Father identity development among youth involved in the juvenile justice system

by

Kate Shade

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Nursing

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

Approved:

[redacted]

Dedication and Acknowledgements

The text of this dissertation includes reprinted material that appeared in the *Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health Nursing.*

I wish to dedicate this work to my mother who encouraged my intellectual curiosity, fostered my love of literature, and answered many, many questions throughout her lifetime. She witnessed the start of this journey but is not here to share it with me at the end. I deeply appreciate my own children, Olivia, Teddy, and Sophie, who gave much of their time, attention, labor and love in support of this project. Lastly, I dedicate this work to the boys and young men who talked about their hopes, fears, worries, joys and dreams of the future with me during the course of this dissertation research. Without their intimate disclosures, this study would not have been possible.

I acknowledge the financial assistance I received to complete my doctoral education and dissertation research. I am grateful for support from the International Society of Psychiatric-Mental Health Nurses research award, the Dolores Jones RN scholarship, and the California State University chancellor's doctoral incentive program. I am deeply indebted to the University of California at San Francisco School of Nursing's graduate dean's health sciences fellowship and century club award.

I received significant scholarly support from my colleagues at Sacramento State University including Mary Summers, Francisco Reveles, Cecil Cantor, Mary Maguire and Bonnie Raingruber and my colleagues at Samuel Merritt University including Nancy Haugen, Margaret Rivera Early and Pamela Minarik. Mary Ellen Wilkosz, Loretta Camarano, and Linda MacIntyre provided practical help and a sane perspective as we progressed through our coursework and beyond. I am thankful that I entered the doctoral

program with these three brilliant women who have become my colleagues and my friends. I am grateful as well for the support I received from Ray Simmons, Susan Gervacio, Victoria Blacksmith, Kathleen Middings, Joan Bingham, Lisa Sanchez, Trish Birmingham, Naomi Schapiro, and Olga Navarez. My friends, especially Rose Uranga, Maria Chaves, and Trish Reed, provided decades of support by offering their wisdom, their resources, and their endless encouragement. Finally, I will be forever grateful to the members of my dissertation committee: Susan Kools, Howard Pinderhughes, and Sandra Weiss. They have provided exemplary research guidance, excellent teaching, and tremendous mentorship.

Father identity development among youth in the juvenile justice system

Kate Shade

This dissertation is a constructivist grounded theory study of adolescent fathers who are involved in the juvenile justice system. The aim of the research was to identify factors that influence the development of an identity and role as a father among expectant and teen fathers involved with the justice system. Nineteen youth were recruited from a juvenile detention facility and a school district in a county with a high teen birth rate. Participants were incarcerated, supervised by juvenile probation, had a history of arrest or self-reported criminal behaviors. Observations were conducted to gather data about relations in the detention facility. Youth participated in individual interviews that took place in the detention center, school, or community. Observational and interview data were analyzed using constant comparative and dimensional analysis to construct a grounded theoretical perspective of the process of father identity development. Thirty analytic codes were considered to determine those most central to the process. Findings indicated that 1) adolescent fathers involved in the justice system can be assigned to one of four fluid categories —those who embrace fatherhood, those who are barred from fatherhood, those who are ambivalent about fatherhood, and those who reject fatherhood; 2) masculinity plays a prominent role in father identity development—many fathers hope for a boy and look forward to making a son into a man. Study findings suggest that nurses and other healthcare providers who work with youth in the juvenile justice system are in an opportune position to identify boys who are expecting or parenting a child. Expectant and teen fathers who embrace the father role can be supported to co-parent successfully in order to remain engaged. Those fathers who are barred, ambivalent or

rejecting can be supported to reduce the barriers that interfere with father involvement among teens. The findings also indicate that teen father engagement, especially with daughters, might be improved if interventions were sensitized by gender. Youth who are young fathers and involved in the justice system would benefit from education about positive parenting practices, particularly those that challenge the highly masculinized and limited view of the father identity and role.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

Teen fatherhood and involvement in the justice system. Thirty six years ago, Michael Lamb (1975) wrote an article in which he called for researchers to include the father in studies about the development of children. Vicky Phares (Phares, 1992; Phares & Compas, 1992) assessed the state of this literature nearly 20 years later. She found that studies in which the father was a subject of analysis continued to be sparse. Phares recommended that data from fathers be gathered whenever data was gathered from mothers. She also suggested that researchers analyze the similarities and differences between how fathers and mothers contribute to child and adolescent wellbeing or psychopathology. In 2005, Phares, Fields, Kamboukos, and Lopez conducted another literature review and found there was no change in the number of child development studies that included data from the father and analyzed that data separate from that of the mother. In the period following Phares' first plea to increase research about fathers' influence on children's development, just three studies had been published that sampled only fathers. Phares and her colleagues said they were "still looking for poppa" (Phares, Fields, Kamboukos, & Lopez, 2005, p. 375).

Nowhere is the absence of fathers more apparent than in research about teen parent families. At least a third of teen mothers have a child fathered by a teen (Castrucci, Clark, Lewis, Samsel, & Mirchandani, 2010; Landry & Forrest, 1995; Males & Chew, 1996). However, the majority of studies that examine fathers in teen parent families gather data from adult men who father children with adolescents or use a mixed sample of young adult fathers and teens (Lohan, Cruise, O'Halloran, Alderdice, & Hyde, 2010;

Mollborn & Lovegrove, 2010). Additionally, most research about both adult and adolescent fathers and their children uses data obtained from the mother of the child to report about the father (Coley, 2001).

In epidemiological studies to determine the prevalence of teen fathering in the United States, the use of birth certificate data to obtain information about males involved in an adolescent pregnancy is problematic as only 60% of teenage mothers provide information on the birth certificate to establish paternity (Phipps, Rosengard, Weitzen, & Boardman, 2005). Information about the numbers of adolescents who become fathers has, thus, been difficult to obtain. Both young women and young men may not be willing to identify the father of the child. Teen mothers may not want the father to be involved or may be frightened about naming him as father; teen fathers may fear there will be negative consequences in the form of child support requests or statutory rape charges if the age difference between father and mother is significant (Davies et al., 2004).

In 1993, Sonenstein, Pleck and Ku published a report based on the 1988 Survey of Adolescent Males, a nationally representative study of 15-19 year old young men that oversampled for blacks and Latinos, and found that 7% reported to have fathered a child. Data collected nearly ten years later through the National Survey of Family Growth revealed that 15% of men identified themselves as having fathered a child in adolescence (Martinez, Chandra, Abma, Jones, & Mosher, 2006). As risk factors for teen fatherhood include living away from home, school failure, and justice system involvement (Fagot, Pears, Capaldi, Crosby, & Leve, 1998; Khurana & Gavazzi, 2011; Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998; Thornberry, Wei, Stouthammer-Loeber, & Van Dyke, 2000; Thornberry, Smith, & Howard, 1997) self-report data that is collected from youth in the community or

from teens who are attending school is likely to provide a low estimate of the prevalence of young fatherhood (Boggess, Martinez, Jasik, & Lindberg, 2007).

Studies that sample youth detained in juvenile justice facilities offer a different picture. Researchers have confirmed that teen fathers are overrepresented among youth supervised by the justice system. Unruh, Bullis and Yovanoff (2004) found that 28.3% of the youth incarcerated in the Oregon Youth Authority were reported to be fathers. In this study, detained youth were questioned by correctional personnel to obtain fatherhood status and may or may not have chosen to provide an accurate self-report. Young men in the California Youth Authority were surveyed about their status as father (Nurse, 2002; Nurse, 2001) The researcher used snowball sampling following contact with youth attending parenting classes combined with identification and outreach through probation rolls for parolees released from the facility to locate young men who had not attended the parenting classes but self-identified as a father. Through this process, it was determined that greater than 25% of the youth incarcerated in the California prison system had fathered a child.

Unfortunately, the sample for the California study included adult men as well as boys; the age of participants ranged from 12-24 years. There is a vast difference between the status of a 12 year old and that of a 24 year old and the researcher did not offer an analysis of the developmental dissimilarities between child and adult fathers. This study did, however, provide a comprehensive picture of adolescent fatherhood and the co-occurrence of justice system involvement. The greatest contribution to the literature about teen parents was the data collected about the negative effects of youth incarceration on

family relationships and the strategies used when "locked up" that impact teen father involvement with the child.

This manuscript describes a qualitative dissertation research project that began in 2007 and was completed in 2011 in partial fulfillment for the doctorate in nursing from the University of California at San Francisco. The aim of the research was to identify factors that influence the identity and role as a father in the context of involvement in the justice system. The study builds upon the knowledge gained from Nurse's work with teens and young adults incarcerated in the California Youth Authority. In contrast to Nurse's (2002) study, only adolescent fathers were included in this research. Participants were also included who were expecting a child as well as parenting an infant to recruit youth new to the father role. Interviews and observations were used to collect data and data were collected to examine changes in father identity formation over several months' time. Nurse's study recruited the most serious young offenders, those sent to the prison system, but youth from a range of settings were sampled for this study (including a low risk security setting, the community, and a high risk unit where minors eligible to be remanded to the California youth prison system were housed). Given the variety of participant and setting characteristics, this study's findings offer a richer understanding of the ways in which youth in the justice system develop an identity and role as father. The findings add to the literature about factors that support or interfere with an adolescent's vision and enactment of engaged fatherhood.

In subsequent chapters, the dissertation study is more fully described. The second chapter highlights additional research about young fathers in the criminal justice system, studies about the effect of justice system involvement on family relationships, and what is

known about teen father identity development. In Chapter 3, the content of a published paper based on pilot study data is presented to introduce the conceptual framework that underpinned the research (Shade, Kools, Weiss, & Pinderhughes, 2011). Chapter 4 offers additional information about the methods used to conduct the research and Chapter 5 presents findings in the form of two data based papers submitted for publication. In the first, the range of parenting intentions among teen fathers is offered to further an understanding of father identity and role development among youth in the context of incarceration, arrest, or participation in criminal activities. In the second data based paper, the impact of gender on fathering among justice system involved youth is presented. In Chapter 6, the research findings are discussed to illustrate how they contribute to the literature about teen fathering and justice system involvement, either validating or challenging current empirical work. Suggestions for further research are also offered.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Youth involvement with the juvenile justice system and fatherhood. Several studies of adult men who are imprisoned or released on parole have contributed information about the impact of incarceration on the family, especially the children. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the most comprehensive study to date about teenage and young fathers who are in prison was conducted by an anthropologist named Nurse (2001, 2002). Nurse carried out a mixed method study of youth who identified as a father and were incarcerated in or on parole after release from the California youth prison system in 1998-1999. The researcher surveyed fathers who attended parenting classes,

conducted semi-structured interviews about the impact of incarceration on the family with of a subsample of young men, and observed the inmates during family visiting days.

Nurse's results were similar to studies that have investigated the impact of adult imprisonment on a father's relationship with his children and the children's mother(s) (Arditti, Acock, & Day, 2005; Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005; Braman, 2002; Christian, 2005; Roy & Dyson, 2005; Tripp, 2010; Vigne, Naser, Brooks, & Castro, 2005). The researcher found that there were father-initiated barriers to involvement with the child, barriers erected by the mother of the child and/or her family, and institutional barriers inherent to the criminal justice system. Specifically, in terms of father-initiated barriers, many youth and young men coped with the harsh, punitive and highly masculinized prison setting by "hard timing." Hard timing was defined as cutting off ties to the outside in order to reduce the stressors impacting youth during the imprisonment period (Nurse, 2002). Fathers in prison limit contact with their children during incarceration through hard timing; they may be motivated to limit their contact as a good parenting strategy, hoping to reduce any negative effects on the child by reducing time spent with the child (Meek, 2007).

To navigate safely in the social setting and to follow the prison code of conduct, youth who were observed for Nurse's study adopted a strategy and behavior pattern common to adult men known as "prisonization" (Clemmer, 1940). Men who demonstrate this phenomenon have restricted emotionality, are hypervigilant to their environment, appear and behave as if a threat to their personhood or property will be met with violence, and are hardened to any pain or suffering they may experience or witness during their incarceration. Hard timing and prisonization are examples of coping

mechanisms to survive in detention but they are at odds with family life “on the outs” and warm, sensitive and responsive parenting practices (Nurse, 2002).

Obstacles to father involvement during incarceration have also been found to result from behaviors of the mother of the child. Keeping a child away from a parent and controlling, reducing or eliminating any contact is known as “gatekeeping” (Roy & Dyson, 2005). Mothers may keep children from incarcerated fathers as a result of the poor relationship with the father of the child, because the child does not want contact with the father, in an attempt to reduce harm to the child if the father has been abusive or neglectful and/or because of shame or stigma related to the father’s imprisonment (Magaletta & Herbst, 2001). Gatekeeping is related to Nurse’s (2002) finding that negative talk about women by young men in detention was common. She observed misogyny to be endemic to the institution. The researcher theorized that animosity toward women was related to frustration about maternal gatekeeping, and was explained, in part, by the fear that the father or boyfriend in prison would be replaced by another man during the incarceration period.

Nurse also found that institutional barriers significantly affected fathering from prison. Many institutional obstacles prevent incarcerated fathers from having contact with the family, especially those men sent to federal prisons typically located in remote areas. Nurse (2002) found that family members were often turned away after traveling to the prison for visiting hours due to unrest in the facility or problematic staffing levels. Visiting a federal inmate may require significant resources in the form of time, transportation and money. Even contact via the telephone is often prohibitive for family members as the cost of prison phone calls carries a significant tax, whether via a collect

call or with the use of a calling card, making calls extraordinarily expensive. Exchanging letters is also difficult for fathers, especially as a way of communicating with children, given that most men in jail are not high school graduates (Wildeman & Western, 2010).

The effects of incarceration on teen parent families is limited to Nurse's (2001, 2002) study. It is not known whether father-initiated, mother-initiated and justice system-initiated barriers to family contact and father-child involvement are found in the broader justice system i.e. when fathers are incarcerated in jails rather than prisons or on parole or probation rather than in custody. It is also not known the extent to which coping strategies men use to navigate the prison system are prevalent among juvenile institutions. Lastly, research is needed to examine the development of highly masculinized performances, such as that of prisonization, across the life course to determine whether there is a trajectory of such practices from juvenile to adult legal status and institutional placement. These are important questions for clinical practice and preventative interventions to reduce youth violence and recidivism.

Developing an identity as teen father. The literature about father identity development among teens is slightly more robust than research about the effect of involvement in the justice system on young fathers and their children. Two studies in particular have contributed to a greater understanding of the intersection of adolescent identity development, gender/masculine identity and an identity and role as a father. The first was a rigorous ethnographic study of class differences among young men in poor and working class areas of Philadelphia in the 1990s (Anderson, 1989, 1999). The second study used mixed methods to sample African American teens and young adults from

economically disadvantaged, urban neighborhoods in a city in the Midwest (Gadsden, Wortham, & Turner, 2003).

Anderson's work (1999) described how youth learn about and perform the masculinized identities that are required of the street code. According to observational and interview data obtained from adolescents living in a working class and poor neighborhood, Anderson found their social worlds further stratified into what they termed "decent" and "street" families. The youth, with limited prospects for work other than opportunity in the underground economy (doing unreported and/or illegal work) sought status in the streets through several performances. Significant to the development of father identity, Anderson paints a picture in which street identities prevailed and prevented expectant or new fathers from identifying as fathers.

In Anderson's description of the sexual games played out by urban, disadvantaged youth who subscribe to the street code, boys partner with girls, making promises of loyalty and fidelity, for the primary purpose of garnering the respect of other youth. If a girl gets pregnant through such an encounter, the boy's status is elevated because he is known, by being named the father, to be sexually active. According to Anderson, youth have no other motivator for fathering a child and are unlikely to accept an identity and role as father. When they do take on a father role, it is likely because either the boy or the girl is from a decent family and the family members have pressured the youth to "do the right thing." Street youth, on the other hand, are highly invested in an identity as such and are more likely to have multiple children that they do not have contact with.

Gadsden and her colleagues (2003) elaborated upon Anderson's work, further describing the positions youth take in response to the settings and associated social

requirements of the home, the streets, and the system. They examined these social arenas relative to how they influence the development of an identity as young father. Similar to Anderson's finding the researchers found a highly gender-segregated social world in which women's sphere was in the home and men's was in the streets. The system consisted of institutions under middle class control. These institutions, made up of social services, education and the legal system, served to hassle, burden and govern the young men in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In a phenomenon similar to survival in the correctional system, survival in the streets required taking on a highly masculinized identity which young men found incompatible with a father identity. Youth in Gadsden's study were hostile toward the system but spoke unfavorably of the streets as well. Though almost all the youth who participated in focus groups reported that they had fathered a child while still living the street life, about half described leaving the streets to return to their mother's home or to live with a mother of their child(ren). Most often, this move was characterized as a response to a transformative and/or traumatic event such as the birth of a child, a period of incarceration, or the loss of a loved one (Gadsden et al., 2003).

Consistent with the findings of Anderson's study (1999), father identity was prohibited if youth took on a street identity. However, in contrast to Anderson's work, the participants Gadsden and colleagues researched described accepting a father identity and assuming a father role as an active choice they made in response to a life-changing event. Anderson's and Gadsden's work suggests that social or collective identity influences engagement in an identity and role as a father, especially for youth who adopt an identity as street youth. They describe the facilitators and barriers to father identity development

through participation in social practices in three arenas: the streets, the system, and the home. Nurse's research highlights the important influence one arena, the justice system, exerts on father identity and role. Research is needed to clarify the multiple situated identities available to teens who father a child and to describe how these identities moderate or mediate the movement toward acceptance or rejection of a father identity and role. This dissertation study aimed to address the gaps in knowledge about how the father identity and role is developed among teens and how the process of accepting or rejecting fatherhood is influenced by other identity dimensions available to boys who are involved in the juvenile justice system.

Chapter 3

Conceptual Framework

The major content of this chapter is a paper published following the completion of a pilot study for this dissertation. The article describes the conceptual framework that was used to further study adolescent fatherhood in the context of involvement in the justice system. Due to space limitations, only one component of the framework was thoroughly described in the article. In the first section of this chapter, therefore, the author provides an overview of the theories and concepts that underpinned the study.

Though empirical theories such as identity development, life course, and attachment explain aspects of parenting, they do not adequately describe the unique experience of adolescent fathering. For one, father identity is socially constructed and therefore, fathers, more so than mothers, can choose whether or not they will shoulder fatherhood and actively parent their offspring. Whether young men make the choice to actively parent a child and why they do or do not choose involvement are important

research questions and are especially relevant for populations affected by high rates of imprisonment.

Identity theory has contributed to a broad understanding of the individual and social conflicts that occur among and between adolescence as they negotiate the developmental period between childhood and adulthood. “Off-time” transitions, such as the transition to parenthood while still a teen, have been described as particularly challenging, especially for youth who envision limited possibilities for their future. Thus, dentity theory as historically conceived and measured (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966) provides an insufficient explanation for the development of identity among youth who often have little opportunity for legitimate employment or further education (Sum, Ishwar, McLaughlin, & Palma, 2009). Rather, the enactment of teenage fathering has to be contextualized given the competing social identities available to economically disadvantaged youth who experience inadequate schooling, impoverished neighborhoods, incarcerated families and incarcerated communities (Edin & Kefalas, 2005).

One assumption of the conceptual framework of this study is that social or collective identity, defined as “categorical membership . . . that is shared with a group of others who have (or are believed to have) some characteristic(s) in common” (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004, p. 81), is relevant to the performance of the father role. Teens who have fathered a child have more than one social category to which they can choose to belong; the concept of multiple identity categories suggests that social performances intersect in multiple ways. Membership in several identity categories also offers multiple opportunities for oppression and marginalization. The concept that individuals or social groups can be stigmatized through intersecting identity categories is

known as intersectionality. Most often race/ethnicity, class and gender identities are studied through a feminist lens when conducting research on intersectionality (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Intersectionality as it influenced this research is defined and described more fully in the remainder of the chapter.

The processes by which teens learn to be a father involve the selection of father identity from among the diverse assortment of social categories which youth involved in the justice system can choose to identify with, may try on but perhaps discard, or are assigned to but choose to resist. A theoretical understanding of fathering as a teen who is involved in the justice system must account, at least, for age, race/ethnicity/culture, and gender/masculinity as developmental and social factors that influence the acceptance, dismissal or rejection of the social category of father. To specifically explore the influence of gender on father identity development, the concept of hegemonic masculinity was included in the conceptual model.

Hegemonic masculinity is defined as a culturally distinct position that depicts the ideal man. It is a standard to which other men, especially those in positions described as marginalized masculinities, are subordinate to. Hegemonic masculine social practices complement those of the ideal woman; women who hold a culturally defined feminine ideal are described as enacting emphasized femininity (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Gender is of utmost importance to the study of young men involved in the justice system. Youth, who experience and endorse violence, aggression and criminal behavior, who have experienced trauma and who have frequent contacts with law enforcement and correctional personnel are strongly influenced by gendered

environments and institutions that promote the hypermasculine ideal (Abrams, Anderson-Nathe, & Aguilar, 2008).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is important to young men with criminal involvement or justice system oversight and is relevant to an investigation of youths' response to the opportunity to be an involved father. Hegemonic masculinity in its sociocultural performance likely influences a common trajectory from early childhood to justice system involvement for many youth. For a majority of young men who behave aggressively and are caught up in the justice system, they have experienced significant behavioral problems, essentially, from birth (Moffitt, 1993). Social factors at the family, neighborhood, community, and institutional levels promote highly masculine behaviors (such as physical violence in response to conflict) among boys and young men and contribute to a trajectory of aggression across the life span (Jaffee, Moffitt, Caspi & Taylor, 2003).

Attachment theory is the final feature of the conceptual framework for the study. Attachment theory may also help to explain the early onset of aggressive behaviors and the intergenerational social transmission of violence and aggression among the population of criminally involved youth. Briefly, attachment theory describes the importance of a secure base, a concept defined as a primary caretaker who can be counted on to provide for a child's needs and wants. Such a child, given continued support in the form of warm, responsive parenting, will internalize the sense of secure attachment developed in childhood and experience what is called internal working models of security. The concept of internal working models suggests that appropriate caretaking

establishes a foundation of trust that impacts the development of secure relationships throughout the lifespan (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991).

Though an attachment status defined as secure is not necessarily fixed, working models typically persist into adulthood and influence relationships beyond the developmental period of childhood. Significant changes in relationship security or interventions to improve caring and responsiveness among caregivers may promote a child's attachment security. Beyond early childhood, interventions can be used to reduce cognitive distortions that result from insecurity; such interventions may also improve attachment status. Enhancement of a parent's internal working model of security can facilitate the development of security and improve the socioemotional wellbeing of the child (Dykas & Cassidy, 2010).

