548
Step 3(c)	ACEI1(1)-Ethnicity	-1.422	.393	13.069	1	.000	.241
	FUCI22-...live by or follow White-Am. Way	-.803	.207	15.037	1	.000	.448
	FUCI12-Success in White-Am. way	-.594	.205	8.436	1	.004	.552
	Constant	3.066	.963	10.143	1	.001	21.451

a Variable(s) entered on step 1: ACEI1-Ethnicity.

b Variable(s) entered on step 2: FUCI22-Family live by or follow the White-American way.

c Variable(s) entered on step 3: FUCI12-Success in the White-American way of life.

Table 12. Logisitical regression using age x ethnicity x perceived caring items

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)	FUPR33- ..talk about problems w/ friends	-1.304	.655	3.963	1	.047	.271
	Constant	3.578	2.072	2.981	1	.084	35.788
Step 2(b)	FUFM40- ..close to parents	2.312	1.213	3.634	1	.057	10.096
	FUPR33- ..talk about problems w/ friends	-2.118	.927	5.219	1	.022	.120
	Constant	-2.160	3.733	.335	1	.563	.115
Step 3(c)	FUFM36- ..parents care about what you	-23.380	9024.731	.000	1	.998	.000
	FUFM40- ..close to parents	22.672	9024.731	.000	1	.998	70225553 23.951
	FUPR33- ..talk about problems w/ friends	-2.648	1.303	4.134	1	.042	.071
	Constant	11.446	8.641	1.754	1	.185	93482.924
Step 4(d)	FUFM31- ..care about step- mother	32.930	4551.466	.000	1	.994	20005052 4401131.0 00
	FUFM36- ..parents care about what you	-85.985	18819.187	.000	1	.996	.000
	FUFM40- ..close to parents	115.414	15212.150	.000	1	.994	1.3299172 95742149 E+50
	FUPR33- ..talk about problems w/ friends	-48.782	6610.962	.000	1	.994	.000
	Constant	-54.309	66281.391	.000	1	.999	.000

a Variable(s) entered on step 1: FUPR33-Do you feel you can talk about your problems with friends.

b Variable(s) entered on step 2: FUFM40-Are you close to your parents.

c Variable(s) entered on step 3: FUFM36-Do your parents care about what you do.

d Variable(s) entered on step 4: FUFM31-How much do you care about your stepmother.

Table 13. Statistical significance variables combined in the logistical regression equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)	ACEI1(1)- Ethnicity	-.873	1.007	.751	1	.386	.418
	FUDV159- ..been in jail or juvenile home	1.506	.868	3.005	1	.083	4.507
	FUCI22- ..live by or follow White- Am. way	-1.205	.666	3.268	1	.071	.300
	FUCI12- Success in White-Am. way	-1.156	.611	3.582	1	.058	.315
	FUFM31- ..care about step- mother	.808	.468	2.985	1	.084	2.244
	FUFM36- ..parents care about what you	-.431	.570	.573	1	.449	.650
	FUFM40- ..close to parents	1.092	.611	3.197	1	.074	2.981
	FUPR33- ..talk about problems w/ friends	-1.062	.533	3.967	1	.046	.346
	Constant	1.683	3.428	.241	1	.623	5.383

a Variable(s) entered on step 1: ACEI1, FUDV159, FUCI22, FUCI12, FUFM31, FUFM36, FUFM40, FUPR33.