Security or insecurity in the primary caretaker is transmitted to the child through socialization processes and parenting practices. This is true for mothers as well as fathers who are the primary caregivers of children (Bernier & Miljkovitch, 2009). Recently, eye contact has been implicated as an important factor in the transmission of attachment from caregiver to child. Children who avoid eye contact were found to be more likely to develop an aspect of personality known as a callous-unemotional trait, a feature of an insecure attachment category known as dismissive attachment. Those with dismissive attachment avoid close, intimate contact with others. The fathers of the children with poor eye contact, but not the mothers, also displayed an aversion to direct eye contact suggesting that there may be a relationship between a father's dismissive attachment and a similarly dismissive response in the child (Dadds, Jambrak, Pasalich, Hawes, & Brennan, 2011). A greater understanding of the parenting behaviors that promote

dismissive attachment is needed as dismissive attachment is the more prevalent attachment status among criminal and incarcerated populations (Frodi, Dernevik, Sepa, Philipson, & Bragesjo, 2001).

Gaps in the literature about attachment include a limited knowledge about the distribution of attachment statuses among adolescent fathers. There is also limited literature about how attachment in the romantic relationship between mother and father predicts attachment to the child in teen parent families (Tarabulsy et al., 2005). As already mentioned, parenting behaviors can be modified to increase security in the infant. The transmission of attachment from father to child is therefore important to an understanding of attachment based interventions to improve socioemotional functioning in the children of teen parents (Broadfield, 2010). Lastly, no studies were found in the review of literature that examined attachment statuses among juveniles in the justice system or described how correctional relationships and institutional practices influence attachment (in)security.

The remainder of the chapter is a published paper that described the conceptual framework used at the outset of this dissertation study. The framework was developed based on the author's clinical nursing expertise in her work with teen parents, the review of literature about teen fatherhood and justice system involvement, and a pilot study that tested the feasibility of research about a developing father identity among incarcerated youth. The article highlights intersectionality as an important concept to apply when researching youth involvement in the justice system.

A Conceptual Model of Incarcerated Adolescent Fatherhood: Adolescent Identity Development and the Concept of Intersectionality

Introduction

Anyone who catches the latest music on the radio will likely recognize the distinctive hoarse and raspy voice that croons the regularly played lyrics of the tune 'Lollipop' by Lil Wayne. Lil Wayne's rap star has risen and continues to shine even as the singer serves a yearlong sentence for felony weapons possession. His album, titled 'Tha Carter III' was the top selling rap record of 2008; he received eight Grammy nominations, walked away with four wins and won best song for the song 'Lollipop.' Lil Wayne's album title references his young son, Dwayne Carter, III. The album's cover is of a toddler aged male child dressed in a three piece suit, sporting tattoos on his hands and face and a large diamond studded ring on a pinky finger. Less is known about Lil Wayne's personal history than about his music career, but he has acknowledged that he is the father of four and that his first child was born when he was 16 (Rap Basement, n.d.). Lil Wayne was married to the mother of Reginae, his first child, for two years, then fathered his second child and first son with an un-named woman, and in 2008; he had two more children, both boys, by female celebrities. He did not marry three of the four mothers of his children (Wikepedia, n.d.).

Questions emerge when considering Lil Wayne's experience of fatherhood and his role as a father. How has Lil Wayne's relationship with his own father impacted the relationship with his children? How does Lil Wayne's self-proclaimed identity as gangster interact with his identity as father? Did marriage and a reportedly harmonious

relationship with the mother of his first child predict his involvement as father after the couple's divorce? Does involvement improve outcomes for the adolescent father's child? What are the healthy and what are the problematic features of the father-child relationship when the father is an adolescent? And what can current research tell us about the course of adolescent fatherhood in the context of criminal and antisocial behavior, drug use, arrests, and incarceration?

The purpose of this paper is to present a model of how theoretical knowledge of intersectionality and adolescent identity development increase understanding of adolescent fatherhood, guide research that investigates the experience of teenagers fathering in the context of incarceration in the justice system, and suggest clinical intervention to improve outcomes for the young father and his child. The prevalence of adolescent fatherhood and delinquency, the risk factors associated with adolescent paternity and recent research about pregnancy intention are highlighted. An emergent conceptual model of adolescent fatherhood is presented that was derived from a pilot study of incarcerated youth who reported that they were fathering an infant or expecting a child. One component of that model, intersectionality, is detailed as it influences the process of identity development. A case study is offered in support of the concept's importance to incarcerated adolescent fatherhood. Lastly, implications for practice for adolescent mental health nurses are discussed.

Background

Prevalence: Co-Occurrence of Delinquency and Adolescent Fatherhood

Involvement of adolescent males in the juvenile justice system is a significant problem in the U.S. In California alone, about 250,000 teens are arrested and/or

incarcerated every year for an annual cost of about 1 billion dollars (Children's Defense Fund, 2011) and prevalence is rapidly increasing (Foster & Jones, 2005). As with adults, youth in correctional facilities are primarily poor, male and non-white. An African American baby boy born in 2001 has a one in three chance of being locked up during his life time. In contrast, one in six Latinos and one in 17 Caucasian boys born in the same year are likely to be incarcerated (Children's Defense Fund, 2007). Additionally, sons of adolescent mothers are over two times more likely than sons of adult mothers to be incarcerated in their life time **(**Grogger**,** 2008**).** More than one million children in the U.S. have an incarcerated parent, usually a father (Day, Acock, Bahr, & Arditti, 2005). More is known about the experience of fatherhood among the incarcerated adult population than the adolescent population, but a few studies have suggested that more than a quarter of the youth supervised by the justice system are teenaged fathers (Nurse, 2002; Shelton, 2000). By comparison, the prevalence of adolescent fathering among the general U.S. population of teens has been estimated to be between 3.5-12% (Grunbaum et al., 2004; Sipsma, Biello, Cole-Lewis, & Kershaw, 2010; Stouthamer-Loeber & Wei, 1998).

Risk Factors and Adolescent Pregnancy Intention

Results of several longitudinal studies suggest that risk factors for adolescent fathering are much the same as the risk factors for adolescent mothering. These include poverty, school failure, alcohol/tobacco/other drug use, gang involvement, and early sexual activity (Thornberry et al., 1997; Unruh, 2004; Xie, Cairns, & Cairns, 2001). Empirical findings also suggest that violent males, whose aggression began in childhood, and youth, who experience an accumulation of risk factors are more likely to become fathers in adolescence (Miller-Johnson, Winn, Coie, Malone, & Lochman,

2004;Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, & Lovegrove, 2009). There has been a steady decline in the adolescent birth rate over the last thirty years, though 2006 found increased rates once again, primarily among the youngest girls (Martin et al., 2006; Moore, 2009). Teens in the U.S. are still much more likely to get pregnant and parent during adolescence than are teens in other industrialized nations (Darroch, Singh, & Frost, 2001). The average age difference between adolescent mothers and the fathers of their children is reported to be about three years (Martin et al., 2006); as young mothers are likely to be impregnated by young fathers, the latest increases in teen births suggests that there has been in increase in adolescent fathering as well.

An important research question is whether or not the teen birth was planned and, if so, how and by whom. The answer to this question can assist researchers and clinicians to guide prevention and intervention efforts. Adolescent pregnancy intention among girls is associated with living away from home, not attending school, and living with a non-parental caretaker; the most significant predictor of a girl's intention to become pregnant, however, is her perception of whether or not her boyfriend wants a child (Cowley & Farley, 2001). Determining risk for adolescent paternity requires, first, that boys as well as girls be asked about their intention to get someone pregnant/become pregnant. Additionally, researchers and clinicians are more likely to identify boys at risk of adolescent fatherhood if they ask not only about pregnancy intention, but also about the teen's perception of the likelihood of getting someone pregnant in adolescence (Rosengard, Phipps, Adler, & Ellen, 2005).

Pregnancy promoting behaviors such as refusal to use a condom and preventing use of other forms of birth control have been described by girls who also report

experiencing intimate partner violence at the hands of their boyfriends (Miller et al., 2007); males' perpetration of intimate partner violence and coercive sex have additionally been associated with experiences of childhood abuse or neglect and with males' subscription to traditional masculine ideologies, such as the belief that men should not express feelings or the belief that physical violence is justifiable (Goodyear, Newcomb, & Allison, 2000; Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche, & Silverman, 2006). Pregnancy intention in adolescence does not necessarily include an intention to be a participatory father or a long-term intimate partner; research has not adequately described the relationship between intention to impregnate, intention to father, or the meaning of fathering a child as a teen. However, the course of the adolescent father-child relationship from pregnancy intention through fatherhood status might be better understood through an integration of identity development and intersectionality and an examination of their influences on father identity.

A Conceptual Model of Adolescent Fatherhood

A conceptual model of adolescent fatherhood is presented in Appendix A. The model was developed through a literature review of current research on the antecedents, co-morbidities, life course experiences, and outcomes of fathering in adolescence and clinical practice in adolescent health. This review was followed by a pilot study in which the experiences of incarcerated adolescent fathers were explored. The conceptual model first indicates aspects of early risk that contribute to childhood aggression and are often experienced by boys who grow to become adolescent fathers (Fagot et al., 1998). The model then depicts two key concepts that underlie the process of adolescent identity development in boys: intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity. Intersectionality

refers to the complex relationships among a boy's multiple identities such as gender, ethnic/racial group, culture and class (McCall, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is the masculine ideal against which all men are measured. Male gender identity involves attitudes and social behaviors that are strongly influenced by a culturally distinctive standard of what a hyper-masculine man should be (Connell, 2005). The macro level effects of involvement in the juvenile justice system interact with the individual and peer level effects of hegemonic masculinity to influence identity development in all youth but especially aggressive and antisocial male youth.

Lastly, the conceptual model depicts predictors that may exert a strong influence on boys who choose to impregnate a teen or become a parent in adolescence. These factors help to predict whether a young man is either ambivalent or disengaged in regard to fatherhood or becomes fully engaged as a father. Some adolescent fathers who wish to be engaged with their children describe significant barriers to involvement including placement in the foster care and/or juvenile justice system, untreated mental illness including substance abuse, and gatekeeping by the mother of the child or her family; such teens are 'barriered' from fatherhood. The focus of this paper will be on only one component of the model – the concept of intersectionality as it influences identity development.

Identity Development and the Concept of Intersectionality

Adolescent Identity Development

Erikson was the first to describe the concept of identity, to suggest that the process of identity formation begins in adolescence, and to relate the task of identity development to role performance and role confusion (Erikson, 1968). Erikson adequately

described developmental processes across the lifespan, highlighted the importance of ritual interaction to facilitate psychosocial growth, and explained development as an epigenetic process in which one stage of development gradually gives way to another with the healthy transition to each growth state requiring mastery of the one prior. Erikson's definition of identity was primarily personal in nature and focused for the most part on the relationship between identity development and role achievement. He saw successful role achievement for males as appropriate selection of a career and preparation for the work world and, for females, movement toward marriage and the suitable selection of a mate (Erikson, 1968). Aside from the problematic feature of limiting male development to the work realm and female development to the relational world, Erikson's theory of adolescent identity formation is also challenging to apply to low income, marginally educated teens who have limited access to resources and limited views of the adult roles available to them. Subsequent theorists have expanded the definition of identity to mean social groupings that an individual ascribes to and the meanings associated with these social groups, and have termed the concept collective identity or social identity.

Collective identity is defined more broadly than Erikson's definition and can be measured by assessing participation in a social network rather than fulfillment of an adult role. This definition also recognizes that identity formation is a constructed process, one in which an individual tries on various social identities much as he or she might try on clothing, practices behaviors and thought patterns associated with the selected identity, and performs the identity in concert with others. Identity construction, then, is essentially a relational process whether the individual is relating to self or to others. Identity can also

be viewed as a performance; the adolescent performs through dress, posture, mannerism, vocal inflection, dialogue, and emotional display what he or she believes to be appropriate to the identity being performed (Ashmore et al., 2004). The concept of identity construction is central to the model of adolescent fatherhood. An intersectional view of identity is also important as it explains the complexity of the multiple identities and roles that make for a compatible or a competitive performance. In concert with a hegemonic masculine influence, intersectionality suggests that shifting and adaptive identities are shaped and reshaped by a complex combination of history, experience, culture, environment and context.

Intersectionality

As mentioned earlier, intersectionality refers to the complex relationships between multiple categorical statuses that influence the construction and representation of identities among adolescents (McCall, 2005). There is evidence of the differences in adolescent identity formation by virtue of gender (Eccles et al., 1993; McLean & Breen, 2009), ethnic/racial group (Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007), class (Fine, Weis, Addleston, & Marusza, 1997) and culture (Anderson, 1999). The conceptual model attempts to account for the multiple identities reproduced by adolescent males who are involved in the justice system and are fathers and the multiple opportunities for oppression and for advantage associated with these available identities. The identity categories into which incarcerated youth are placed, primarily gender, racial/ethnic group, criminal offense, and gang affiliation or association, as well as the categories into which youth place themselves are important to examine from an intersectionality framework. Research is needed to describe the phenomenon of adolescent fatherhood

and the unique, complex, multi-layered experiences that arise out of the intersection of multiple identity categories such as gender subscription, sexual orientation, ethnic identification, racial grouping, crime status, gang affiliation, cultural background, educational level and ability, employment status, class, and position as a parent (Shields, 2008).

Adolescent fathers in the juvenile justice system are a social group experiencing intersecting identities and they have been neglected in the current literature that examines fatherhood as an identity category. Incarceration shapes identity development in adolescent males, primarily through the pervasive influence of gender. Prisons and jails are hyper-masculine spaces in which ideology and practice invoke identity performances that strongly support a hegemonic masculine ideal (Newburn & Stacko, 1994). An intersectional approach in a study of adolescent identity formation offers "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the diversity of the distinctive social groups comprising incarcerated youth who are fathers. No study can entirely disaggregate the categories into which most researchers place youthful offenders and/or teenage fathers; an intersectional examination might begin, however, to describe the challenges incarcerated males face when trying on various adolescent identities and examining the 'fit' of such identities with an identity as father. The conceptual model suggests that it is the intersection of each identity with other factors in the young man's life that may ultimately influence whether the teen father embraces or rejects the father identity and role.

A Case Study Highlighting the Importance of Intersectionality

Life course and case study methods are appropriate research designs to investigate intersectionality (McCall, 2005). As noted earlier, a pilot study was conducted using a

grounded theory design in which data were collected through intensive individual interviews and observations of teenage fathers who were incarcerated in a Northern California detention facility in a county with a high teen birth rate. Eight boys aged 15-18 participated in initial interviews that were two hours in length; two participants were interviewed twice during their incarceration and one agreed to a follow-up interview following his release. The youth were recruited if they reported to be expecting a child or parenting an infant less than six months of age; most participants were expecting their first child or parenting a newborn but two boys already had toddler aged children and were expecting their second child. As most of the participants were no longer in their parent's custody, the adolescents themselves consented to participate in the study. The study was approved by the committee on human research at University of California, San Francisco.

An analysis of the life course of one pilot study participant is presented here to illustrate the complex relationship between interrelated social identity categories and father identity. Malachi, as he wished to be called, described himself as "Indian and Black" the product of a Black mother and an Indian-American father. He spent his early childhood in a large metropolitan city and attended Head Start as a preschooler. He did not know with certainty who his "real father" was at the time—apparently he believed the father of his baby brother to also be his father—but his biological father visited him at Head Start once and brought him his first bicycle. Malachi reports that he was ambivalent about this gift and about having contact with this man who he didn't know and asserted that his stepdad was his "real father" and would be getting him a bike too. His stepfather was the most consistent male present in his early life.

Malachi had a brother four years older than he and, eventually, three younger brothers as well. Malachi reports that he was primarily raised by his maternal aunt and grandmother and rarely saw his mother. His mother would leave for long periods of time, telling the boys that she had to go "do business." When she returned, it was with money, video games, and candy, "spoiling you with her gifts, but not with her love." During the course of his childhood, Malachi grew to resent his mother and the cousins he was raised with who got to spend time with their mother, his aunt. He states that his aunt, unlike his mother, had a legal job and was a strict disciplinarian and protective of the children. Malachi witnessed domestic violence in his aunt and uncle's home, initially feeling some pleasure in the fact that someone who was mean to him was "getting what she deserved," but eventually growing to realize that his uncle "went out with the boys," came home drunk, and beat her "for no good reason."

Malachi was frequently absent from school in the 1st through 3rd grades. When he did attend, he was a "jumpy kid" who was not engaged in the classroom. "What's she talking about?" he'd ask his peers about their teacher; "Let's go to the store," he'd offer them. By the fifth grade, he states, he was "gone." Malachi's pre-pubescent period was a critical time in his young life. He tells the story of sitting his mother down and telling her that she needed to be more available to him. "This aint workin'," he says he told her. "Either you're here and you're my mother or you're not and you're my friend." For whatever reason, his mother was more involved in his life from the age of eleven through thirteen and he was "so happy" but then, two days before his fourteenth birthday, his mother was arrested and sent to jail and he was "crushed." Malachi's mother, he reports,

had been robbing banks. His older brother was also incarcerated and remains in prison "for a long time."

Malachi responded to the loss of his mother, the knowledge that his stepfather was not his "real dad" and the chaos in his family life by "going to the streets" with the mentorship of his uncle and the guidance of older men. He learned to "hustle" by watching his drug dealing uncle and associates, began earning a substantial amount of money, and found himself "deep into the streets and not able to turn back." In the period between his mother's incarceration and his own, Malachi was placed in one foster group home after another and "ran from all of them." Until the birth of his son three months ago, Malachi reports that he felt he had little reason to live and no plan for his future. His experiences in juvenile detention added to the multitude of ways he perceived himself as 'barriered' from fatherhood. Foster care and the justice system impacted his desired identity of engaged father and, through practices such as segregation by race, identification by gang, and limited contact with family, have reinforced a hegemonic view of masculinity, one not compatible with his desired caregiver role. Now, Malachi looks forward to being released from juvenile detention for drug sales when he turns eighteen and trying to be a stable presence in his son's life, finding a legal job, and being someone his son can call a "real father."

In Malachi's narrative, there are multiple identity categories that intersect and serve to explain, in part, his wholehearted endorsement of fatherhood identity and his envisioning of the possible fatherhood roles available to him. Considering just a few identities in his construction of his life story, his telling of his role as big brother and his presentation of the adult role he played with his mother are central to Malachi's identity

construction. Competing identities presented themselves during a critical developmental period in Malachi's life, in the preadolescent period. He wanted to be his mother's son and to be cared for, attended to, and in her presence, much as he saw in his aunt's household. Malachi knew that he needed monitoring, but he was angry that it was his aunt who provided for this need and he yearned for discipline in the context of a connected, attached relationship as well. The relationships in his family contributed to his experience of adultification, a condition that is not uncommon in children in economically disadvantaged families (Burton, 2007).

Adultification, in which children take on adult roles and responsibilities within the family, results in both interpersonal strengths and challenges (Burton, 2007). Malachi did not have the family support to be successful in school, to participate in extracurricular activities, or to cope with the inconsistent caregiving he received as a child, but his descriptions of taking on the adult role of caretaker of his younger brothers and asserting his need for a mother, not a friend, suggest that he has positioned caregiver as a prominent identity. The early development of a caregiver identity precluded Malachi from achieving roles related to academic or athletic performances, but positioned him to be an attentive, loyal, and caring boyfriend and to embrace the possibilities of a father identity and role. The caregiving practices he performed in late childhood and early adolescence provided the socioemotional development that prepared him for early fatherhood.

The concept of intersectionality calls for an analysis of the interaction between father identity and the other identities Malachi described in his interview. Much could be learned about adolescent fatherhood, the life course that predicts teenage paternity and

the acceptance or rejection of the father identity by examining how each identity teen fathers experience is compatible or incompatible with the father role and how masculinity performances in the context of involvement in the juvenile justice system influence father identity. In Malachi's case, some other identities he defined were being a hyperactive kid, school dropout, foster youth, street adolescent, drug dealer, and juvenile delinquent. In analyzing his life story, it seems that Malachi's mother's arrest and imprisonment was a significant turning point is his life. It was at that point that he rejected an identity as a foster youth and selected instead to perform the roles of street youth, drug dealer, and juvenile delinquent. Were these identities compatible with his earlier preferred identity as caregiver? Most likely, they were not. The absence of an opportunity to care for others or to be cared for when he was in out of home placement and juvenile detention may have played a role in Malachi's early entry into parenthood.

Understanding Adolescent Fatherhood: Implications for Practice

This paper has presented a conceptual model of adolescent fatherhood in the context of involvement in the juvenile justice system and has described one component of the model, that of intersectionality. Examples from the literature and from a grounded theory pilot study have provided support for the concept of intersectionality in understanding youth identity development. Though this paper was not able to fully describe all the components of the conceptual model presented, the model suggests the importance of research that investigates the multiple risks for adolescent fatherhood and co-occurring juvenile delinquency, the intersecting identities that influence the development of a gendered identity and the effect of a hegemonic masculine ideal on male youth's identity formation.

Further research is needed to describe the macro level effects of involvement in the justice system and incarceration on the father identity and father role. Malachi's story is offered as an exemplar of engaged fatherhood and more study is needed to examine individual, familial, social, community, and institutional factors that promote or impede participatory fathering among incarcerated adolescents. Research is also needed to investigate pregnancy prevention interventions for teens who intend to get pregnant/impregnate in adolescence and parenting education programs designed to increase the roles available to incarcerated youth. Pregnancy prevention and parenting education policies and interventions ought to be directed toward improving outcomes for the teen father, the teen mother and their offspring to reduce the transmission of aggression and violence from one generation to the next.

Nurses who work with economically disadvantaged youth would be wise to consider the risk for adolescent paternity and parenthood among the population. As primary prevention strategies, nurses can reduce the risk of participation in a pregnancy by working to improve educational outcomes for male youth, to increase mentoring programs, to offer arts and athletic extracurricular activities, and to provide education and support in emotional regulation. It is critical to recognize that adolescents are challenged by identity practices that are foreign to them and can have difficulty participating in activities that do not fit with the practices they have experienced in their families, neighborhoods, and greater communities. Nurses can be involved in secondary prevention by offering developmental and mental health screenings to young and school aged children and referring them for services at the earliest opportunity. Intersectional identity conflicts and the choices available to youth can be explored through such

therapeutic relationships. Lastly, nurses working with adolescent parents can offer tertiary prevention strategies by reaching out to fathers and offering support, education and referral services that reduce the likelihood of arrest and incarceration and increase the likelihood of engaged and healthy participation with mother and child. Establishing parental assessment and education programs, policies, and services that are directed to teen fathers is an important nursing activity to promote father identity and role development among adolescent males.

Chapter 4

Methods

Grounded theory was selected as the methodology for this study for several reasons. First, as highlighted in the review of literature, little is known about youth involved in the justice system who have fathered a child. In contrast to research about teen mothers, teen father studies have focused on risk for paternity and rarely examine pathways to involved fatherhood (Paschal, Lewis-Moss, & Hsiao, 2011). A qualitative study is often the best way to discover new information or new ways of thinking about a social situation. Gathering data using qualitative methodologies can also improve the partnership between the researcher and the researched given that the tool for data collection is the researcher him/herself (Van Manen, 1990).

Qualitative research, and specifically grounded theory, is an apt method for exploring a process such as the development of father identity development (Charmaz, 2006). It is also an appropriate approach when there are multiple units of analysis and complex concepts with, as of yet, unexplored conceptual connections (Clarke, 2003). A qualitative approach was selected for this dissertation to move beyond a descriptive

examination of father identity development. Rather, grounded theory was selected in order to conceptualize about the process by which father identity is established (or not) and the influences that positively or negatively affect the process. Grounded theory allows for an examination of adolescent fatherhood in relation to multiple contexts, several structures and processes, and various levels of analysis from the individual and the family to the neighborhood—what Clarke calls "the messy complexities" in the field (Clarke, 2009, p. 211). The concept of messiness refers to the view that no study can adequately depict a social process; rather, any study of human behavior must recognize that findings are situated, partial, and incomplete (Clarke, 2005).

Though the research was framed by theories that could be tested to verify their applicability to the "taking up" of an identity as father, measurement issues are of utmost concern when studying vulnerable populations such as minors who are incarcerated or justice system involved (Penn et al., 2004). There are valid and reliable research tools to measure identity status (Schwartz et al., 2011), attachment to romantic partner/mother of child (Fraley, Heffernan, Vicary, & Brumbaugh, 2011; Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2010), infant (Bates & Dozier, 1998), and attachment to/longing for the youth's own father (Perrin, Baker, Romelus, Jones, & Heesacker, 2009) as well as endorsement of hegemonic masculine ideology and practices (Mahalik et al., 2003; Parent & Moradi, 2009). However, including the concept of intersectionality would require a complex measurement process in which available identities of interest to the researcher (e.g. racial, ethnic, gender, class, sexual orientation to list the most commonly measured) would have to be analyzed for the effect of one on the other given identity as a father (McCall, 2005). To adequately test the multiple influences depicted in the conceptual framework,

individual measures would have to be used to examine race/ethnicity, class, gender and culture as influences on father identity development. At the minimum then, data would need to be obtained about ten dependent variables. Given the academic deficiencies, potential language difficulties, the possibility of cognitive deficits among the population of incarcerated young men, and probable concerns about confidentiality, significant measurement error would be likely (Shelton, 2000). Lastly, access to a sample size large enough to test the variables of interest would be challenging to obtain and unrealistic given the nature of dissertation research (Jeffords, 2007).

The University of California at San Francisco Committee on Human Research (CHR) approved this dissertation study with full committee review and representation of a prisoner advocate. Incarcerated youth are often no longer in the custody of their parent(s); it was therefore deemed sufficient to obtain assent from the minor for participation in the study. Research participants were initially recruited who were incarcerated in a detention center in a rural county with a high teen birth rate. Participants were recruited from all three units of the detention center, essentially low, medium and high security settings. Youth were recruited regardless of county of origin as well. The detention facility housed youth from two rural counties and one urban area in Northern California. To expand the sample size and examine whether initial findings for youth in detention were similar for youth who were released into the community, participants were also recruited from a continuation high school in the same county. Many of the youth experienced both settings. Recruitment was facilitated by staff in both settings who identified young men who were thought to be fathers and scheduled an appointment for the researcher to describe the study with the potential participant. Inclusion criteria was

male, aged 12-19, able to speak English, father of a child less than 6 months in age or expecting a child, and incarceration, history of arrest, or supervision by probation. Exclusion criteria was age greater than 20, no arrest, probation or incarceration history and non-English speaking.

Following informed assent, the participants were asked to provide demographic data about age, self-identified racial/ethnic category, school status, legal status, the age of the mother of the child, the child's age or the expected due date, and the length of time of confinement, when applicable. The youth were asked to identify a pseudonym of their choice. Interviews were conducted in a private setting in the detention center or school or, in a couple cases, a setting in the community the participant selected. Interviews in detention were typically two hours in length and in the school setting 1-2 hours depending upon how many class periods the participant was excused from attending. Interviews were semi-structured, guided by theoretical sampling, and evolved as the study evolved. Generally, youth were asked about their envisioned and enacted experience of fatherhood, their family and social relations, their health and educational statuses, and their experience of involvement with the justice system. Initial interview questions were broad and open ended and questions about sensitive topics were brought up when the participant was talking without hesitation. (See Table 1.1., Appendix B for Interview Guide.) Participants were given a $15.00 gift certificate to a local department store in gratitude for their time. Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim with names and other identifiers changed to ensure anonymity.

In total, 19 youth participated in the study. Consistent with grounded theory methods, the interview protocol and recruitment process changed over time in order to

increase analysis of data that was emerging as salient to the phenomenon of interest. Therefore, participants who were eager to talk about fatherhood were initially recruited to the study but, as data were analyzed that suggested the importance of the concept of rejection of father identity and role, youth who were not interested in talking about fatherhood were actively recruited as well (Charmaz, 2006).Specific to grounded theory research, theoretical sampling, defined as recruiting participants to expand upon and verify analytic findings or gathering data about pertinent concepts and theoretical linkages as they arise during analysis, was carried out from the start of the study (Glaser, 1978). Three observations were conducted in the detention facility to gather data about interactions between youth and between the incarcerated minors and the detention staff. Information was also obtained by observing the ways in which detained boys and girls interacted with family—through phone calls, letters, drawings, and photos. When concepts relative to the process of developing a father identity while involved in the juvenile justice system were sufficiently described and explained by the study data, recruitment of participants and data collection was completed (Charmaz, 2006).

Chapter 5

Findings

The participants of this study were nineteen boys who were incarcerated in a juvenile detention facility or had attended/were attending a secondary school in a Northern California county with a high teen birth rate. They youth ranged in age from 16 to 19 years. The participants in the community had been arrested, had been or were supervised by probation, and/or self-reported criminal behaviors. Those who had not been arrested or supervised by probation had been suspended multiple times and/or

expelled from the school district. The youth reported their racial/ethnic categories. Nine youth said they were Hispanic/Mexican/Latino, 2 participants said they were black/African-American and the remaining 8 boys said they were of mixed race/ethnicity. Eleven participants were already parenting at the time of first interview and three of the boys were expecting another child; 8 participants were expecting their first child at the time of their first interview.

In this section of the dissertation, two data based papers are presented. Both have been submitted for publication. The first describes the overarching process of father identity development that was identified through analysis of the similarities and differences between youth who could be described as engaged fathers and those who were ambivalent or dismissive. The second article presents findings about a central, organizing perspective related to the hope for a boy as described by teen fathers.

Choosing fatherhood: How teens in the justice system embrace or reject a father identity.

Background

Adolescent births in the United States declined significantly in the advent of the 21st century but rose again during its first decade, especially among Latino youth (Yang & Gaydos, 2010). Though adult men father approximately one third of the children born to adolescent mothers (Castrucci et al., 2010), the increase in the teen birth rate has meant an increase in the number of boys who are parents as well. Little is known about this vulnerable population. Empirical information about adult fathers has increased but research about the experience of fatherhood for adolescents continues to be sparse. Most research about teen parenting focuses on the pregnant female and excludes an analysis of

the male partner. Additionally, in adult as well as teen father studies, data about the father is often collected from the mother of the child rather than from the father himself (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1998; Phares et al., 2005; Tuffin, Rouch, & Frewin, 2010).

What is known about teen fathers is that their risk factors for paternity are similar to the risk factors for adolescent pregnancy. Teen fathers and their families often live in impoverished neighborhoods, experience educational challenges and school failures, and have difficulty gaining legal, sustained employment to elevate their socioeconomic status thus impacting their ability to financially support their family (Campa & Eckenrode, 2006; Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Wilkinson, Magora, Garcia, & Khurana, 2009). Teen fathers are more likely than adult fathers to lose contact with their child by the time the child is a toddler (Fagot et al., 1998; Jaffee, Caspi, Moffitt, Taylor, & Dickson, 2001; Kalil, Ziol-Guest, & Coley, 2005). When adolescent fathers remain involved, it appears that their involvement with the child is dependent upon the quality of the relationship with the mother of the child and often the maternal grandmother (Gee & Rhodes, 2003). Lastly, teen parents, especially fathers, have been found to be overrepresented among youth involved in the juvenile justice system (Nurse, 2002; Shelton, 2000). Both girls and boys who have been incarcerated have high rates of sexual risk taking behaviors such as multiple partners, early sexual involvement, sex without a condom and/or other contraceptive method, and intercourse while under the influence of drugs or alcohol (Rosengard et al., 2006). A better understanding of the experiences of young fathers with juvenile justice involvement is therefore needed.

Study Aims

The broad aim of this study was to provide a conceptual understanding of how boys displaying aggressive, antisocial or criminal behaviors develop an identity and role as father. Additional aims were to describe individual, familial, and community level factors that influence the acceptance or rejection of a father identity and role among youth involved in the juvenile justice system. The research addressed these aims through a qualitative, grounded theory study underpinned by theories of identity and psychosocial development, the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality, and attachment theory (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Connell, 2005; Erickson, 1968; McCall, 2005; Shade et al., 2011). A rich theoretical understanding of the factors that influence the acceptance or rejection and the course of the early teen father-child relationship can guide culturally sensitive and acceptable interventions intended to improve outcomes among teen parenting families.

Methods

Design and Sample

A constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006) was used to contextualize father identity development among adolescents, to understand expectant and new adolescent fathers' intentions about involvement with their children and to examine the effects of involvement in the justice system on teen fatherhood. The grounded theory method originated from a symbolic interaction perspective. Symbolic interactionism assumes that people operate in the world based on the meanings they ascribe to whatever or whomever they come in contact with. These meanings are formed in the context of social interaction; all interaction is ascribed with meaning through

interpretive processes, and individual and collective action takes place based on these interpretations of meaning (Blumer, 1969). Constructivist grounded theorists explore human behavior with the understanding that there is no one reality to be discovered; rather, there are numerous viewpoints that can describe a social phenomenon. The end result of a constructivist study is a theoretical understanding that is historically situated, partial, and incomplete (Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2009).

The sample for this study consisted of 19 youth who were recruited from a Northern California juvenile detention facility and a school district from which youth were detained and to which youth returned following detention. All participants reported they were expecting a baby or parenting an infant. Participants ranged in age from 16-19 years and the majority was expecting a child; two boys reported they were having a second child. Ten youth identified themselves as Latino, two as black or African American and the remainder said they were of mixed race/ethnicity. Participant recruitment was facilitated by staff members in both settings. The staff member described the study to any teen who met the inclusion criteria and scheduled a meeting for the researcher to discuss the study, review the interview guide, and discuss the consent process. The university committee on human research approved the study protocol and procedures.

Measures

Data were collected through individual interviews and participant observations conducted from 2007-2011. Twelve boys in the detention center consented to one or two individual interviews in the facility; one participant was also interviewed following his release. Seven participants in the school setting were interviewed once or twice with three

boys participating in three interviews each. The number of interviews was driven by participant request and availability. Almost all participants who were incarcerated expressed interest in additional interviews but were lost to follow-up post-incarceration or did not show for scheduled interviews. There were three observations of two hours each that took place during the evening recreation in the detention facility; there were 29 interviews conducted in total. Interviews were semi-structured and, consistent with grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2006), the interview questions evolved as data analysis proceeded.

The participants in detention were interviewed in a classroom, out of sight of other youth. In the school setting, boys were given the option of being interviewed in the home or in the community but most elected to be interviewed at school. Confidentiality was maintained by using a pseudonym of the participant's choice and using care to withhold details about an individual or experience that might identify the participant. Youth were informed, however, that staff would be notified if they made a threat of self-harm or harm to others and that the researcher would make a report to Child Protection Services if there was suspected abuse or neglect of the minor father or his child. Interviews were voice recorded and transcribed verbatim. At the conclusion of each interview, participants were given a $15 gift card to a local retail store. Participants in both settings expressed their gratitude for being interviewed and most asked for more time to talk, even those participants who seemed to have difficulty answering some of the interview questions.

Analytic Strategy

Initial interviews were completed with the goal of entering the field and collecting information in a broad manner, without much restriction or focus (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Sampling was purposive in that youth who wanted to talk about fatherhood and were intent upon being involved fathers were initially recruited. After initial analysis revealed that there was a range of father involvement described by participants, boys were recruited who were ambivalent about having contact with their children. Efforts were also made to gather data from youth who wanted nothing to do with the expectant child or infant, but they were very difficult to recruit to the study (Hutchinson, Marsiglio, & Cohan, 2002).

In contrast to the scientific method in which analysis follows the completion of data collection, the process of sampling, collecting data, and analyzing the data occurs simultaneously in a grounded theory study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interview material was initially coded with the intent of describing the actions found in the data (Glaser, 1978) and then the initial codes were organized to create abstract codes and higher order categories. Coding was carried out through the constant comparison process which entails comparing and contrasting the data within interviews in order to begin to abstract and analyze. Further comparison between codes, categories and beginning conceptualizations across interviews and observations guided the analysis and the theory building (Charmaz, 2006). This process, known as theoretical sampling, highlighted gaps in understanding and provided a theoretical direction for further data collection (Strauss, 1987).

Further abstraction was facilitated by the use of an explanatory matrix to sort, categorize, and organize the data. An explanatory matrix assists the grounded theory

researcher to elevate the analytic process and achieve greater abstraction. It also serves to audition different social processes found in the data in order to find the most prominent processes that explain the phenomenon of interest. The contexts, conditions, processes, and consequences were thus identified relative to the range of father involvement in the context of the juvenile justice system as described by the study participants (Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996). Data collection was completed when there was sufficient material to adequately conceptualize about the theoretical findings (Charmaz, 2006).

Scientific rigor was maintained through several strategies. First, the researchers' responses to the interview and analysis procedures were noted and documented. Memos were written about the researchers' reactions to the participant narratives, the underlying assumptions that may have influenced research decisions, and the data collection and analytic processes themselves (Clarke, 2005). These activities are features of the qualitative practice of reflexivity in which self-assessment of the researchers' biases, values and emotional responses to material are examined during the analytic process (Davies & Dodd, 2002). Rigor was also preserved by asking participants to discuss the initial analyses of the first interview at the start of second and third interviews. As conceptual categories were created, subsequent participants were asked to comment on the categories and to verify, clarify or contest the concepts relative to their own experiences of developing a teen father identity and role. Lastly, rigor was attained by discussing analytic developments with a research team, developing study findings in consultation with methodological and content experts (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Findings

Four patterns of father identity development and father involvement were identified. The patterns were *embracing fatherhood, being barred from fatherhood, being ambivalent about fatherhood,* and *rejecting fatherhood*. Six of the 19 boys in this study embraced fatherhood. The majority, 11 teens, were barred from fatherhood. One youth exemplified being ambivalent about fatherhood and one participant reported that he was rejecting fatherhood. The fact that just two youth evidenced father identity and role behaviors that are less socially unacceptable (e.g. ambivalence or active rejection of the child) was probably due to sampling challenges. Boys who do not want contact with their child or children are less likely to volunteer for a study about preparation for fatherhood. However, based on clinical practice, the authors are aware that youth who are ambivalent about or reject contact with their child or children are represented among teen fathers.

A note about the interpretation of findings. A description of how teens accept or reject a father identity and role is helpful to clinicians. Community health nurses can use the conceptual descriptions of group differences to better assess and intervene with boys in the justice system and with adolescent families. However, the depiction of categorical differences risks further stigmatizing or "othering" of a vulnerable population group (Kitzenger & Wilkinson, 1996). The classification of behavior patterns is intended to assist nurses to increase their empathic responses to boys who are coping with fatherhood and to guide nursing interventions to improve efficacy. Nurses should use these distinctions not to marginalize those youth who do not "take up" fatherhood with enthusiasm, but to avoid assuming teen fathers do or do not want to be involved with their children. The study participants who exemplified these categorical behaviors often

evidenced characteristics of other categories in subsequent interviews. It is assumed that fathering intentions and actions among teen fathers are fluid and therefore malleable. The teen father typology is described below.

Boys who Embrace Fatherhood

The first pattern was exemplified by Jack and defines boys who *embrace fatherhood*. Jack expressed deep love and appreciation for the mother of his child and tolerated the teasing he received from other youth in detention as a consequence of this caring relationship. Jack rejected the misogynistic attitudes conveyed through spoken and unspoken communications in the context of juvenile justice system involvement. He described himself as a good parent and no different from the mother of his child, aside from "not being able to breastfeed." There was never any doubt, Jack said, that he would be involved in his child's life. He described a loving and caring relationship with his three year old daughter and was looking forward to developing a similar relationship with his hoped for son.

Boys who depicted this style of father identity development voiced optimism and confidence in themselves and their child. They described deep feelings for the mother of their child and the baby; participants who cared deeply for the mother of the child expressed similar feelings about their anticipated children as well as their current children. The youth who embraced fatherhood talked about strong father-child bonds. As one participant said about the birth of his daughter, "It was wonderful; me and [my girlfriend] were crying, just endless tears of joy . . . [The baby] was crying a lot and then watching her cry made me cry even more. It was just magical." Another participant said

about his child, “I love my daughter. I love her with all my heart. She is in my heart. I told her, you-feel-me, I never knew I could love somebody so much.”

Boys who embraced fatherhood were especially expressive about their capacity to be a good partner. Typically, they had lengthy relationships with the mother of the child, described the mother of their child as a good friend, and shared similar hardships and experiences with their partners. Often they described sharing secrets with their partner and said they knew the mother of the baby’s secrets as well. In contrast to boys who were barred from their child or from the mother of the baby, the youth who embraced fatherhood described themselves as loyal and attached. Many of the young men reported that the mother of the child motivated, encouraged, and supported them in making important behavioral changes to improve their health and safety (Laub & Sampson, 2003).

The youth who were characterized as embracing fatherhood evidenced less concern with threats to their masculinity and described resisting traditional masculine beliefs about gender roles. Many valued emotionality and accepted the labels “nice guy” and “sensitive.” They were often proud of their stable co-parenting relationships and, in contrast to other youth who admitted to infidelities, the boys who embraced fatherhood valued being faithful to their partners as well. One boy was so sure he would be with the mother of his baby forever that he tattooed her name on his forearm in large, dark, ornate letters. He described their relationship in the following interview excerpt:

> I: Had you guys talked about having a baby?
> J: Uh, we did before. Like not, like not, we didn’t expect one, we just, we talked about it.
> I: Uh huh.
> J: ‘Cause we been together for almost three years.
> I: Wow. You’re sixteen.

J: We knew each other since we were five though. She used to hang out with my sisters. And now, my sister, she's fifteen; [my girlfriend] is fourteen.
I: Uh huh.
J: We started communicating, like, we was friends, best friends.
I: When she was eleven and you were thirteen?
J: Yeah.
I: Hmm. What was it about her?
J: I don't know, just, we was like best friends, we close, and then we just got, like, whatever, started going out together . . . we talk about everything. We constantly talk.
I: You're friendly?
J: Like, talk, yeah, we, like, constantly talking about everything that we did. Especially when we come home from school. She's, like, staying right next to me. So, basically, that's why we're like best friends forever, you know . . .
I: So what does she do that's helpful to you?
J: Me?
I: Uh huh.
J: Like, uh, help me keep from, like, doing stupid stuff. 'Cause, like, I was about to, like, fight some dude and she told me not to . . . I was bad and wanted to do it, she, like, just kept on telling me "No" and just, like, I dunno. I stopped.

Boys Barred from Fatherhood

The second pattern of father intentions was *barred fatherhood*. The majority of the youth in this study evidenced this type of response to fatherhood. The process of development of father identity and role best described as barred fatherhood was represented by William. Boys who were barred from fatherhood described a strong desire for a child and hoped its arrival would be transformative, helping them make difficult but necessary changes. They had significant barriers to involved fatherhood, however. William voiced a longing for contact with his estranged daughter and a desire to be an involved father with his unborn child, yet there seemed to him insurmountable barriers to achieving the hoped for involvement with his children. The barriers that William listed included: gatekeeping (defined as restricting father involvement) by the mother of the child and her family because he had gotten another girl pregnant, incarceration for drug

sales and assault, substance abuse, depression and anxiety with suicidal thoughts and prior attempts, significant financial restitution owed the court, threatened expulsion from school, fear of retribution for his violent actions and a chaotic family life. Those boys who embraced fatherhood were much less likely to describe these concerns or described more effective ways of coping with them. Often, the boys who embraced fatherhood described talking with the mother of the baby or another significant support person about their traumatic experiences or emotional difficulties as a way of coping with them.

The young men who were barred from fatherhood, in contrast to those who embraced fatherhood, offered little in the way of specific actions they did or planned to do to care for their children. Barred youth often saw their primary role of father as being a good provider. All participants detailed significant barriers to legal employment and all of them described illegal work they had taken on at one time or another in order to support their families and their children. The majority of the participants sold drugs to make money. Those who embraced fatherhood, in contrast to those barred from fatherhood, saw themselves as capable of being a positive paternal influence and described activities they undertook to support the mother of the child or to parent their infant.

The young fathers who were barred from fatherhood and had money to offer the mother of the baby or a gift to give the child felt entitled to ask for contact with the baby. One boy described the need to have money to help the mother of the baby's family as they had been robbed and were "starting over." He said:

> That's why, I bought the cable, you know. I bought a refrigerator. I bought them a washer and dryer. I bought them a lot of things. All that money's bad money too. But, you know, they love me for that too. I lie to them, "Oh, yeah, I got a job." I

> don't want to tell them the truth. I'm halfway afraid that the mom'll take [the mother of the child] away from me.

Without a caring relationship with the mother of the child or a legal job to promote themselves as responsible fathers, boys who were barred from fatherhood described gradually diminished contact with their children. One father considered his options with regard to demanding contact with his child. "Me and my girl don't get along," he said. "I can't see [my daughter] . . . There's nothing I can do. 'You better or I'm gonna kill you'? Nah, that's all bad. 'There's another reason you can't see her. You might kill her.'"

Often the barriers to involvement for this group of fathers were not a result of gatekeeping by the mother of the baby or her family but a result of the youth's gang involvement. Gang and criminal activity were associated with fear of violent retaliation for past activities or preoccupation with punishments imposed by the juvenile justice system. Often there were barriers enacted by the boys' own family members such as parental drug and alcohol abuse, fighting with the mother of the baby or her family and encouragement to reject the child. The obstacles to fatherhood that youth credited to their family members were related to poor family functioning and not to their parents appropriately monitoring their behavior (such as requiring they be home at night or knowing their whereabouts, activities, and social contacts). Many of the boys barred from fatherhood felt that they "could not get a break." They believed they had no support from others to make positive changes. One participant described the futility of his attempts to alter his life course:

> I was going to stop smoking and I was going to talk to this lady about getting me a job and then the day I was going to go talk to this lady . . . that's the day I got caught with weed on me, and I got a ticket and . . . they suspended me for 5 days . . . I was going to stop smoking, I was going to sell those last two [ounces] and I

> was going to stop, so, then, if I were to talk to her I would have found out that they drug test and I didn't want it to be dirty. I wanted a job . . . I didn't get to talk to the lady at all because I got caught and then . . . [school personnel] lied . . . my parents thought I was arrested . . . they come home and, I don't know, [my father] says I'm a loser, low life, and . . . "your son's father is a low life," that I'm not going to do anything with my life . . . next time I get suspended, I will get expelled . . . it's just everything after that, everything is going bad.

Boys who are Ambivalent about Fatherhood

The third pattern that emerged from the study data was *ambivalent fatherhood.* The actions and interactions that defined this approach to the development of a father identity and role were characterized by James. He admitted he had not thought much about becoming a father because James was pretty sure he would have nothing to do with his child. However, he lived close to the mother of the unborn baby and said he was sure to see her in the neighborhood. He had not decided how he would respond the next time he saw her. James believed, however, that he ought to be responsible for providing money for the baby, though he did not know how he would get the money. He also believed, in theory, that a father should be known to his child. James described his own father as someone lost to him. "I know his name. That's about it." He said he did not want to repeat this pattern of absent fatherhood but he could not describe how he would be involved with the mother of the baby or his child.

During a follow up telephone call, James reported, "they say I'm going to have another [baby]." James' ambivalence was reflected in his actions. He did not take responsibility for impregnating a girl and he found out about the pregnancy from sources in the neighborhood. Yet, he was not active in rejecting the child or attempting to influence the girl to have an abortion. It seemed he had not decided whether to accept or

reject a father identity and role. This young man was hesitant to talk about becoming a father and responded to many questions with the comment "I don't know." His most thoughtful and interactive interview segment was about his experience of 'prisonization.' Prisonization, or following a prison code of conduct, is a response to incarceration in which men act as if they are capable of violence and they are unsafe to interact with in order to avoid being seen as vulnerable (Nurse, 2002). James was most animated when he talked about his efforts to enact and his observation of others enacting the prison code. His ambivalence about fatherhood was likely related to the incompatibility of a father identity and an identity as a hardened prisoner. Ambivalence also was associated with the lack of a model of an involved father.

Some boys who were barred from fatherhood displayed behaviors that reflected ambivalence. However, the boys barred from father involvement were different from the ambivalent youth who was not sure he could or wished to fulfill the role of father. Four of the boys who were barred from fatherhood talked about having a child with another girl. In doing so, they hoped to take up a father identity and role in a new relationship. They saw another child as affording them a second chance to be the father they wanted to be. The ambivalent teen, in contrast, was unsure about being an involved father in any context and with either of the mothers of his children. He chose to "not think about" fatherhood or to "think about it later." He described his primary concern at the time of his interview to be his dealings with the other youth in detention who "be trying to punk me."

Boys who Reject Fatherhood

The last interpretation of adolescent father identity and role development was exemplified by Diego. This pattern was characterized by youth who *reject fatherhood.* Diego got a girl pregnant who was, as he described, a "random girl," one of many girls he "ran through." Random girls were girls who had a reputation for having multiple sexual partners, girls who lived on their own with their children or girls who were not living with protective family members. Diego had no intention of getting anyone pregnant at the point in time that he was interviewed because he was too young, was awaiting trial as an adult for a serious offense, and anticipated a lengthy prison sentence. He intended to have a child when he had amassed enough money and had found a "good girl" to marry and settle down with. However, Diego admitted that he did little to prevent pregnancy and believed it was the girl's responsibility to protect herself and use contraceptives. He described his behavior with random girls and the possibility of fathering multiple children he did not have contact with as "busting them, breaking them, and not calling them back."

The act of rejecting a father identity when faced with the news that a girl was pregnant was an active and emotional process versus the passivity reflected in ambivalent fathers. Diego expressed negative feelings such as anger and resentment toward the girl who got pregnant. There was also significant frustration about not being able to control "a female's body and mind." Rejecting fatherhood stood in diametric opposition to the act of embracing fatherhood which was characterized by significant positive emotions. Boys who embraced a father identity spoke positively about girls and women, expressed gratitude for their relationship with the mother of their child, and knew intimate details

about both their partner and their baby. This was in stark contrast to the negative, contemptuous nature of portrayals of girls and women made by the rejecting father.

All youth in this study described significant mental health problems including depression, anxiety, substance abuse, attention problems, post-traumatic stress disorder, and dissociative disorder. Though all boys also evidenced characteristics consistent with externalizing behaviors and conduct problems, the ambivalent and the rejecting fathers descriptively labeled themselves as antisocial. One said he was "a menace to society" and the other described himself in the following way:

> I'm not really the bad person that I've been made out to be. Even though I've done some, whatever, some bad things. But I'm not really . . . the danger to the public and all this other stuff the court and the judge and the DA and the probation has to say about me. I'm not really that person. But I do things that cause people to see me as that person. I have the potential to be that person, I guess.

No engaged father portrayed himself as dangerous, menacing or unpredictably violent. One barred father depicted himself as very violent and dangerous but, on the other hand, he described himself as significantly remorseful about what he had done in the past. Most of the youth who were engaged fathers said they had committed crimes to make money for their families or as a self-protection strategy.

Boys who rejected fatherhood were difficult to recruit to the study but were talked about by other youth. Observations of father and non-father youth in detention revealed that some boys glorified the fathers who were not involved with their children. They said such fathers were "players," and fortunate not to be tied down to one girl, harassed for financial support, or criticized for their lack of involvement. The majority of the youth in this study, however, spoke critically of fathers who were not caring for their children.

One boy was well known in the community, primarily for his reputation as a gang leader and a self-described "tough guy." He was 17 years old and had two infants born a couple months apart and another child on the way. All the children had a different mother. Several of the participants suggested this young man be interviewed because of his reputation for fathering three children and not being involved with any of them. One of the research participants was the boy's cousin and made a special effort to ask him to volunteer for the study. He was not successful, in part because it was difficult to locate the youth's whereabouts. The participant defended his cousin's actions and his lack of involvement with the two infants he had fathered stating, "He *wants* to be in their life though."

For boys barred from fatherhood, wanting involvement seemed admirable to them and often the best they could offer. For the participant who rejected fatherhood, attempting to be an engaged father, from his vantage point, was futile. He justified his rejection of father identity in the following quote:

> I know a lot of people been in prison and it kind of makes them, it's not so much hard, it's not [that it makes them not] show emotions or none of that. It makes them scared that they're going to f*** up again and that they're gonna put their kid in the position to know that their dad's a f*** up. That's all it is. They're scared. That's all . . . They're already failures in one sense as they're ex-cons or they're felons or they're cons or they're whatever. They've been in and out of prison their whole life. They don't want to be a failure as a dad also . . . It's all about pride . . . That's why a lot of people, including me, that's why they say, "F*** it." I'm not taking care of the kid because if I try and I fail then look at me . . . And that's one more thing that I'm a failure at and I'm already an ex-con or whatever they want to say, however you want to put it. I'm already this, this and this, and I'm already a failure. I cannot perform as a functional member of society. I'm already a f*** up. I don't wanna be a deadbeat dad or whatever . . . I don't want to try to be the best dad I can be and still fail, so I'm not going to try at all.

Discussion

Contributions to Research

The findings of this study contribute to the literature about teen father involvement and depict the range of envisioned father identities and roles as defined by youth. Four patterns emerged that describe how adolescent fathers with juvenile justice system involvement develop an identity as father; these patterns ranged from embracing fatherhood to rejecting fatherhood. Building on prior research about the father-child bond among teen parents, study data revealed that boys who embraced a father identity and role had more positive relationships with the mothers of their children (Coley & Hernandez, 2006; Gavin et al., 2002). Prior research has also suggested that maternal grandmothers play an important role in facilitating father involvement (Gavin et al, 2002). The youth in this study who were barred from fatherhood listed gatekeeping by the mother of the baby and her family as one of the obstacles to father involvement.

A key finding was that participants who described features of a secure attachment to the mother of the child were more likely to be engaged fathers. Engaged fathers were more likely than other fathers to describe the relationship with the mother of their child as warm, loving, supportive and mutually exclusive of other partners. Barred, ambivalent, and rejecting fathers told stories about their on-going conflicts with the mother of the baby, her friends, or her family. Their relationships with the mother of the child may have been heartfelt and intimate at some point in time but were insecure at the time of their interviews. This finding is important in that it extends the research about teen parent families which has shown an association between insecure, conflicted teen mother-father relationships and risk for abusive parenting practices (Moore & Florsheim, 2008; Moore,

Florsheim, & Butner, 2007). Although we did not examine specifically the risk for child abuse, the fathers who felt more support and caring from the baby's mother were more positively engaged with their child.

The range of father involvement among participants was associated with misogynistic or negative attitudes toward women, with boys barred from fatherhood often dismissing the possibility of enacting a nontraditional, egalitarian father role. The two youth who were ambivalent and rejecting of fatherhood expressed the strongest disdain for girls and women. One expressed the desire to eventually have a child with a "good girl." For boys who embraced fatherhood, they did not categorize girls as good, bad, or nasty (Cohan, 2009). The youth who embraced fatherhood did not talk about their need to have power over girls and frequently described their objection to negative talk among their peers about girls or women.

Other research has found an association between the endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies and approval of teen pregnancy and parenthood among young men (Goodyear et al., 2000; Marsiglio, 1993). Few researchers, however, have examined whether teens who endorse misogynistic beliefs and behaviors are less invested in a partner's pregnancy or show decreased paternal involvement. The exception is Anderson's (1999) ethnographic study of "decent and street" families living in a poor and working class urban community. Young men in such communities experience conflict between an identity as father and an identity as street youth. Identifying as a street youth entails participating in intergroup violence and exhibiting animosity toward youth who are different by virtue of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and gang or neighborhood affiliations (Pinderhughes, 1997). Boys who endorse street masculinities are described as

more likely to impregnate a girl in an effort to enhance their manhood and abide by the "code of the streets." As a result, street youth are not likely to remain involved with the mother of the baby or the child unless the boy's or girl's own parents get involved (Anderson, 1999). Study participants who did not embrace fatherhood were also more likely than engaged fathers to describe themselves as street youth or to have spent a lengthy amount of time "in the [foster care and/or correctional] system."

Limitations

This study had several limitations. First, the youth were not followed from the birth of their child into infancy or toddlerhood. The participants' envisioned father involvement could not, therefore, be assessed over time. It may be that ambivalent fathers become involved with the child following first contact with the baby or it may be that boys who embrace fatherhood are not aware of all the barriers that later interfere with the development of the father-child bond. All youth were not able to be located in order to participate in more than one interview as well. Though participants who were interviewed once talked about difficult topics such as the experience of sexual abuse, second and third interviews allowed for lengthier narratives and elaboration on key points. Second, as already discussed, recruitment of boys who were ambivalent about or rejected fatherhood was difficult which limited the portrayal of these patterns of behavior. Lastly, no observational and interview data was gathered from social contacts such as with the mother of the child. Such data might have been helpful to verify or challenge the youths' descriptions of their actions and interactions.

Recommendations for future research

Based on the study limitations, it is recommended that longitudinal research be conducted to develop useful clinical knowledge about the range of teen father identity and role development. Additional information about youth's parenting practices could be obtained through father-mother and father-child observations. Participatory action research methods might be effective in recruiting youth who do not intend to be or are ambivalent about being involved with their expected child (Rhein et al., 1997). It is especially important to further describe the preparation for fatherhood in the context of involvement in the juvenile justice system. A question that emerged from this study is whether delinquent youth who describe themselves as "caught up in the [justice] system" are more likely than other youth to reject a father identity and role due to fears of being an inadequate or injurious father. In addition, the nature of the relationship with the child's mother emerged as a potential moderator of the teen father's engagement with his child. The specific ways in which this mother-father relationship can be fostered needs further study, specifically in the context of barriers associated with incarceration and the forensic environment.

Implications for Community Health Nursing Practice

Teen fathers can contribute to the health and wellbeing of the family or they can be detrimental to the family's safety and security (Jaffee, Moffitt, Caspi, & Taylor, 2003).The four behavior patterns described in this article can assist nurses in assessing teen parent-led families and in tailoring interventions that reduce risk factors. Community health nurses can offer services to promote protective factors such as constructive communication between teen mothers and fathers. Nurses can also intervene to improve

parent-child attachment. The prenatal period is an optimal time to conduct risk assessments and offer early interventions to prevent intimate partner violence and child maltreatment. Many participants described the prenatal period as a time during which they hoped for a transformative life change. Teen fathers may be particularly motivated to make changes when they are expecting a child.

Nurses can assess the father's relationship with the mother of the baby and his envisioned involvement with his unborn child. Identifying and supporting the strengths the teen father brings to the couple and the father-child relationship are important, especially for those youth who embrace or are barred from fatherhood. Young men who express ambivalence or reject fatherhood can benefit from the opportunity to talk about their position. The nurse may be able to support the youth to develop a mentoring relationship with an engaged father as a model that is frequently unavailable to teen parents.

For youth who identify significant barriers to father involvement, interventions can be directed to improve the relationship between the mother of the child and her family. A father who is barred from father involvement related to his own risk factors such as substance abuse, mental health problems or gang involvement will need an individualized plan and intensive interventions. Those fathers who express hesitancy in accepting a father identity and role may need additional assistance to identify support persons who can advocate on their behalf, model problem solving and facilitate open communication. Such an intervention might improve the relationship with the mother of the child and reduce gatekeeping.

Nurses who work with youth involved in the justice system are in an opportune position to identify boys who are parenting or expecting a child. Youth who are ambivalent about or likely to reject father involvement are especially in need of counseling. Nurses can provide support and make referrals to comprehensive services for these high risk youth. It is important to distinguish between fathers who are ambivalent due to significant barriers and fathers who are considering rejecting involvement because they fear negatively affecting their child. If the father is ambivalent, the nurse can provide education about fetal, infant and early child development with a focus on the importance of attachment in primary relationships. The youth can be queried about anxieties and fears related to the care of a child. Ambivalent youth can also be encouraged to discuss caregiving relationships in their families of origin, especially the relationship with their own fathers and how it might shape their fathering identity and behaviors.

Ambivalent boys and those who reject fatherhood would likely benefit from referral to attachment (Juffer, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & van Ijzendoorn, 2008; O'Connor & Zeanah, 2003) and trauma informed therapies (Crenshaw & Garbarino, 2007) as well as gender transformative therapy. The latter is a cognitive approach used to assist youth in development of healthier approaches to masculinity through expanding masculine representations of themselves as men and as fathers (Mahalik & Morrison, 2006; Pollack, 2006; Roy & Dyson, 2010). In examining the interview data available from the participant who rejected fatherhood, his narratives focused on key attachment-related issues, including loss, abandonment, and anger directed toward those persons he perceived as neglecting him and those he thought were out to damage his reputation. This young man chose to reject an identity as father because he did not think himself capable

of successfully fulfilling the father role. Such youth are in the greatest need of the full scope of community services, including educational support, school to work assistance, adult mentorship, recreational activities, family therapy and cognitive-behavioral interventions. It is vitally important that nurses provide integrated care that offers guidance and support to both the father and the mother of a child.

Additional dissertation study findings. The remainder of this chapter consists of another article that has been prepared and submitted for review for publication. The paper provides information about a central process found to influence the development of a father identity and role among the study participants as they prepared for, thought about, or cared for the expected child.

Adolescent fathers in the justice system: Hoping for a boy and making him a man.

Teen parenthood is prevalent among youth involved in the justice system. Youth detention facilities and probation rolls in the United States are populated by young men and women from economically disadvantaged families and communities with high incarceration rates, primarily those inhabited by people of color. Communities from which men are frequently imprisoned are also communities in which teenage fatherhood occurs (Nurse, 2002; Shelton, 2000). The sons of teen fathers are incarcerated in greater numbers, about 2.7 times more often, than are the boys of older parents (Grogger, 2008). Additionally, teen fathers are 1.8 times more likely to have a son who has a child in adolescence (Sipsma, Ickovics, Lewis, Ethier, & Kershaw, 2011). It is critical, therefore, to examine the context in which adolescent fatherhood occurs and its intersection with youth incarceration. It is also important to study how youth develop an identity and

associated role as parent. An investigation of the process by which teen fathers grow into a parental role might suggest whether and how aggressive or antisocial youth socially transmit violent and risky behaviors from parent to child.

Youth involved in the justice system experience reinforcement of cultural ideals about manhood prevalent among aggressive boys and young men (Abrams et al., 2008; Nurse, 2002). Many detention facilities are built of steel and concrete and lack warm, soft, or comfortable features. Some are overcrowded. Housing violent youth with other violent youth in such a setting can lead to a behavioral strategy known as prisonization (Clemmer, 1940). Prisonization is seen when individuals placed in a correctional setting adapt to the prison culture and endorse a prison code of conduct. The code is enacted when men harden themselves against emotions, display hypervigilence, flatten their affective expressions, and exhibit a willingness to use violence if provoked (Nurse, 2002). The prisonization phenomenon is similar to the performance of the traditional hypermasculine male. Many expectant and new teen fathers develop an identity as a father in the context of gendered correctional institutions in which highly masculine attitudes and behaviors are prominent.

For youth involved in the justice system, father identity develops in concert with the development of other identities. Alternate identities are constructed with consideration of ethnic/racial grouping, social class status, criminal arrest history, gang involvement and more. Gender is the most prominent influence on identity development and is deeply affected by social and cultural influences (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Sociocultural construction of male gender identity is influenced by ideals of manhood, what Connell (2005) terms hegemonic masculinity. Supervision and control of boys

through juvenile justice structures in the context of incarcerated and impoverished communities influence hegemonic masculine attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. The model of the hypermasculine man and the features of prisonization are similar, yet they are incompatible with some of the characteristics of a caring father such as warmth, sensitivity, and attentiveness.

Our study aim was to conceptualize about father identity development for boys involved in the justice system. We intended to identify factors that influence the acceptance or rejection of a teen father identity for boys who were expecting a child or parenting an infant. We found several salient processes that contributed to father identity development; one prominent process was strongly influenced by gender. This process involved acknowledging or anticipating fatherhood, envisioning a future child, and considering what role a young father might take as parent. In envisioning their future children and considering their paternal involvement, youth in this study anticipated having a son and "being there" as a father. We suggest that teen fathers hope for a boy, believe it is their job to prepare a son for possible future dangers, anticipate barriers to father involvement, and envision their primary role as father to be making a son into a man.

Literature Review

Few studies have investigated teen fathers' gender preferences or involvement with a child dependent on whether or not the child is a boy. The vast majority of data about teens have been gathered from young adult fathers or samples of men of various ages (Coley, 2001). Rhein and associates (1997) examined adolescent fathers' participation in the care of their children. Almost half the fathers reported that the gender

of their child influenced their degree of participation in parenting. Fathers reported that they spent more time with sons than they did with daughters.

Lundberg, McLanahan, and Rose (2007) found that among the children of unmarried fathers, boys were about 20% more likely to be given their father's last name at birth than were girls. At one year, male children were more likely to have married parents and to regularly have contact with their fathers than were female children. The likelihood of marriage to the biological father showed the most remarkable difference by virtue of child gender; the odds of the mother of a son marrying the father of her child were 1.59 times greater than the odds of the mother of a daughter marrying the father of the baby (Lundberg & Rose, 2003). The increased incidence of marriage among biological parents of boys might be attributable to the father's attitudes about marriage to the mother of his child if that child is a son, to the mother's beliefs about the importance of marriage to the father of a son, or both.

Other researchers have also reported increased involvement and a greater range of father participation in the care of children when fathers have sons. These effects seem to hold true at all stages of childhood though fathers have greater contact with boys during the adolescent period. The difference in paternal involvement dependent upon gender is greater among poor and working class fathers than among middle class fathers (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, & Guzman, 2006; Dahl & Moretti, 2008; NICHD Early Childcare Research Network, 2000; Roopnarine, Fouts, Lamb, & Lewis-Elligan, 2005; Stattin & Klackenberg-Larsson, 1991; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001). Some studies, however, have found conflicting evidence regarding gender preference, finding

that father involvement is not greater among fathers of boys (Coley & Hernandez, 2006; Farrie, Lee, & Fagan, 2011).

Data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a cohort study of 5,000 children of economically disadvantaged families, indicate that fathers who do not live with their child and are not married to the child's mother are more likely to describe the coparenting relationship as supportive when their child is a boy. The authors postulate that fathers are more familiar with the characteristics of a boy. Fathers with sons have increased confidence in their paternal role and this confidence mediates any negative views of the relationship with the mother of the child (Bronte-Tinkew & Horowitz, 2010). It might be that fathers are more invested in ensuring the relationship with the mother of the child is a positive one when they are coparenting a son.

Much of the information about fathers' experiences of parenting is not gathered from fathers themselves; more often it is gathered from the mother of the child (Coley, 2001). To address this limitation we interviewed and observed youth with justice system involvement who identified themselves as expecting a child or parenting an infant. We found that data about adolescent parenthood rarely include the perspective of becoming a father in the context of involvement in the justice system. Our aim was to describe how teens transition to fatherhood and accept or reject a father identity and role in the context of incarceration and supervision by the juvenile justice system.

Method

Design

We used a constructivist grounded theory research design. In contrast to traditional grounded theory methods that seek to explain a phenomenon as a basic social

process (Strauss & Corbin, 1994), we sought to explain the range of variation about the processes and structures that describe adolescent fatherhood identity development in the context of the juvenile justice system (Clarke, 2005). A constructivist approach supposes that conceptual understandings of a social event are limited by virtue of time, place, position, action, and interaction. Additionally, a constructivist analysis suggests that the participants' contributions and the researchers' interpretations are both constructed views of the phenomenon under investigation. This method guided us to ask about and analyze the actions of the study participants and to consider multiple meanings when interpreting their actions (Charmaz, 2006).

Participants

The study recruitment process and interview protocol were approved by the university institutional review board by full review with a prisoner advocate representative. Study participants were recruited over a three year period of time from a detention center and a school district in a Northern California county with a high teen birth rate. A majority of the youth in the detention center attended school in the district prior to incarceration and following release. Boys involved in the justice system were recruited because empirical data suggest there are more teen parents among the population and because there is a dearth of research about the impact of correctional experiences on teen father identity development (Nurse, 2002; Shelton, 2000).

Youth who were expecting a child or parenting an infant under 6 months of age and were either incarcerated, supervised by juvenile probation, had been arrested or admitted to committing a crime were interviewed in detention, at school or in the community. We were assisted by detention and school staff to recruit participants. The

informed consent procedure included reading the document aloud, emphasizing that no positive or negative consequences would occur as a result of participation or nonparticipation and informing youth that any disclosures would be kept confidential. We told participants, however, that staff would be informed if the youth reported suicidal or homicidal thoughts or we suspected child abuse (of the participant or of his child). We referred a participant to available counseling services in both settings if he wished to talk about any emotional difficulties.

Consistent with grounded theory methods, we initially recruited boys who were interested in talking about their experience of fatherhood. In the interest of theoretically sampling to describe the range of variation in the development of a father identity, we sought out youth who were reluctant to talk about fatherhood as well (Glaser, 1978). Boys who were excited about being a father were more likely to volunteer for the study. It was challenging, however, to recruit youth who did not have an interest in establishing or maintaining a relationship with their child.

Data collection

Boys were interviewed by the first author in a private room in the detention facility or school or in a setting of their choice in the community. The first author is a white, midlife woman who worked with teen parent families, school aged youth, and young men and women in the juvenile justice system as a community health nurse for more than 15 years. As a woman, the interviewer had not personally experienced adolescent fatherhood, incarceration, gang involvement, and many of the other experiences the youth talked about. In some cases, the boys expressed appreciation for the interviewer's knowledge of the community and their families; other participants

clearly felt the need to "school" her about gang and criminal behavior, disbelieving that she might have knowledge of these activities.

Given the interview topics, the gender differences between interviewer and interviewee, and the dissimilar cultural backgrounds, reflexivity was an essential element of the data collection and analytic processes (Hutchinson, Marsiglio, & Cohan, 2002). The interviewer attended to reflexivity during the interview by noting when she had an emotional reaction to the participant and pausing to explore that reaction. In some cases, the response was simply noted and more fully explored during analysis; in other cases, it was used to prompt the interviewer to gather more data about the participant's perspective, often through story or anecdotal narrative (Van Manen, 1990). We also explored personal biases through memo writing and analytic discussion. During analysis, we highlighted our ethical reactions to the participant narratives in order to explore how our moral judgments might cause us to minimize, maximize, or overlook various perspectives (Fine, 1994).

The first author also conducted observations of three units in the detention center during recreation time to gather data about young men's social interactions in the facility with each other, with staff, and with support persons they telephoned during their free time. The first author interacted with youth during three observations that were each two hours in length. Participant interviews were guided by a semistructured protocol which evolved as data analysis proceeded (Charmaz, 2006). The first questions were demographic in nature. Many of the interview questions were sensitive and asked about witnessing or participating in violence, experiencing abuse or neglect, and coping with emotional difficulties or mental illnesses. For this reason, we began the interview with

questions about teen fathers in general, progressed to questions about the participant's own experiences and ended with dialogue about how the youth had experienced the interview in preparation for his return to the detention or school milieu. The participants were informed that they did not have to answer a question and that they could stop the interview at any time. Interviews were ended at 2 hours though several participants requested more time. At the conclusion of each interview, boys were given a $15 gift card to a local retail store as compensation for their time. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim.

In both settings, we found that second and sometimes third interviews were helpful in gathering data about criminal or violent behaviors, child abuse, sexual abuse and other socially unpleasant topics. Second interviews were more difficult to arrange when youth were recruited in the detention setting; when the young men were released they were often difficult to reach for follow up. At the beginning of each second or third interview, the participant was given a copy of his interview transcript (a procedure that we decided to implement after the first participant requested a copy). The transcripts ranged in length from 7-41 pages of single spaced text with an average length of 25 pages. Several participants referred to their transcripts as "my book."

Data analysis

The second author's expertise in grounded theory research methods aided in the study analysis. Following each interview, the first author made notes about the general content and process of the interview as well as any observations of actions or interactions that occurred before, during or after the interview itself. Data collection occurred simultaneously with data analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Often concept development

was undertaken in collaboration with the participant during the interview itself. This coanalysis was especially useful during second and third interviews when the participant was asked to refer back to experiences he had described and was asked to theorize about the meanings of his actions or interactions (Charmaz, 2006). Coanalysis was also facilitated when the interviewer shared generalities about what other study participants had said and asked for the youth's perspective. For example, while gathering information about the hope for a boy, the interviewer asked an 18 year old married young man about his response to the question, "Would you rather have a boy or a girl?" He had said that he didn't care about the gender of his child. When asked "Why do you think so many of the young men in this study say they want a boy?" he quickly responded. "Because [they] think they are all bad, they want the baby to be like . . . them, exactly like them. I don't know. I want my baby to be more than me." The participants aided in concept development because many seemed to enjoy talking about themselves and others and wanted to make sense of what had happened to them in their short, but eventful lives.

The first author reviewed interview transcripts and field notes from observations, wrote memos on conceptual advances and analytic decisions, and initially coded the data line by line using gerunds to ensure the analysis focused on the actions present in the participant's narrative (Glaser, 1978). The second author coded selected interviews and observations and reviewed the analytic process at multiple points throughout the journey. The first author met with the coauthors and graduate student colleagues in two discussion groups to share analytic strategies and exchange reflexive developments. Data analysis was aided with the use of a qualitative software program (QSR International, 2008). Constant comparative analysis of the interviews, field notes, and observations revealed

similarities, differences and prominent themes within and across the data. Following the expansive open coding, the codes were clustered into more focused codes and then configured and reconfigured to create axial codes. Axial coding identified relationships between categories and subcategories, dimensionalized the data across the codes to describe conditions, actions/interactions and consequences, and integrated the code list to provide a holistic, but abstract view of the analytic findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998).

The last level of coding, theoretical coding, served to further abstract the focused codes and categories. In vivo codes were linked to conceptual codes and then conceptual codes were organized to provide a coherent analysis of what the participants say they do and what they actually *do* do (Charmaz, 2006). We worked to ensure the theoretical codes were closely linked to the focused codes, thus grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Theoretical coding resulted in 30 conceptual codes. Those most closely related to the study aims were auditioned as varied perspectives on the data to determine relative salience. We used an explanatory matrix to further structure the conceptual process and to identify the dimensions of each theoretical perspective (see Appendix C). The dimensions, specifically the context, conditions, processes and consequences, served to move the analysis from conceptual codes to rich explanation (Kools et al., 1996).

We completed theoretical sampling when we were able to fully describe the conceptual categories related to father identity development in the context of incarceration or justice system supervision. We examined the theoretical findings to identify whether we had sufficient data to offer "thick" analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Thick analysis borrows from the term "thick description" which was initially used by Geertz

(1973) to prompt social scientists to describe the multiple interpretive perspectives on cultural contexts of social experiences. Frequently, grounded theorists rely on "saturation" of categories as a measure of data adequacy. Rather than gathering information until no new information was obtained, we deemed we had sufficient data when our analysis yielded a comprehensive conceptual understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation (Charmaz, 2006; Thorne, 2011). The findings of this study offer a theoretical depiction of the influence of hegemonic masculinity on father identity development, the range of teen father involvement, and the facilitators and barriers that promote or prevent a father-child relationship.

Limitations

Our analysis was limited because we could not follow youth over time to examine how the participants' envisioned futures were or were not realized. We also found that the boys were often describing intersecting identity statuses. Influences such as age, race or ethnicity, social class, type of crime, gang affiliation, schooling, immigration status, mental health and illness, family constellation, out of home placement history, and court jurisdiction impacted the developmental identity work of the young men we interviewed (Shade et al., 2011). Though we believe that data adequacy and interpretive sufficiency were achieved, the pragmatic issues inherent in a time limited study prevented us from continuing theoretical sampling relative to these multiple perspectives. While the sample was limited in size, our grounded theorizing did not seek to provide an exhaustive conceptual understanding of the differences between groups. We acknowledge that, as in postmodern conceptions of grounded theory, interpretations are not conclusive, but situated in a particular time and context and are ever-emergent (Clarke, 2005). We

recommend that further research seek to describe and explain the multiple dimensions of identity development among youth who are fathers and are involved in the juvenile justice system (McCall, 2005). For the purposes of this article, we present the findings related to the theoretical construct of masculinity and its representation in the gendered aspirations and intentions of adolescent fathers.

Findings

Nineteen study participants ranged in age from 16-19 years. Ten boys were expecting a child at the time of first interview and 12 already had a child; 7 reported they were responsible for two or more pregnancies. During demographic data collection, the youth described their racial/ethnic group in their own words. The majority was Latino; the second largest group described themselves in terms of mixed racial/ethnic identity. Ninety five percent of the participants identified themselves as nonwhite. Twelve boys were interviewed in detention and seven in the community. Some of the participants reported criminal activities which ranged from petty theft and drug sales to grand theft auto and attempted murder.

Analysis identified several salient themes that influence how youth in the justice system negotiate an identity as father. One was the envisioned hope for a boy and the often idealized view of the influence a father has in making his son into a man. In this section, we describe how expectant fathers defined their future as a father in relation to their hopes for a male child. Second, we discuss the idealized visions boys have for a son, the role young men perceive and the barriers they foresee as they construct alternate images of involved fathering. Finally, we identify how teen fathers envision parenting

their sons to help them prepare to navigate the dangerous terrain they believe their children will face in the future.

Hoping for a Boy

Naming as claiming. The boys in this sample described their hope for a son as an ideal, accepting the fact that they might have a girl instead of a boy. The first activity they envisioned was naming their child. Many wanted to name the child after themselves; some wanted to name their son after someone of significance. One father told the story of finding his baby brother dead, apparently from Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), when the participant was 5 years old. The young man named his son after his baby brother. One 17 year old was parenting a two year old girl with his 25 year old girlfriend. He said that he felt he was ready for a child when he was 13 years old, but he didn't meet the woman who would be mother of his baby until he was 14 and she was 21. Despite being happy when, at 15, he had a daughter, he initially wanted a son. At the time of the interview, the couple was expecting another child.

> I am going to name him after me, if it is a boy. I want to name him after me. I let her pick the girl's name, and I pick the boy's name. I always wanted to pick a boy's name. My whole life I always had a boy's name picked out. I never really focused on a girl's name because I never really wanted a girl. I mean, I did, but I did not want a girl first. That way he would grow up and he would be able to watch after her.

For participants who already had a boy, being denied the opportunity to name the child was a painful reminder of the barriers to knowing and influencing their son. An 18 year old "white, black, Mexican and Native American" young man said that his mother had moved him "out of the hood" in an attempt to reduce his criminal activities and return him to school. The detention staff person described the youth as heartbroken about not

having contact with his son who was born one month prior to our interview, removed from the mother of the baby and placed in foster care. Reportedly, he asked every adult in the institution whether he or she could help the participant get custody of his son. Sure enough, his first statement during the interview was, "See, I want to get custody of my son." He went on to say, "[The mother] . . . she named my son . . . Before, when we thought it was a daughter, she was going to name the daughter. But then we found out it was going to be a son . . . I'm supposed to name my son." Not naming his child was an early loss associated with fathering a son he could not be with.

Participating in fathering if the child is a boy. Two youth were resolute about having a boy and suggested that they would not participate in childrearing if the child was a girl. One was a 16 year old being tried as an adult for attempted murder and threatened with a lengthy prison sentence. He began the interview by asking if he would "get in trouble" for something he had done. He described the events before his incarceration and told of living with a 19 year old woman and her two year old son. The participant called the woman "a random girl" and said she was one of several girls he had "run through." This young woman, however, got pregnant which was unacceptable to the youth. He "beat her up," he confessed. "She's not having it. She's not having no baby. I'm gonna tell you that. She's not having it. No baby. No. I can tell you. She's smarter than that."

This participant also talked about a girl his age who he thought was sophisticated and pretty, not like the street girls he "ran through," girls he called "little hood rats." When he thought about this girl, he thought she could be the one he would have a baby with, the one he would "wife up," and have as his "main girl." When carefully reviewing

the interview transcript, we noticed that the participant referred to the unborn child of the "random girl" as "she." When he referred to the envisioned child, the ideal child he planned for the future, he referred to that child as "he." Several of the study participants reported that they'd prefer to have a baby with a "good girl," and, in part, defined a good girl as someone who would give them a son. Most of the boys we interviewed hoped for a boy and fantasized about the type of man their child would become.

Fathering a girl is not preferred but acceptable to some youth. Of the nineteen boys interviewed, all but three said they preferred a male child. Those who did not want a boy were not eager to have a girl, they found either gender acceptable. One participant was the most reserved, reticent youth we interviewed. He had impregnated a neighbor girl during a party, but was not interested in a relationship with her. He was indifferent about the gender of his unborn because he was determined to have nothing to do with the child. During a follow up call he said, "They say I'm having another baby." He wasn't planning on having contact with that child either. A married 18 year old would not agree to an interview without his 17 year old wife present. He hesitated when asked about his preference for a boy or girl, initially agreed when his wife reported they wanted a girl and then said, "Sometimes I want a boy, sometimes a girl…I want a baby to play baseball and other sports."

The other participant who was noncommittal about his preference was a 16 year old boy who described his 14 year old girlfriend as his "best friend," and began the interview by proudly displaying the recent tattoo on his forearm of his girlfriend's name. When asked about the gender of his child, he said, "Oh, gender, uh, not really, I don't really care 'cause, either what it is I'm gonna love it. Boy or girl, it don't matter." He said

he pictured a boy as "a little me" and a girl as "a little her." Neither of these two youth expressed a desire for a girl as unequivocally as most participants voiced their desire for a boy.

Envisioning an Idealized Future

Idealizing own futures before fathering. Study participants envisioned an idealized future for their children, but they had difficulty outlining how to achieve the ideal. In the following quote, one young man described the need to have his own idealized future before fathering:

> I wanna have a kid eventually. I wanna wait [though] 'cause my dad's been having kids since he was like 15 . . . My mom and dad were never together. *My kid's* not having that, I'll tell you that. I'm gonna go to college. I'm gonna do everything I can so that I can better myself and I'm not having kids for a while until I'm, I guess, financially, mentally, physically, everything ready. I want the house, the car, everything. I want to be really ready to have a kid with a woman that I love that I want to marry that I want to live with for the rest of my life. Like that.

The participant went on to describe a celebrity lifestyle he hoped to create for his future children, preferably two boys or a boy and a girl. "If I had two girls I'd probably *really* go crazy," he laughed. This young man envisioned his potential future, the two boys or the boy and the girl he would father, and the advantages he would offer these children. His thinking evidenced the adolescent phenomenon of invincibility in his belief that he would have greater power and control than he had in custody. The negative consequences his peers experienced "wouldn't happen to me." His imagined adulthood was unlikely given the possibility that he would be tried as an adult and sent to prison.

Idealizing involvement with a second child when barred from contact with the first. Another participant already had one child at the time of our interview, a 9

month old daughter he was unable to see. The mother of the child ended their relationship and would not allow the father to have contact with the baby after she found out he had gotten another girl pregnant. Not unlike other participants who were expecting a second child, this young man believed he could be a better father to the unborn baby. He envisioned having a son, maintaining a good relationship with the mother of that baby, and being a presence in his child's life. Of his imagined future child, he said:

> [I want to] be a dad. Be there when he needs a talk. Talk to him. He'd be like, "Dad, I got worries. I got a baseball game. Can you make it?" And I'm going to promise him that I'm going to take the day off to make it. I don't care if I get in trouble. "I promise you son." I want to be the world's best dad. That's all. Something I'm not to my daughter.

Fatherhood as transformative. A 17 year old described himself as "of the streets," someone used to selling drugs on the street corner. His mother was a bank robber and was sent to prison when the participant was 13. His adolescence was spent "running from placements;" he alternated between living on the streets, going to foster care facilities, and being locked up. As we frequently heard from youth, this young man thought having a son would force him "to slow down, start changing my ways." He needed to be a role model for a boy. The participant planned to turn 18, leave the foster care system, and "start over with no felonies or nothing." He thought he could go to school, get a real estate license, and make $70,000 a year in his first year. "I always wanted [real estate] to be my thing . . . I want to have houses around the world, where I could just leave California and go somewhere and go have business. That's me. That's my house right here." He imagined all this would be possible if he were partnered with a good girl, had a son, and started his new life with a clean record.

Boys hoped for involvement with a good girl and appreciated a girlfriend who was perceived as "being there." The right girl was also envisioned as capable of transforming the youths' lives in the same way a child might. Girlfriends were described as motivators to change for young men who wanted to reduce their criminal activities, gang involvement, or their drug use. The mother of the baby was sometimes described as someone capable of controlling the youth's behavior. Several participants talked about avoiding dangerous situations, evading potential altercations, and making wise decisions based on what the mother of the baby said to them.

A limited role for the father of a daughter. The previous narratives evidence the idealized future the teen fathers described for a son. In contrast, they rarely talked about their imagined daughters' futures but, if they did, the vision of fathering a daughter was limited in detail. When a daughter was anticipated, the only role the youth saw for themselves was to fend off the boys or dangerous predators that might hurt a girl. One boy's parents abused drugs and were frequently imprisoned. His grandfather, a police officer, and his grandmother, a factory worker, had a home, money and plentiful food. They took care of the grandchildren when their parents were not present. One of the youth's cousins, however, accused her grandfather of sexually abusing her. "She started to say he raped her and he just got fed up with it and I guess he went somewhere and just 'Boom!' He shot himself." This 16 year old, one of the few boys who was noncommittal about wanting a boy or girl, anticipated being protective of a daughter.

> [I'll] just [have to] make sure nothing happens 'cause females are the main ones that's always getting raped and, just, whatever. When they're like, they're like teens. And, like, that's stupid, I don't know why people do that to them. I watch the news, I know. "Oh, this child got raped in the woods," you know.

The youth in this study believed girls need fathers or older brothers to protect them. Boys needed no protection; they needed to be capable of defending themselves.

Fathering differently than they were fathered. Many of the participants reported that the future they wanted for their sons was the experiences of being fathered that they never had. An 18 year old had impregnated a 20 year old friend and admitted to becoming excited about the pregnancy after he found out the unborn was a boy. The participant talked about his troubled relationship with his father and reported that he hoped he could parent differently with his own son. He was five when his mother ended the marital relationship because his father spent the family's money on drugs and alcohol. The youth's father refused, however, to leave the household and spent his days and nights camped out on the front porch of the family home. Every morning, leaving the house to go to school, the boy had to step over his father, asleep on the doormat.

In his early adolescence, this young man agreed to live with his dad for a while because he wasn't getting along with his stepfather. He learned to do drugs, he reported, during the time with his father. He described: "I got used to doing a lot of drugs. It was just . . . a ritual, that's what we do . . . A regular family watches TV. We sit around in the circle, watch TV and do drugs together! That's what the family does." He asked to be returned to his mother's, but she said he needed to remain for the school year. He insisted on returning to her household after Thanksgiving with his father.

> The thing that really pushed me over the edge, not wanting to live with my dad, really, like, seeing how unstable he was, was when I was thirteen, like, at Thanksgiving. He flipped out and had one of his little episodes. He wanted me to come outside and talk to him but I was too scared to go outside and talk to him and, I was like, "No, I don't want to go outside and talk to you." Maybe a half hour later my aunt comes in and tells me, "You have to go outside and talk to your dad, or he's going to light himself on fire." I'm like, "What? How am I supposed to respond to that?" I didn't want to go outside. But, maybe ten minutes

> later, I go out to the door and look outside and my dad is pouring gasoline on himself and holding the lighter and saying, "Come outside and talk to me son, come outside or else I'm just going to end it." I'm standing in the door and, like, "Are you serious?" I was like, "No." And, like, that was it for me. I wanted to go back to my mom.

This painful father-son relationship fueled the youth's dreams for his son:

> I don't want to be like my dad . . . The fact that I had to step over my dad when I was a kid. Watching him almost set fire to himself . . . No kid should go through that . . . That's going to be a never ending cycle 'cause, if I'm going to be like that to my kid, who's to say he's not going to do that to his child. I want to stop that cycle somewhere.

The majority of the youth in this study talked about their fathers as unavailable, abusive or unknown. They did not want to repeat their fathers' offenses.

Another boy was a 16 year old gang member who had been in the care of foster families, in several group homes and incarcerated "too many times" to count. He described the negative effects of growing up with a father who was known in the community. His father was "gang-affiliated," the young man said, and "he ran literally, he controlled 14-15 blocks; he was very high ranking." At 3, the participant was at home when rivals drove by and shot up the house; at 6, his father and partners were drunk and held the boy down as he screamed to carve their gang moniker in his arm; 6 months prior to our interview, this young man cradled his brother in his arms as he laying dying in the street. He was shot in the head when he and the participant were running from rival gang members. The young man dreamt of a future for his son that would be nothing like his own childhood. On behalf of his hoped for boy, he said, "I gotta start looking for a house, you know. Save up money. Buy a car . . . Start going to school again. Stop messing up."

Idealizing their future sons. Fantasizing about the future, youth described their sons as hypermasculine and self-reliant. The participants said they planned to raise athletes such as boxers and football players and they envisioned sons who were fighters, capable of defending themselves and protecting their families. An expectant father was the only participant who said he wanted his child to be a geek, a nerd, a "square." This youth fantasized about his future child in the following quote:

> I want him to be a square. I want him to be the kid with the glasses and the pocket protector who gets straight As. "Ah, teacher's pet, teacher's pet." 'Cause, those kids seem to grow up to have good jobs, great paying jobs. They seem to be a lot more happier than the kids who use drugs, who end up working at McDonalds. I want him to be that kid. I wish *I* was that kid.

This was not an acceptable image for other boys we interviewed. One gang involved youth said about his hoped for future son, "My son, you know, he'll be a soldier. I don't want him to be a gang banger. He's going to be a soldier. He's not going to be a little, squinty looking nerd boy." Other youth also referred to their hoped for sons as soldiers. The fathers felt the need to prepare their boys for the inevitability of battle, to grow up quickly and to be a man.

Barriers to involved fathering. The youth in this sample were aware of the barriers they needed to overcome to achieve the life they envisioned for their sons. They spoke of wanting their sons to *know of* the streets but not *be of* the streets (Anderson, 1999). One boy defined this ideal when he said, "I tell you one thing. My kids will be smart, and they'll be just as street smart as the book smart. But that don't mean that they need to know the streets as in the gang life, being in jail and all that stuff." Knowledge of the streets, some boys presumed, would be enough to prevent a child from going to the streets.

One participant was 12 years old when he had his first girlfriend, a 16 year old. He ended the relationship with the older girl when someone just one year older expressed interest in him. She was the girl he would eventually get pregnant. He was 17 when interviewed and she was 18 and planning to attend college. The youth's goal was to be released from detention to a group home near her college. "I just gotta stop running the streets," he said. "Staying out of trouble and getting a job" was the way this young man could be a role model for a child and the best way to prevent his son from ever knowing about life in the streets.

Making the Son into a Man

Envisioning future dangers. The youth frequently referred to arming their sons to defend themselves. It was not always clear what the participants thought might happen to their children, but the sense of unease and distrust permeated every interview. One boy thought young boys needed to be prepared to fend off bullies before they began school. "Can't be no punk," he warned. Boys worried about dangers in school, in the streets, and in contacts with police and correctional staff.

Participants envisioned keeping their sons out of the justice system by assisting them with their homework, helping them stay in school, telling them not to use drugs or drink alcohol excessively and encouraging their involvement with peers who do not get in trouble. Observations of youth in detention confirmed what many of the participants said in interviews about the dangers associated with incarceration. There was evidence of a multitude of social missteps that could bring on violence from the other detained boys. Young men who made eye contact with a rival gang member, who spoke about being transformed by incarceration, who disobeyed the code by "snitching" or showing

weakness, and who sat at the wrong table were often targeted for violence. Likewise, boys who were obviously invested in a girl and committed to their relationship risked being harassed, threatened, or attacked.

There was also a power structure in the detention facility that advantaged the most traditionally masculine youth and those who had learned the system. The more powerful youth bartered for or manipulated to achieve extra privileges. Boys who were younger, had not been locked up before, or looked or behaved in a feminine manner were marginalized or taken advantage of by other youth. Though many of the men and women who supervised the youth were obviously caring, supportive or helpful, any warm or empathetic interventions were incompatible with the structure of the institution. Overseeing potentially aggressive and manipulative young men mandated that the staff convey authority and control over the boys at all times. Detention, for the youth in this study, was another environment in which they had to protect themselves from harm.

Parenting strategies to protect sons from danger. Young men recounted stories of their own preparations to ward off dangers and how they learned from older men and boys to take on hypermasculine behaviors. These experiences frequently happened when they were school aged but some of the boys described this socialization process occurring during their preschool years. The youth were taught how to use weapons, primarily handguns, and to prepare for, endure, or triumph during physical fights. They were schooled about hegemonic masculine images of men by the media as well. The participants spoke about the central characters in movies that depict the dangers of gang involvement, prostitution, drug sales, and the transportation and sales of weapons. These

media representations of real men were held up by the youth as influential characters and as performers who invoked images of their own life experiences.

One youth said he was prepared by his older brothers to defend himself against attack at home or in the streets. He said his education began before he could remember. He was equipped before school entry to defend against any perceived insult. He was frequently suspended from school for fighting.

> "If you do me wrong, if you push me," this, this is my dad talking, "somebody talks shit to you, push him, somebody pushes you, you hit him, somebody hits you, you beat their ass." It's, it's just you one up every, if somebody wrongs you, you one up wronging them. And that's what I learned.

The participant described his hoped for boy as someone who would be strong enough to ward off dangers, as he was, at a very young age. "My son's gonna be in little hard kick boxing, all that, wrestling and all. He's gonna do it all. Everything. He's gonna *walk the deadly walk*. He's going to be, like, 6 years old and a black belt. He's gonna be something." Though the dangers to future sons were pervasive, some boys envisioned danger for their sons based on the gang and criminal activities they themselves had participated in.

One young man was prepared to teach his son to resist gang involvement. He reported that he'd seen infants who were already being dressed in gang colors. "I don't want him growing up before he is a baby," he said. Preparing a son to handle the inevitable pressure to affiliate with gang members was a common theme among participant interviews. A boy who was gang involved was 15 when he got a 14 year old girl pregnant. He did not want a child with the girl as he was "in love with someone else."

The other girl was a 15 year old who also got pregnant, but got an abortion. He said he planned to have a baby with the girl he was in love with once released from detention.

This young man needed to prepare his son to resist gang involvement, but he recounted how impossible that might be. The mother of his baby, he said, was a "wannabe" gang member who had texted him before he was arrested that their baby was already throwing up gang signs. The girl he intended to get pregnant also had family members who were in a gang. The youth's father was a high ranking gang official who had tried to keep his son from being gang affiliated, but was not successful. "[My dad] got involved in the wrong things, and he has some faults he is trying to replace," the participant said, "[but he] has [gang] codes he has to follow." The boy said he became involved in his father's gang after older men offered him respect in the form of free food, transportation, and protection from rival gang youth. "You're Bruno's son, aren't you?" he said he was frequently asked.

After his release from detention, this young man intended to move away. If he could not move far, he would change his phone number, and stay around the house as a strategy to lose his gang connections. He hoped this would protect his son from involvement. As he envisioned the future, however, he thought it unlikely he could control his son's affiliations.

> He will be around it, 'cause of his family . . . His family won't encourage him to do that [but] he might see his family and want to get involved . . . I heard a lot about my dad when I was growing up. I kinda wanted to be like my dad.

Gang association, criminal activity, employment and poor relationships with the mother of the child were described as barriers to the father-son contact and degree of influence that participants hoped for in the future.

Being there. One boy described the consequences of "hustling," defined as selling drugs on the street corner and competing with other small time distributors. As a result, he was hypervigilant when he was in the community; he said he feared being shot at while driving with his little brother. He also attempted to keep his family's whereabouts secret and he admonished the mother of his unborn if she went out of the house alone. The participant described his desire to be a *father* in contrast to a dad.

> A dad, he's like one of those that just pop out every now and then. That's like one of them, like, "Where your dad at?" "I don't know." You don't really know 'em, you just know of 'em. Your father's somebody you know, somebody you can speak about, like, "Yeah, me and my dad, me and my dad did this."

A father, as the young man described, offered a constant presence, a sense of safety and security. This youth hoped to be a father rather than a dad to his son, but he had significant worries about "enemies, hatred, [and] revenge. No matter what I do, I'm still trapped in the cycle of the streets." He feared rivals might find the mother of his baby and his son and hurt them in retaliation for the youth's past offenses. Though he wanted contact with his child, he said his son might be better off if he kept a distance from him.

Protecting daughters, sisters, and mothers. The imagined threats to their children that the youth in this sample described were based on the real threats they themselves had experienced. They feared their son would be bullied or harassed, fail in school, become gang involved, run the streets, get locked up, and be exposed to or experience violence. For daughters, participants feared that she would get pregnant or be raped, that she would fall victim to the predatory males the boys believed they would have to deal with if they were involved in raising a girl. Many of the boys wanted a boy

first and then a girl. They thought it necessary that a girl have an older brother to protect and defend her if her father was not around.

Sometimes the youth said that they expected a son to protect a girl or a woman from danger within the family as well as in the community. A 16 year old who was parenting a daughter described, "a brother [should] be on [his sister, not letting her] have a boyfriend." A boy also needed to protect his mother as this youth expected his little brother to do. "[Our dad] just left a year and a half ago and my mom decided to have a boyfriend. My little brother tells him, 'Man, I'm going to kill you when I get older.'" The youth's 8 year old brother was required to watch over his mother and guard against potentially dangerous men because the participant and his father were not available to fulfill the protector role.

Discussion

Gender invades social processes at every level. There is no stronger influence in forming an individual or social identity than that of gender. As West and Zimmerman (1987) stated, "gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category" (p. 127). Analysis of the processes involved in identity development among youth in the justice system reveals the substantial impact of hegemonic masculinity and the importance of asserting one's maleness. Hegemonic masculinity is the revered image of what it means to be a man. It influences boys and men to enact acceptably masculine behaviors given the mores of the social setting. As such, masculine behavior is culturally constructed. The images of manhood vary based on the social group in which they are found (Connell, 2005). The findings of this research strengthen what quantitative researchers have suggested; the endorsement of traditional gender roles and positive

beliefs about the hegemonic masculine ideal are associated with involvement in teen pregnancy (Goodyear, Newcomb, & Allison, 2000). The hypermasculine persona of someone who is capable of violence and can protect others from harm is a model for street youth and men involved in the justice system (Anderson, 1999; Nurse, 2002).

For the teen fathers we interviewed, gender identity and father identity construction were heavily influenced by the culturally favored ideals of manhood. Gang and street culture affected identity development as did popular media representations of "the badass" (Katz, 1988). The boys in this study referenced movies such as *Scarface* (De Palma, 1983), *Menace II Society* ((Hughes & Hughes, 1993), *Hustle & Flow* (Brewer, 2005), and *Belly* (Williams, 1998) as they related their lives to Hollywood's version of the dangerous lifestyle. Their visions of an involved father often conflicted with the "badass" images of manhood.

Loss and grief were apparent in all the youths' interviews. The development of an identity as teen father was influenced not only by gender, but by traumatic life events and threats to self-respect, to property, and to person. Abusive, neglectful and absent fathers were described as the cause of many of the participants' painful childhood experiences. Poor father-son relationships contributed significantly to the boys' motivation for being a positive person in their sons' lives or as models of disengagement. In thinking of the future for their sons, the threats they had experienced were prominent as the fathers contemplated preparing their own boys to defend against possible dangers. Youth spoke of the need for their sons to be streetwise, smart, athletic, strong, and socially connected to people they could rely on if the need to retaliate for an offensive act arose. In raising boys with these qualities, they hoped to ensure their sons would display hegemonic

masculine behaviors and not be marginalized by their peers due to actions or appearances that were ostensibly feminine (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The boys in this study recounted how important it was during their own childhoods to avoid being called a "punk," "pussy," square, "squinty looking nerd boy," "sissy," sucker, "snitch" or, the worst, "gay."

There is something about the birth of a son and the naming of the child that allows young men caught up in the criminal justice system to stake their claim, to establish a connection with their baby when they cannot be, at this moment, a presence in the child's life. Youth often described being barred from fatherhood through the control and supervision of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. As research with adult fathers suggests, teens might be unable to establish a relationship with their children because of the barriers the mother of the child or her family erect (Roy & Dyson, 2005). Sometimes, the youths' past offenses and gang social networks prevented them from anticipating a future in which they could actively raise their child.

Older fathers in prison have been described as distancing themselves from their children as a good parenting strategy. As some of the participants in this study described, protecting their sons from danger might require limiting the amount of father-son contact (Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005). Youth who were heavily gang involved or had a significant income from street drug sales were more likely to fear harm to their children and to consider distancing themselves as a protective mechanism. Though many of the youth in this study saw fatherhood as transformative, providing them with an opportunity to change for the better so as to have a positive influence on their child, few could imagine how to overcome the obstacles to father involvement they faced.

Youth were impacted by poverty and described the consequential destruction of family life that occurs with unemployment, incarceration, untreated trauma, mental illness, and substance abuse. Many participants talked about homelessness, chaotic and unstable living arrangements, and exposure to extreme violence in their families and in the community. Prominent in their discussions about the future was the pull of the streets, the financial opportunities offered by drug and weapon sales or theft and burglary. Illegal work was not compatible with involved fatherhood as the threat of imprisonment and violent altercations with rival street vendors tainted the money that could be earned illegally. The adolescents in this study described the risks of illegal work and sought strategies to ensure their partners and children would not be affected by their reputations or their histories of violent and criminal activities.

The youth we interviewed talked about moving or being moved by their mothers or grandmothers out of gang infested neighborhoods and communities in the hope of protecting themselves and their children from retaliatory violence. Sometimes, for economic reasons, they ended up "back in the ghetto." None of the boys in this study believed that an ex victim or rival gang member with a score to settle would not be able to reach them in a new location. One participant suggested the only place he might be able to escape to was North Dakota. "I bet they have gangs there too though," he lamented. Participants felt the need to escape gang influences to be a good father, but they were at a loss as to how to do that. They referenced the need to get shot or stabbed to legitimately get out of a gang but, even then, they doubted they would really be free of the gang's influence. Additionally, they would often be required to reject their immediate and extended families in order to end their gang involvement.

Instead of leaving the gang, the boys in our study talked of "slowing down," "locking down" or "staying around the house." Some saw the "baby's mama" as capable of influencing them to reduce their activities in the streets by "getting on" them. Laub and Sampson (2003) describe this phenomenon in their analyses of men's desistence from crime over the life course. The mothers of their babies might be able to motivate criminal and gang involved fathers to end their associations and change their life courses. They do this by offering men a new start, monitoring their behaviors, providing activities at home that compete with activities in the streets (Gadsden, Wortham, & Turner, 2003), presenting new social networks and social support, and answering the attraction of a street identity with an identity as a family man (Laub & Sampson, 2003). The magnetism of the streets and the belief that social violence was inescapable required the young fathers in this study to prepare themselves and their sons to be capable of defending themselves and their family wherever they might be.

Conclusion

Social policy, supportive services and intervention programs in the United States have been directed at teen parents, disadvantaged fathers, and low income families for at least 25 years. Programs have offered support for teen mothers to graduate from high school and enter the workforce but the quality of the education offered pregnant and parenting girls is inconsistent (Smithbattle, 2006) and teen fathers are rarely included in such programs. Interventions have been designed to increase father involvement among economically disadvantaged families with mixed results (Knox, Cowan, Cowan, & Bildner, 2011). There have been uneven efforts to reduce the teen birth rate in the United States through sex education and low or no cost birth control, but births to adolescents in

this country continue to increase at a consistently higher rate than any other developed nation (Yang & Gaydos, 2010).

Various policing and sentencing procedures have been instituted to reduce incarceration rates among low income communities, but the United States is more likely to imprison offenders than any other country in the world (Raphael, 2011). Economic and social policies since the 1980s have targeted welfare recipients to move them into the workforce; however, there has been a significant reduction in the legal labor market for young, disadvantaged men, especially those with a criminal record (Sum et al., 2009). Taken together, the social and economic policies of the last three decades have done little to assist low income, teenaged mothers, fathers and their children.

The findings presented in this article have several implications for policy and program development. Boys who father children as adolescents are likely to be found in youth detention facilities and among young men supervised by probation (Nurse, 2002; Sheldon, 2000). Father involvement and family support interventions should be directed to youth in the juvenile justice system. Policies need to be adapted to accommodate contact with children and family members when youth are detained. Given that hegemonic masculinity permeates relationships in jails and prisons, policies and programs for incarcerated youth must account for the influence of gender in assessing problem behavior and imposing penalties. Correctional personnel that reinforce hypermasculine conduct likely serve to increase rather than decrease antisocial behaviors among youth (Abrams, Anderson-Nathe, & Aguilar, 2008). Young men in schools and detention facilities need opportunities to learn about and discuss gender differences, gender roles, and gendered social and cultural behaviors and expectations. They need to

see different models of manhood. Education and counseling interventions might encourage boys to challenge hegemonic images of masculinity and assist them to explore alternate identities of a real man.

During interviews of youth in detention, all but one participant in this study expressed appreciation that they were offered an opportunity to talk about fatherhood and what it meant to them. Many youth said, "I've never told anyone this before," and "I've never thought about this before." Despite their problematic histories and, for some, continued illegal activities, the youth were eager to talk about their positive intentions for involvement with their children. We recommend training juvenile justice professionals to counsel young men about sexual relationships and parenting. Interventions in juvenile facilities sensitized by the influence of hegemonic masculine ideals could improve the milieu in such settings and the staff-youth relationships.

Finally, parenting education and support need to be offered to teen fathers, in addition to teen mothers. Parent intervention programs that address the impact of masculinity on father identity might help to reduce the intergenerational social transmission of aggression and violence from father to son. We found that young men desire a son and hope to influence him to become a real man. Often, the youth viewed a real man as aggressive and potentially violent, capable of protecting himself and others. However, the participants also saw a real man as academically successful and able to work to provide for his family. Social policies and programs need to recommend and offer significant academic support to teen fathers to assist them to be successful in school. Additional work preparedness funding is also needed to provide opportunities for teen fathers to make financial contributions to the family. Fathers who are educated and

employed present positive role models and the prosocial aspects of hegemonic masculinity for their sons to emulate.

Notes

1. We intentionally used the term boys, youth or young men to emphasize that the participants of this study were adolescents, not adults. The youth described themselves as men but had not achieved the milestones that characterize adult status in the United States (living independently, making autonomous decisions, earning income through legal work). In the context of economic disadvantage and involvement in the justice system, the participants were expected to behave as adult men. They were not afforded the expectations consistent with the developmental period known as emerging adulthood as is prevalent among middle class families (Arnett, 2000).

Chapter 6

Discussion

Contributions to the literature. The findings presented in the two data based papers address gaps in knowledge about the various ways that youth who are expectant or new fathers proceed to incorporate an identity as father into their multiple identity positions. The discovery of a potential typology that can describe teen fathers' envisioned and, perhaps, enacted involvement with their children is a new finding. Still to be answered is whether there is fluidity between the two polar extremes of father involvement or just between rejection and ambivalence, being barred and embracing fatherhood. That is, do teens who are engaged fathers move between engagement and being barred and do they ever become ambivalent about or rejecting of fatherhood? Similarly, do ambivalent or rejecting youth ever move toward wanting engagement and

being barred from it or to full engagement? If so, research is needed to identify factors that influence movement from the uninvolved to the involved categories.

Further research is also needed to address racial/ethnic differences between youth who embrace or reject the father identity and role. The two participants who were ambivalent and rejecting of fatherhood identified themselves as African-American and black. In a small sample of boys, with just two youth representing rejecting/ambivalent fathers, no conclusion can be drawn about racial/ethnic effects on fatherhood involvement but the finding does generate some research questions. Are black youth more likely to reject a father identity and role than Latino or white youth? Is there less collective father identity among black teen fathers? Or, were the black participants less likely to identify hoped for and envisioned father identity and role features when interviewed by a white woman? Though one of the youth who embraced fatherhood was of mixed race, he self-identified as black, highlighting the importance of investigating the taking up or rejecting of father identity among youth of mixed, Latino, white and black racial/ethnic groupings. There were no apparent differences between the participants who were expecting versus those who already had a child but further research is also needed to examine whether or not differences appear during the transition from expectant to parenting status.

Three study findings have not yet been published and are briefly described here. Youth in this study reported themselves as having significant mental health problems and described the strategies they use to cope with their emotional and behavioral difficulties. The symptoms they listed were consistent with the affective, cognitive, attention deficit, substance abuse, personality, anxiety and stress-related disorders they said they had been

diagnosed with. Often the youth's coping strategies were self-directed due to unavailable, inaccessible or unacceptable treatment. Important to the effect of mental health on father identity development was how the participants talked about the impact of illness on their relationships with their children and partners. Their most common coping mechanism was to use illicit or prescription drugs obtained illegally and/or alcohol. Many of the youth recognized the damaging effects drug and alcohol abuse had on their relationships; some of the participants reported mental health disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), psychosis, or dissociative identity disorder ("multiple personalities") damaged relationships as well.

The extent to which teens viewed their primary role as father to be that of provider was also an important research finding. The participants identified that they, as well as their partners and family members, expected the youth to get a job in preparation for fatherhood. However, the challenges to legal employment that the participants faced were noteworthy. They saw no way to shirk the responsibility of providing financial support to a child short of rejecting any responsibility for the child. An important result of this study was that almost all youth identified illegal jobs they reluctantly did to make money for their family.

Finally, the experiences of trauma and associated grief and loss were found to contribute to a sense of urgency about having a child. The participants revealed through review of their life courses a consistent experience of adultification (Burton, 2007). Frequently, they described caring for parents, peers, intimate partners, siblings and other family members who could not care for themselves. They characterized their experiences as "missing a childhood" or "growing up fast." The concept of a foreshortened life span

was significant to the process of father identity development during adolescence. The concept of the cumulative burden of traumatic events was apparent in the youth's narratives. They described early exposure to violence in their families of origin, hurtful events in their elementary school years, painful experiences during contact with law enforcement, incarceration and out-of-home placements, and horrific violence in their neighborhoods and greater communities. These findings add to a body of research about the damaging effects of chronic stress and repeated traumatic events over the lifespan of justice involved youth and young fathers (Crenshaw & Garbarino, 2007; Khurana & Gavazzi, 2011; Miller-Johnson et al, 2004). Youth described fatherhood as an attempt to "leave a legacy" before an anticipated early death or lengthy incarceration.

The greatest contribution to the research literature is the findings about the barriers that interfere with the assimilation of father identity into other social or collective identities. The multiple identities the participants described included identity as gangster, player, druggie, badass, nice guy, psycho, provider, street youth, and good boyfriend, to name a few. Participants who were barred from fatherhood described external barriers to father involvement such as gatekeeping by the mother of the child or criminal justice/foster care placement and supervision. However, alternate identities also presented a dilemma that barred fathers from being fully engaged. Some choices the young men selected were associated with a role that was incompatible with taking on the father role. In particular, the preference for a male child expressed by the majority of youth in this study was related to traditionally masculine identity categories that the participants chose to perform; player, gangster, badass, street youth and druggie or psycho were recognized by the young men as incompatible with a "good father" identity. The preference for a

male child and the associated relevance of hegemonic masculine performances among teen fathers is an original finding that adds to the literature about fatherhood in the context of involvement with the juvenile justice system.

Verifications. This study supported Nurse's (2002) findings that youth detained in juvenile facilities are impacted by the incarceration experience in ways that negatively impact relationships with family, intimate partners, and children. This was the case for low, medium and high security detention units and, to a lesser degree, justice supervision and law enforcement contact in the community as well. Youth were aware of and could describe the experience of prisonization and, for several gang involved and violent young men, the performance of abiding by the prison code was evident in the community as well as in the detention facility. Hegemonic masculine attitudes and practices at the institutional and interpersonal levels were evident in detention as were misogynistic values. An important finding was that there seemed to be a relationship between attachment to the mother of the child, rejection of misogynistic talk, and engagement as a father.

The participants in this study frequently referenced "going to the streets," "running the streets," or "cycling in and out of the streets." The street code as described by Anderson (1999) was clearly identifiable to the young men in this study. "The pull of the streets" was a barrier the youth identified as substantial and that about half the participants described as the major reason engagement in the father role would be nearly impossible. Study participants also described the conflict described by Gadsden and colleagues (2003) between the social performances expected of them in the domain of the

home (being a father or family man), in the streets (being a hustler or gangster), and in the institution (being a criminal and avoiding being "punked").

Findings of this study confirmed that father involvement among teen parents occurs in the context of a supportive and committed relationship with the mother of the child (Florsheim et al., 2003; Moore et al., 2007). Boys who described warmth and caring in the intimate relationship were more likely to describe characteristics of a secure attachment with the mother and with the child(ren) as well. Youth who were in relationships that were conflicted used controlling and coercive behaviors to maintain contact with the child. This was likely a strategy that would fail to ensure custody and/or contact with the child, and the fathers knew this. In some of the youth's narratives, the intergenerational repetition of interpersonal violence and child abuse was evident (Moore & Florsheim, 2008).

Challenges. A central finding that has not been well described in research about adolescent fathers who are caught up in the criminal justice system was that some of the study participants were engaged, involved fathers who knew their children well and cared deeply for them. The majority of the youth described themselves as barred from fatherhood; that is, they wanted to be engaged, wished to be what they defined as good fathers, but had a multitude of obstacles to overcome to be involved in their child's life. Admittedly, about a quarter of the young men described themselves as players or characterized the mother of the child as someone who was not worthy of an intimate relationship and, therefore, someone they would not partner with as their "main girl." These youth fit the somewhat one dimensional depiction of the street father as described by Anderson (1999). However, in contrast to Anderson's depiction of street youth who

want to impregnate a girl as a badge of honor and have every intention of moving on to another girl as soon as the mother of the child makes demands, the majority of the participants did not fit this characterization, even some of the youth who identified as "of the streets."

Suggestions for further research. Two major findings have been discussed in this paper: that of a range of fathering intentions from engagement to rejection among young fathers and the finding that the vast majority of teen fathers hope for a boy and may be more or less involved with their child dependent upon the child's gender. These findings are worthy of further exploration. An important area of future research is to more fully describe the teen father who is ambivalent or rejecting of the parenting role. In a review of research about fathering identities, Marks and Palkovitz (2010) described adult father types: the new, involved father; the good provider; the deadbeat dad; and the paternity-free man. The lens through which these types are viewed is monochromatic and does not describe a range or continuum of fathering practices as described in this study. However, a typology of teen fathering that could more adequately define the antecedents and consequences of rejecting versus engaging fathers would add to the literature about fathers who reject their child(ren). These youth have the greatest needs and require the most sustained and comprehensive support.

In addition, youth who are engaged fathers or wish for engaged fatherhood but find themselves barred from involvement need to be further studied. A greater understanding of the benefits that fathers who are engaged and want to be involved with their children can bring to teen parent families is needed. Fathers of children born to adolescent mothers have been found to contribute to school readiness and positive school

performance. Their involvement may also reduce behavioral problems among their children (Howard, Lefever, Borkowski, & Whitman, 2006). The youth in this study who described themselves as barred from father involvement were especially eloquent about their own difficulties in school. When envisioning a father role, they described rather incompetent activities they thought would promote their children's school performance such as "*making him* do his homework." Evidence based nurse home visiting has been associated with decreases in school failure, disruptive conduct and risky behaviors for the children of young mothers (Olds, 2002). Intervening similarly with engaged and barred young fathers to reduce barriers to involvement would be a fruitful area of study.

Teen fathers are known to have complex needs that are best addressed through wide-ranging prevention and intervention programs (Unruh, 2004). Involvement in illegal or violent activities, supervision by the justice system, and/or out of home placement in the foster or juvenile justice systems adds to the already complex needs of the population. In contrast to non-fathers in juvenile placements, teen fathers are more likely than non-fathers to return to jail within a year. If, however, fathers receive community support in the form of employment, career development, educational support, gang intervention, parenting programs and substance abuse treatment, they are likely to remain in the community. Employment has been found to be the greatest predictor of whether youth are able to maintain in the community (Unruh, 2003). More research is needed to translate evidence about the relationship between criminal or behavioral problems and rejection of fatherhood in order to identify the service needs of this high risk population.

The relationship between barred fatherhood or ambivalent/rejecting fatherhood and hegemonic masculine practices and performances needs to be more fully explored as

well. An important question arose from this research. Do teens and young men wish for a male child because they think they would be a more competent father to a son? Or, is a male child, in a highly masculinized culture, a badge of honor? If it is the former, research is needed to identify whether education about child development can support a teen father to envision being an involved father to a daughter. If it is the latter, further study might help elucidate whether gender transformative interventions (Mahalik & Morrison, 2006) can reduce the reliance on violent and hypermasculine identities to attain social status among teen fathers. Such an intervention might decrease the likelihood of perpetuating the social transmission of violence and aggression from father to son.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The dissertation project described in these pages was intended to contribute to an area of study that is anemic when compared to the robust literature about child development among middle class, college educated, largely white and suburban two parent families. Though the studies of economically disadvantaged and unmarried parents and noncustodial fathers have increased in number, with the Fragile Families Study (Waller & Swisher, 2006) for example, young families continue to be underrepresented in family health research. The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the development of an identity as parent and to view parenting while a teenager from the vantage point rarely represented in empirical literature, that of the father.

Adolescent fathers are more often found in juvenile justice and foster care facilities or in the streets than in traditional settings from which to recruit research participants, such as institutions of higher education. An additional purpose of this

dissertation project was to contextualize the experience of adolescent fatherhood. Examining the courses youth take when responding to a pregnancy or contemplating caring for an infant required analysis using multiple lenses. Additionally, the potential for stigmatization, marginalization and discrimination of systems-involved young fathers highlighted the need for a reflexive, participatory, and critical approach to the research.

Much has been written about teen mothers' risk factors, poor health outcomes and problematic childrearing (SmithBattle, 2000). The majority of studies of teen fathers have followed this direction. The findings of this research suggest that there is a preponderance of young fathers who have significant barriers to overcome in order to maintain involvement with their child, the child's mother and her family. However, many youth in the justice system who father children hope that fatherhood will offer a transformative life change, making them the father they want for their child, often the father they never had (Florsheim & Ngu, 2006). For most of the teens in this study, expecting a child provided an impetus for change and an opportunity for desistance from crime, improvement in school, reduced substance use, employment in the legal labor market and engagement in fatherhood. Studies are now needed that provide direction for intervention to support teen fathers to overcome barriers to engaged parenting. Significant support is needed for teens to take advantage of their idealized goals and aspirations as they embark on the journey to fatherhood.

References

Abrams, L. S., Anderson-Nathe, B., & Aguilar, J. (2008). Constructing masculinities in juvenile corrections. *Men and Masculinities, 11*(1), 22-41. doi:10.1177/1097184X06291893

Ainsworth, M., & Bowlby, J. (1991). An ethological approach to personality development. *American Psychologist, 46*, 333-341. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.46.4.333

Anderson, E. (1989). Sex codes and family life among poor inner-city youths. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 501*, 59-78. doi:10.1177/0002716289501001004

Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: Norton.

Arditti, J. A., Acock, A., & Day, R. (2005). Incarcerated fathers and non-incarcerated family members. In V. Bengston, A. Acock, K. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson, & D. Klein (Eds.), Sourcebook of family theories and methods: An interactive approach (pp. 352-356). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Arditti, J. A., Smock, S. A., & Parkman, T. S. (2005). "It's been hard to be a father": A qualitative exploration of incarcerated fatherhood. *Fathering. Special Issue: Fathers in Prison, 3*(3), 267-288. doi:10.3149/fth.0303.267

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469-480. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.55.5.469

Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin, 130*(1), 80-110. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.1.80

Bates, B., & Dozier, M. (1998). "This is My Baby" coding manual. University of Delaware, Newark.

Bernier, A., & Miljkovitch, R. (2009). Intergenerational transmission of attachment in father-child dyads: The case of single parenthood. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 170*(1), 31-51. doi:10.3200/GNTP.170.1.31-52

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Boggess, S., Martinez, G., Jasik, C. B., & Lindberg, L. D. (2007). Counting dads: Improving estimates of teen fatherhood. In S. L. Hofferth & L. M. Casper (Eds.), *Handbook of Measurement Issues in Family Research* (pp. 285-302). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Braman, D. (2002). Families and incarceration. In M. Mauer & M. Chesney-Lind (Eds.), *Invisible punishment: The cultural consequences of mass imprisonment* (pp. 117-136). New York: The New Press.

Brewer, C. (Writer) (2005). Hustle & Flow. United States: Paramount Pictures.

Broadfield, C. S. (2010). Teen fathers: Attachment based on fatherhood skills gained from their father's attitude. *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 66*(8-B), 4532.

Bronte-Tinkew, J., Carrano, J., & Guzman, L. (2006). Resident fathers' perceptions of their roles and links to involvement with infants. *Fathering, 4*(3), 254-285. doi:10.3149/fth.0403.254

Bronte-Tinkew, J., & Horowitz, A. (2010). Factors associated with unmarried, nonresident fathers' perceptions of their coparenting. *Journal of Family Issues, 31*(1), 31-65. doi: 10.1177/0192513X09342866

Burton, L. (2007). Childhood adultification in economically disadvantaged families: A conceptual model. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 56*(4), 329-345. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2007.00463.x

Campa, M. I., & Eckenrode, J. J. (2006). Pathways to intergenerational adolescent childbearing in a high-risk sample. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68*(3), 558-572. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00275.x

Castrucci, B. C., Clark, J., Lewis, K., Samsel, R., & Mirchandani, G. (2010). Prevalence and risk factors for adult paternity among adolescent females ages 14 through 16 years. *Maternal Child Health Journal, 14*(6), 895-900. doi:10.1007/s10995-009-0527-5

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2009). Shifting the grounds: Constructivist grounded theory methods. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Developing grounded theory: The second generation* (pp. 127-192). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Children's Defense Fund. (2007). *America's cradle to prison pipeline*. Washington: Children's Defense Fund.

Children's Defense Fund. (2011). *Children in California*. [Electronic Version] from http://www.childrensdefense.org/child-research-data-publications/data/state-data-repository/cits/2011/children-in-the-states-2011-california.pdf.

Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory, 28*(2), 129-149. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x

Christian, J. (2005). Riding the bus: Barriers to prison visitation and family management strategies. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 21*(1), 31-48. doi:10.1177/1043986204271618

Clarke, A. (2003). Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction, 26*(4), 553-576.

Clarke, A. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Clarke, A. E. (2009). From grounded theory to situational analysis: What's new? Why? How? In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Developing grounded theory: The second generation* (pp. 194-236). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Clemmer, D. (1940). *The Prison Community*. New Braunfels, TX: Christopher Publishing House.

Cohan, M. (2009). Adolescent heterosexual males talk about the role of male peer groups in their sexual decision-making. *Sexuality & Culture: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly, 13*(3), 152-177. doi:10.1007/s12119-009-9052-3

Coley, R. (2001). (In)visible men: Emerging research on low income, unmarried, and minority fathers. *American Psychologist, 56*(9), 743-753. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.56.9.743

Coley, R. L., & Chase-Lansdale, P. L. (1998). Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood: Recent evidence and future directions. *American Psychologist, 53*(2), 152-166. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.53.2.152

Coley, R. L., & Hernandez, D. L. (2006). Predictors of paternal involvement for resident and nonresident low-income fathers. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(6), 1041-1056. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.6.1041

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society, 19*(6), 829-859. doi:10.1177/0891243205278639

Cowley, C., & Farley, T. (2001). Adolescent girls' attitudes toward pregnancy: The importance of asking what the boyfriend wants. *The Journal of Family Practice, 50*(7), 603-607.

Crenshaw, D. A., & Garbarino, J. (2007). The hidden dimensions: Profound sorrow and buried potential in violent youth. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 47*(2), 160-174. doi:10.1177/0022167806293310

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice, 39*(3), 124-130. doi:10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2

Dadds, M. R., Jambrak, J., Pasalich, D., Hawes, D. J., & Brennan, J. (2011). Impaired attention to the eyes of attachment figures and the developmental origins of

psychopathy. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 52*(3), 238-245. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2010.02323.x

Dahl, G. B., & Moretti, E. (2008). The demand for sons. *Review of Economic Studies, 75*, 1085-1120. doi:10.1111/j.1467-937X.2008.00514.x

Darroch, J. E., Singh, S., & Frost, J. J. (2001). Differences in teenage pregnancy rates among five developed countries: The roles of sexual activity and contraceptive use. *Family Planning Perspectives, 33*(6), 244-250, 281. doi:10.2307/3030191

Davies, D., & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative research and the question of rigor. *Qualitative Health Research, 12*(2), 279-289. doi:10.1177/104973230201200211

Davies, S. L., Dix, E. S., Rhodes, S. D., Harrington, K. F., Frison, S., & Willis, L. (2004). Attitudes of young African American fathers toward early childbearing. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 28*(5), 418-425.

Day, R., Acock, A., Bahr, S., & Arditti, J. (2005). Incarcerated fathers returning home to children and families: Introduction to the special issue and a primer on doing research with men in prison. *Fathering, 3*(3), 183-200. doi:10.3149/fth.0303.183

De Palma, B. (Writer) (1983). Scarface. United States: Universal Pictures.

Dykas, M. J., & Cassidy, J. (2010). Attachment and the processing of social information across the life span: Theory and evidence. *Psychological Bulletin, 137*(1), 19-46. doi: 10.1037/a0021367

Eccles, J., Midgley, C., Wigfield, A., Buchanan, C., Reuman, D., Flanagan, C., et al. (1993). Development during adolescence: The impact of stage-environment fit on young adolescents' experiences in schools and in families. *American Psychologist, 48*(2), 90-101. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.48.2.90

Edin, K., & Kefalas, M. (2005). *Promises I can keep: Why poor women put motherhood before marriage*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Fagot, B. I., Pears, K. C., Capaldi, D. M., Crosby, L., & Leve, C. S. (1998). Becoming an adolescent father: Precursors and parenting. *Developmental Psychology, 34*(6), 1209-1219. doi:10.1037//0012-1649.34.6.1209

Farrie, D., Lee, Y., & Fagan, J. (2011). The effect of cumulative risk on paternal engagement: Examining differences among adolescent and older couples. *Youth & Society, 43*(1), 90-117. doi:10.1177/0044118X09351282

Fine, M. (1994). Working the hyphens: Reinventing the self and other in qualitative research. In: N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (1st edition, pp. 70-82). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fine, M., Weis, L., Addleston, J., & Marusza, J. (1997). (In)secure times: Constructing white, working class masculinities in the late 20th century. *Gender and Society, 11*(1), 52-68. doi:10.1177/089124397011001004

Florsheim, P., & Ngu, L. Q. (2006). Fatherhood as a transformative process: Unexpected successes among high risk fathers. In L. Kowaleski-Jones & N. H. Wolfinger (Eds.), *Fragile families and the marriage agenda* (pp. 211-232). New York: Springer Science and Business Media.

Florsheim, P., Sumida, E., McCann, C., Winstanley, M., Fukui, R., Seefeldt, T., et al. (2003). The transition to parenthood among young African American and Latino couples: Relational predictors of risk for parental dysfunction. *Journal of Family Psychology, 17*(1), 65-79. doi:10.1037//0893-3200.17.1.65

Foster, E. M., & Jones, D. E. (2005). The high costs of aggression: Public expenditures resulting from conduct disorder. *American Journal of Public Health, 95*(10), 1767-1772. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2004.061424

Fraley, R. C., Heffernan, M. E., Vicary, A. M., & Brumbaugh, C. C. (2011). The experiences in close relationships—Relationship Structures Questionnaire: A method for assessing attachment orientations across relationships. *Psychological Assessment, 23*(3), 615-625. doi:10.1037/a0022898

Frodi, A., Dernevik, M., Sepa, A., Philipson, J., & Bragesjo, M. (2001). Current attachment representations of incarcerated offenders varying in degree of psychopathy. *Attachment and Human Development, 3*(3), 269-283. doi:10.1080/14616730110096889

Gadsden, V., Wortham, S., & Turner, H. (2003). Situated identities of young, African American fathers in low-income urban settings: Perspectives on home, street, and the system. *Family Court Review, 41*(3), 381-399. doi:10.1177/1531244503041003010

Gavin, L. E., Black, M. M., Minor, S., Abel, Y., Papas, M. A., & Bentley, M. E. (2002). Young, disadvantaged fathers' involvement with their infants: An ecological perspective. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31*(3), 266-276. doi:10.1016/S1054-139X(02)00366-X

Gee, C. B., & Rhodes, J. E. (2003). Adolescent mothers' relationship with their children's biological fathers: Social support, social strain, and relationship continuity. *Journal of Family Psychology, 17*(3), 370-383. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.17.3.370

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays* (pp. 3-30). New York: Basic Books.

Glaser, B. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Goodyear, R. K., Newcomb, M. D., & Allison, R. D. (2000). Predictors of Latino men's paternity in teen pregnancy: Test of a mediational model of childhood experiences, gender role attitudes, and behaviors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 47*(1), 116-128. doi:10.1037//0022-0167.47.1.116

Grogger, J. (2008). Consequences of teen childbearing for incarceration of adult children. In S. D. Hoffman & R. A. Maynard (Eds.), *Kids having kids: Economic costs and social consequences of teen pregnancy* (2nd ed., pp. 289–311). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Grunbaum, J., Kann, L., Kinchen, S., Ross, S., Hawkins, J., Lowry, R., et al. (2004). Youth risk behavior surveillance--United States, 2003 (Abridged). *Journal of School Health, 74*(8), 307-324. doi:10.1111/j.1746-1561.2004.tb06620.x

Howard, K. S., Lefever, J. E., Borkowski, J. G., & Whitman, T. L. (2006). Fathers' influence in the lives of children with adolescent mothers. *Journal of Family Psychology, 20*(3), 468-476. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.20.3.468

Hughes, A., & Hughes, A. (Writer) (1993). Menace 2 Society. United States: New Line Cinema.

Hutchinson, S., Marsiglio, W., & Cohan, M. (2002). Interviewing young men about sex and procreation: Methodological issues. *Qualitative Health Research, 12*(1), 42-60. doi:10.1177/1049732302012001004

Jaffee, S. R., Caspi, A., Moffitt, T. E., Taylor, A., & Dickson, N. (2001). Predicting early fatherhood and whether young fathers live with their children: Prospective findings and policy reconsiderations. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 42*(6), 803-815. doi:10.1111/1469-7610.00777

Jaffee, S. R., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., & Taylor, A. (2003). Life with (or without) father: The benefits of living with two biological parents depend on the father's antisocial behavior. *Child Development, 74*(1), 109-126. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.t01-1-00524

Jeffords, C. (2007). Gaining approval from a juvenile correctional agency to conduct external research: The perspective of a gatekeeper. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 5*, 88-99. doi:10.1177/1541204006295163

Juffer, F., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & van Ijzendoorn, M. H. (2008). *Promoting positive parenting: An attachment-based intervention.* New York: Taylor & Francis Group/Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 238.

Kalil, A., Ziol-Guest, K. M., & Coley, R. L. (2005). Perceptions of father involvement patterns in teenage-mother families: Predictors and links to mothers' psychological adjustment. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 54*(2), 197-211. doi:10.1111/j.0197-6664.2005.00016.x

Katz, J. (1988). *Seductions of crime: Moral and sensual attractions in doing evil*. New York: Basic Books.

Khurana, A., & Gavazzi, S. M. (2011). Juvenile delinquency and adolescent fatherhood. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 55*(5), 756-770. doi:10.1177/0306624X10372109

Kitzenger, C., & Wilkinson, S. (1996). Theorizing representing the other. In C. Kitzenger & S. Wilkinson (Eds.), *Representing the other: A feminism and psychology reader* (pp. 1-33). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Knox, V., Cowan, P. A., Cowan, C. P., & Bildner, E. (2011). Policies that strengthen fatherhood and family relationships: What do we know and what do we need to know? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 635*(216), 216-239. doi:10.1177/0002716210394769

Kools, S., McCarthy, M., Durham, R., & Robrecht, L. (1996). Dimensional analysis: Broadening the conception of grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research, 6*(3), 312-330. doi:10.1177/104973239600600302

Lamb, M. E. (1975). Fathers: Forgotten contributors to child development. *Child Development, 18*(4), 245-266. 10.1159/000271493

Landry, D. J., & Forrest, J. D. (1995). How old are U.S. fathers? *Family Planning Perspectives, 27*(4), 159-161, 165. doi:10.2307/2136260

Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R. J. (2003). *Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lohan, M., Cruise, S., O'Halloran, P., Alderdice, F., & Hyde, A. (2010). Adolescent men's attitudes in relation to pregnancy and pregnancy outcomes: A systematic review of the literature from 1980-2009. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 47*(4), 327-345. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.05.005

Lundberg, S., McLanahan, S., & Rose, E. (2007). Child gender and father involvement in fragile families. *Demography, 44*(1), 79-92. doi:10.1353/dem.2007.0007

Lundberg, S., & Rose, E. (2003). Child gender and the transition to marriage. *Demography, 40*(2), 333-349. doi:10.1353/dem.2003.0015

Magaletta, P. R., & Herbst, D. P. (2001). Fathering from prison: Common struggles and successful solutions. *Psychotherapy, 38*, 88-96. doi:10.1037//0033-3204.38.1.88

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., et al. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *4*(1), 3-25. doi:10.1037//1524-9220.4.1.3

Mahalik, J. R., & Morrison, J. A. (2006). A cognitive therapy approach to increasing father involvement by changing restrictive masculine schemas. *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*, *13*(1), 62-70. doi:10.1016/j.cbpra.2005.02.001

Males, M., & Chew, K. S. (1996). The ages of fathers in California adolescent births, 1993. *American Journal of Public Health, 86*(4), 565-568. doi:10.2105/AJPH.86.4.565

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3*(5), 551-558. doi:10.1037/h0023281

Marks, L., & Palkovitz, R. (2010). American fatherhood types: The good, the bad, and the uninterested. *Fathering, 2*(2), 113-129. 10.3149/fth.0202.113

Marsiglio, W. (1993). Adolescent males' orientation toward paternity and contraception. *Family Planning Perspectives, 25*(1), 22-31. doi:10.2307/2135989

Martin, J. A., Hamilton, B. E., Sutton, P. D., Ventura, S. J., Menacker, F., & Kirmeyer, S. (2006). Births: Final data for 2004. *National Vital Statistics Reports, 55*(1), 1-101. 10.1300/J010v35n03_05

Martinez, G. M., Chandra, A., Abma, J. C., Jones, J., & Mosher, W. D. (2006). Fertility, contraception, and fatherhood: Data on men and women from cycle 6 (2002) of the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth. *Vital Health Statistics, 23*(26), 1-142.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs. Special Issue: New Feminist Approaches to Social Science Methodologies, 30*(3), 1771–1800. doi:10.1086/426800

McLean, K. C., & Breen, A. V. (2009). Processes and content of narrative identity development in adolescence: gender and well-being. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(3), 702-710. doi:10.1037/a0015207

Meek, R. (2007). The parenting possible selves of young fathers in prison. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 13*(4), 371-382. doi:10.1080/10683160601060614

Miller-Johnson, S., Winn, D.-M. C., Coie, J. D., Malone, P. S., & Lochman, J. (2004). Risk factors for adolescent pregnancy reports among African American males. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 14*(4), 471-495. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2004.00083.x

Miller, E., Decker, M. R., Reed, E., Raj, A., Hathaway, J. E., & Silverman, J. G. (2007). Male partner pregnancy-promoting behaviors and adolescent partner violence: Findings from a qualitative study with adolescent females. *Ambulatory Pediatrics, 7*(5), 360-366. doi:10.1016/j.ambp.2007.05.007

Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychology Review, 100*(4), 674-701. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.100.4.674

Mollborn, S., & Lovegrove, P. J. (2010). How teenage fathers matter for children: Evidence from the ECLS-B. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(1), 3-30. doi:10.1177/0192513X10370110

Moore, D. R., & Florsheim, P. (2008). Interpartner conflict and child abuse risk among African American and Latino adolescent parenting couples. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 32*, 463-475. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.05.006

Moore, D. R., Florsheim, P., & Butner, J. (2007). Interpersonal behavior, psychopathology, and relationship outcomes among adolescent mothers and their partners. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 36*(4), 541-556. doi: 10.1080/15374410701662709

Moore, K. A. (2009). *Teen births: Examining the recent increase*. Washington, D.C.: Child Trends.

Newburn, T., & Stacko, E. A. (1994). When men are victims: The failure of victimology. In T. Newburn & E. A. Stacko (Eds.), *Men, masculinities and crime: Just boys doing business?* (pp. 153-166). London: Routledge.

NICHD Early Childcare Research Network. (2000). Factors associated with fathers' caregiving activities and sensitivity with young children. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14*(2), 200-219. Retrieved from http://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/fam/index.aspx

Nurse, A. (2002). *Fatherhood arrested: Parenting from within the juvenile justice system*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Nurse, A. M. (2001). The structure of the juvenile prison: Constructing the inmate father. *Youth and Society, 32*(3), 360-394. doi:10.1177/0044118X01032003004

O'Connor, T. G., & Zeanah, C. H. (2003). Attachment disorders: Assessment strategies and treatment approaches. *Attachment & Human Development, 5*(3), 223-244. doi:10.1080/1461673031000159397 4

Olds, D. L. (2002). Prenatal and infancy home visiting by nurses: From randomized trials to community replication. *Prevention Science, 3*(3), 153-172. doi:10.1023/A:1019990432161

Parent, M. C., & Moradi, B. (2009). Confirmatory factor analysis of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory and development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(3), 175-189. doi:10.1037/a0015481

Paschal, A. M., Lewis-Moss, R. K., & Hsiao, T. (2011). Perceived fatherhood roles and parenting behaviors among African American teen fathers. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 26*(1), 61-83. doi:10.1177/0743558410384733

Penn, J., Thomas, C., Bernet, W., Bukstein, O., Arnold, V., Beitchman, J., et al. (2004). Practice parameter for the assessment and treatment of youth in juvenile detention and correctional facilities. *American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 44(*10), 1085-1098.

Perrin, P. B., Baker, J. O., Romelus, A. M., Jones, K. D., & Heesacker, M. (2009). Development, validation, and confirmatory factor analysis of the Father Hunger Scale. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(4), 314-327. doi:10.1037/a0017277

Phares, V. (1992). Where's poppa? The relative lack of attention to the role of fathers in child and adolescent psychopathology. *American Psychologist, 47*(5), 656-664. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.47.5.656

Phares, V., & Compas, B. E. (1992). The role of fathers in child and adolescent psychopathology: Make room for daddy. *Psychological Bulletin, 111*(3), 387-412. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.111.3.387

Phares, V., Fields, S., Kamboukos, D., & Lopez, E. (2005). Still looking for poppa. *American Psychologist, 60*(7), 735-736. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.60.7.735

Phinney, J. S., Jacoby, B., & Silva, C. (2007). Positive intergroup attitudes: The role of ethnic identity. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 31*(5), 478-490. doi:10.1177/0165025407081466

Phipps, M. G., Rosengard, C., Weitzen, S., & Boardman, L. A. (2005). Rates of voluntary paternity establishment for infants born to unmarried adolescents. *Journal of Reproductive Medicine, 50*(10), 764-770.

Pinderhughes, H. L. (1997). *Race in the hood: Conflict and violence among urban youth*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Pollack, W. S. (2006). The "war" *for* boys: Hearing "real boys" voices, healing their pain. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 37*(2), 190-195. doi:10.1037/0735-7028.37.2.190

QSR International Pty Ltd. NVivo qualitative data analysis software, Version 8, 2008.

Rap Basement. (n.d.). It's Wayne: Biography [Electronic Version] from http://www.itswayne.com/info/biography.php

Raphael, S. (2011). Incarceration and prison reentry in the United States. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 635,* 192-215. doi:10.1177/0002716210393321

Rhein, L. M., Ginsburg, K. R., Schwarz, D. F., Pinto-Martin, J. A., Zhao, H., Morgan, A. P., et al. (1997). Teen father participation in child rearing: Family perspectives. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 21*(4), 244-252. doi:10.1016/S1054-139X(97)00115-8

Roopnarine, J. L., Fouts, H. N., Lamb, M. E., & Lewis-Elligan, T. Y. (2005). Mothers' and fathers' behaviors toward their 3- to 4-month-old infants in lower, middle, and upper socioeconomic African American families. *Developmental Psychology, 41*(5), 723-732. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.41.5.723

Rosengard, C., Phipps, M. G., Adler, N. E., & Ellen, J. M. (2005). Psychosocial correlates of adolescent males' pregnancy intention. *Pediatrics, 116*(3), e414-419. doi:10.1542/peds.2005-0130

Rosengard, C., Stein, L. A. R., Barnett, N. P., Monti, P. M., Golembeske, C., & Lebeau-Craven, R. (2006). Co-occurring sexual risk and substance use behaviors among incarcerated adolescents. *Journal of Correctional Health Care, 12*(4), 279-287. doi:10.1177/1078345806296169

Roy, K. M., & Dyson, O. (2010). Making daddies into fathers: Community-based fatherhood programs and the construction of masculinities for low-income

African American men. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*(1-2), 139-154. doi:10.1007/s10464-009-9282-4

Roy, K. M., & Dyson, O. L. (2005). Gatekeeping in context: Babymama drama and the involvement of incarcerated fathers. *Fathering. Special Issue: Fathers in Prison, 3*(3), 289-310. doi:10.3149/fth.0303.289

Santana, M. C., Raj, A., Decker, M. R., La Marche, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Masculine gender roles associated with increased sexual risk and intimate partner violence perpetration among young adult men. *Journal of Urban Health, 83*(4), 575-585. doi:10.1007/s11524-006-9061-6

Schwartz, S. J., Beyers, W., Luyckx, K., Soenens, B., Zamboanga, B. L., Forthun, L. F., et al. (2011). Examining the light and dark sides of emerging adults' identity: A study of identity status differences in positive and negative psychosocial functioning. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 40*(7), 839-859. doi:10.1007/s10964-010-9606-6

Shade, K., Kools, S., Weiss, S. J., & Pinderhughes, H. (2011). A conceptual model of incarcerated adolescent fatherhood: Adolescent identity development and the concept of intersectionality. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing, 24*(2), 98-104. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6171.2011.00274.x

Shelton, D. (2000). Health status of young offenders and their families. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 32*(2), 173-178. doi:10.1111/j.1547-5069.2000.00173.x

Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles, 59*(5-6), 301-311. doi:10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8

Sipsma, H., Biello, K. B., Cole-Lewis, H., & Kershaw, T. (2010). Like father, like son: The intergenerational cycle of adolescent fatherhood. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*(3), 517-524. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2009.177600

Sipsma, H. L., Ickovics, J. R., Lewis, J. B., Ethier, K. A., & Kershaw, T. S. (2011). Adolescent pregnancy desire and pregnancy incidence. *Women's Health Issues, 21*(2), 110-116. doi:10.1016/j.whi.2010.09.004

SmithBattle, L. (2000). The vulnerabilities of teenage mothers: Challenging prevailing assumptions. *Advanced Nursing Science, 23*(1), 29-40. 10.1177/0044118X06287962

Smithbattle, L. (2006). Helping teen mothers succeed. *Journal of School Nursing, 22*(3), 130-135. doi:10.1177/10598405060220030201

Sonenstein, F. L., Pleck, J. H., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Paternity risk among adolescent males. In R. I. Lerman & T. J. Ooms (Eds.), *Young unwed fathers* (pp. 99–116). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Stattin, H., & Klackenberg-Larsson, I. (1991). The short- and long-term implications for parent-child relations of parents' prenatal preferences for their child's gender. *Developmental Psychology, 27*(1), 141-147. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.27.1.141

Stouthamer-Loeber, M., & Wei, E. H. (1998). The precursors of young fatherhood and its effect on delinquency of teenage males. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 22*(1), 56-65. doi:10.1016/S1054-139X(97)00211-5

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sum, A., Ishwar, K., McLaughlin, J., & Palma, S. (2009). No country for young men: Deteriorating labor market prospects for young men in the United States. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 635*, 24-55. doi: 10.1177/0002716210393694

Tarabulsy, G. M., Bernier, A., Provost, M. A., Maranda, J., Larose, S., Moss, E., et al. (2005). Another look inside the gap: Ecological contributions to the transmission of attachment in a sample of adolescent mother-infant dyads. *Developmental Psychology, 41*(1), 212-224. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649

Thornberry, T., Wei, E., Stouthammer-Loeber, M., & Van Dyke, J. (2000). *Teenage fatherhood and delinquent behavior*. Retrieved from www.ojjp.usdoj.gove/ojjdp.

Thornberry, T. P., Freeman-Gallant, A., & Lovegrove, P. J. (2009). Intergenerational linkages in antisocial behavior. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health, 19*(2), 80-93. 10.1002/cbm.709

Thornberry, T. P., Smith, C. A., & Howard, G. J. (1997). Risk factors for teenage fatherhood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59*(3), 505-522. doi:10.2307/353942

Thorne, S. (2011). Toward methodological emancipation in applied health research *Qualitative Health Research, 21*(4), 443-453. doi: 10.1177/1049732310392595

Tripp, B. (2010). Fathers in jail: Managing dual identities. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice, 5*(1), 26-56.

Tuffin, K., Rouch, G., & Frewin, K. (2010). Constructing adolescent fatherhood: Responsibilities and intergenerational repair. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 12*(5), 485-498. doi:10.1080/13691051003629359

Unruh, D., Bullis, M., & Yovanoff, P. (2003). Community reintegration outcomes for formerly incarcerated adolescent fathers and nonfathers. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders, 11*, 144-156. doi:10.1177/10634266030110030201

Unruh, D., Bullis, M., & Yovanoff, P. (2004). Adolescent fathers who are incarcerated juvenile offenders: Explanatory study of the co-occurrence of two problem behaviors. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*, 405-419. doi:10.1023/B:JCFS.0000044724.18773.74

Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. London, Ontario, Canada: State University of New York Press.

Vigne, N. G. L., Naser, R. L., Brooks, L. E., & Castro, J. L. (2005). Examining the effect of incarceration and in-prison family contact on prisoners' family relationships. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 21*(4), 314-335. doi: 10.1177/1043986205281727

Waller, M. R., & Swisher, R. (2006). Fathers' risk factors in Fragile Families: Implications for "healthy" relationships and father involvement. *Social Problems, 53*(3), 392-420. doi:10.1525/sp.2006.53.3.392

Wei, M., Russell, D. W., Mallinckrodt, B., & Vogel, D. L. (2010). The Experiences in Close Relationship Scale (ECR)-short form: Reliability, validity, and factor structure. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 88*(2), 187-204. doi:10.1037/a0019969

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*(2), 125-151. doi:10.1177/0891243287001002002

Wikepedia. (n.d.). Lil Wayne [Electronic Version] from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lil_Wayne.

Wildeman, C., & Western, B. (2010). Incarceration in fragile families. [Electronic Version]. *The Future of Children, 2* from www.futureofchildren.org/futureofchildren/publications/.../20_02_08.pdf.

Wilkinson, D. L., Magora, A., Garcia, M., & Khurana, A. (2009). Fathering at the margins of society: Reflections from young, minority, crime-involved fathers. *Journal of Family Issues, 30*(7), 945-967. doi:10.1177/0192513X09332354

Williams, H. (Writer) (1998). Belly. Jamaica: Big Dog Films.

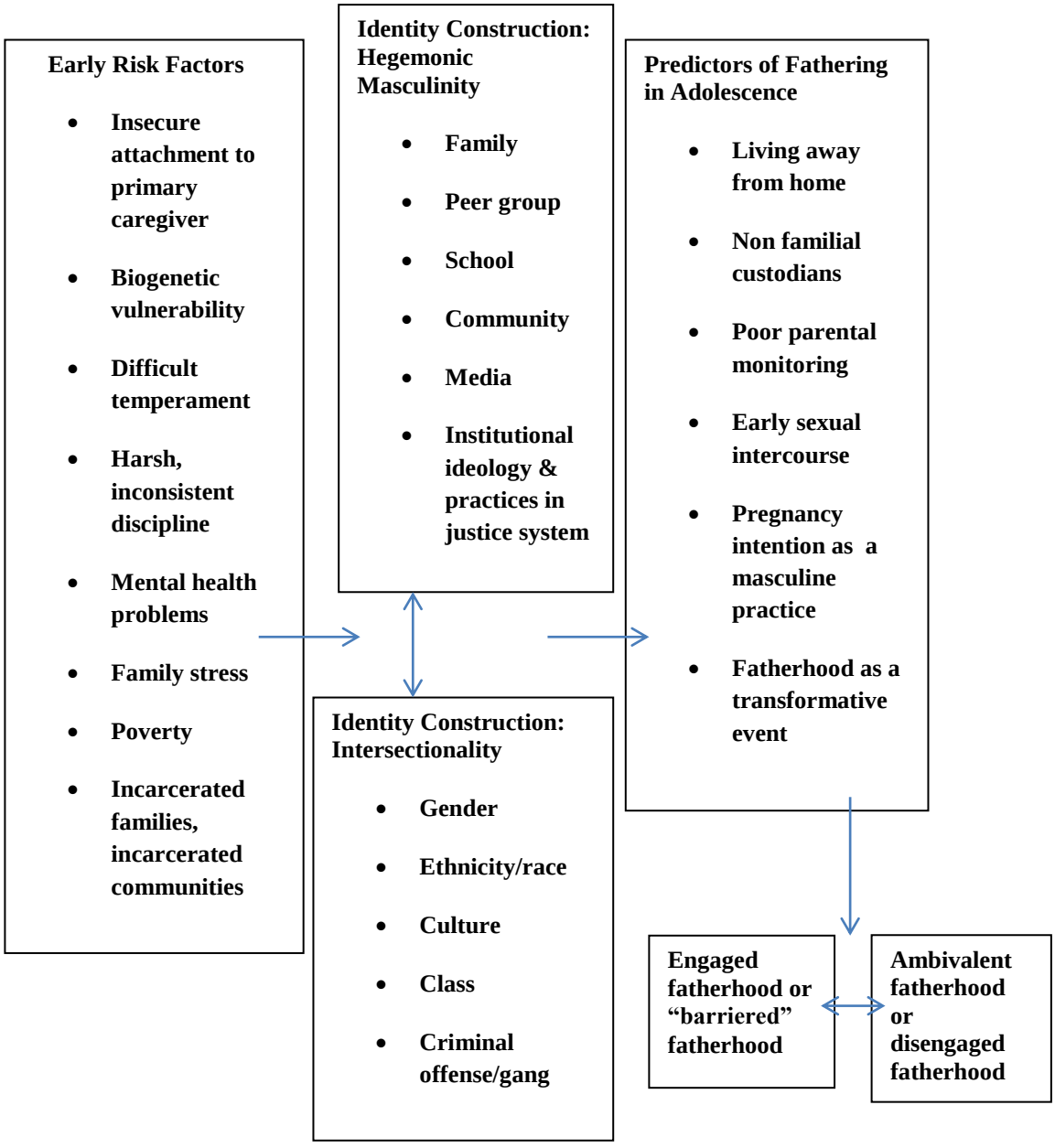
Xie, H., Cairns, B. D., & Cairns, R. B. (2001). Predicting teen motherhood and teen fatherhood: Individual characteristics and peer affiliations. *Social Development, 10*(4), 488-511. doi:10.1111/1467-9507.00177

Yang, Z., & Gaydos, L. M. (2010). Reasons for and challenges of recent increases in teen birth rates: A study of family planning service policies and demographic changes

at the state level. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 46*(6), 517-524. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.03.021

Yeung, W. J., Sandberg, J. F., Davis-Kean, P. E., & Hofferth, S. L. (2001). Children's time with fathers in intact families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(1), 136-154. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00136.x

Appendix A: A conceptual model of incarcerated adolescent fatherhood.



Appendix B: Interview Guide

Table 1.1 Interview Guide

1. What do you think it's like for most young men as they become a father?
2. Tell me about how you became a father.
3. What are you naming/did you name your baby? How did you choose the name?
4. What is it like to be male and expecting a baby or parenting a baby? How is being a father different from being a mother?
5. What is it like to be a young father? What do you think influences people to have children at a young age?
6. Tell me about being arrested, on probation, or locked up. How do you think these experiences have affected you? How do you think the experience of being arrested, on probation, or locked up influence guys who have a child at a young age?
7. What is your experience with violence? How does violence affect a young man's ability to be the father he'd like to be?
8. Tell me how you're feeling about being a father. Have you or could you have already fathered a child with someone else?
9. Tell me about your experiences with violence at home. What about violence in school or the community. How did you get in trouble? What helped you to get out of trouble or stay out of trouble? What could have helped you when you got in trouble?
10. Tell me about your experiences with sexual relationships. What has been your experience with sexual violence?
11. How do you think your experiences with violence have affected or will affect the kind of father you are or the kind of father you will be?
12. What is your experience with mental health problems? Do you think you or anyone in your family has a mental illness? How do you think your experiences with mental health problems have affected or will affect the kind of father you are or the kind of father you will be?
13. Tell me about the relationship you have with your partner/the mother of your baby. What is difficult and what is easy about that relationship?
14. Tell me about the relationships with your own mother and father. Who influenced you to be the kind of father you are or the kind of father you will be?
15. Tell me about your experience of being fathered. What is a good father? What is a bad father?
16. What negative changes have occurred as a result of you becoming a father? What positive changes?
17. How would you describe the person you are now? Has becoming a father changed you in any way?
18. What do you picture will be or what is most difficult or most uncomfortable about being a father to a child?
19. What do you picture will be or what has been the easiest or most enjoyable aspect for you as you become a father?
20. What do you think you will be doing in six months? Describe the person you think you will be in six months. How would you compare yourself then and now?

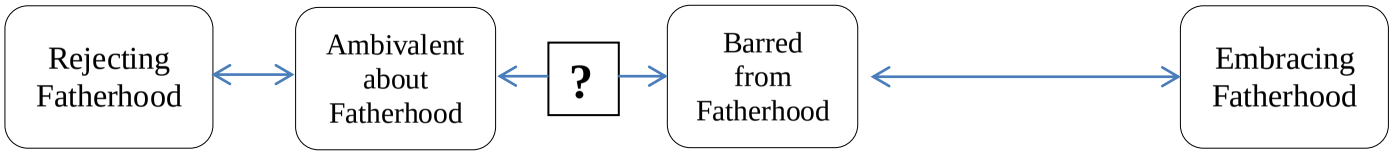
21. Is there a movie, TV show, song, book, or story that you think depicts your experiences growing up, your experiences becoming a father, or your experiences being locked up or on probation?
22. What is your experience of prison? Do you think there is a prison code? Have you experienced acting or reacting according to the prison code of conduct in juvenile detention?
23. What advice would you give to someone else who is young and involved in the juvenile justice system about becoming a father?
24. Is there anything you might not have thought about that occurred to you during this interview?
25. Is there anything else you think I should know in order to understand the person you are or the father you hope to become?
26. Is there anything you think I should be sure to ask other young men I interview?
27. Is there any question I ought not to ask?
27. Is there anything you would like to ask me?
28. Tell me how you are feeling. What was it like to answer these questions?

Appendix C: The explanatory matrix

Envisioning an idealized future, hoping for a boy and making him a man

Organizing perspective: Envisioning an idealized future, hoping for a boy and making him a man			
Context	**Conditions**	**Processes**	**Consequences**
Violence in family and/or neighborhood	Threats in social environment	Preparation for violence	Barriers to involved fathering
	Association with aggressive boys and men	Criminal and/or antisocial behaviors	Envisioning future dangers
	Incarceration and/or supervision by juvenile justice system	Repentance or resistance	Idealizing own future
		Desire for control of the future	Fatherhood as transformative
		Prisonization	Barred from fatherhood
Hegemonic ideals of manhood	Early sexual activity	Looking for a good girl	
	Misogynistic values and attitudes	Having a child with one or more girls	Idealizing involvement with a second child if barred from the first
	Expected child	Being a provider/protector	Protecting daughters, sisters, mothers
	Gender preference		Limited role for the father of a daughter
	Having a boy	Gender socialization of child	Naming as claiming
			Greater participation in fathering if child is a boy
			Protecting sons from danger
			Being there

Appendix D: A conceptual model of adolescent father identity development in the context of involvement in the juvenile justice system.



Factors that bar father identity and role: Individual, interpersonal, social, and systematic barriers

- In and out of "the streets"
- Limited hope for the future
- Multiple failed placements
- Employment in underground economy
- Gang involvement
- Substance abuse
- Gatekeeping
- Pregnancy intention as a masculine practice
- Limited role for father of a girl
- Partnered with the wrong girl
- Anticipated early death or lengthy incarceration
- Unresolved trauma
- Anger & deep sadness about relationship with own father
- No role model for involved fatherhood
- Prisonization
- Untreated mental health problems
- Caught up in "the system"

Factors that promote father identity and role: Individual, interpersonal, social and systematic facilitators

- Not "in the streets"
- Hope for the future
- Positive or no placement history
- Employment
- Minimal or no gang involvement
- Limited substance use
- Positive coparenting
- Pregnancy planned in partnership with the mother of the child
- Envisioned father role with daughter
- (male) child as a catalyst for change
- Partnered with the right girl
- Rejection of misogyny
- No relationship with law enforcement or justice system supervision
- Support for recovery from traumatic experiences
- Positive relationship with father or father figure
- Role model for involved fatherhood
- Positive social relationships within detention setting
- Treated or absent mental health problems
- Limited involvement with "the system"

Publishing Agreement

It is the policy of the University to encourage the distribution of all theses, dissertations, and manuscripts. Copies of all UCSF theses, dissertations, and manuscripts will be routed to the library via the Graduate Division. The library will make all theses, dissertations, and manuscripts accessible to the public and will preserve these to the best of their abilities, in perpetuity.

I hereby grant permission to the Graduate Division of the University of California, San Francisco to release copies of my thesis, dissertation, or manuscript to the Campus Library to provide access and preservation, in whole or in part, in perpetuity.

December 23, 2011

Author Signature | Date