
Article

A study in violence intervention - Program with adolescent males

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Abstract:

Violence has become recognized as a major public health problem in the world. The World Health Organization in 1999 held a conference and issued The Kobe Declaration on Violence and Health because of the public health impact worldwide. 4% of all deaths in the world each year are from violence⁽¹⁾. Violence is a premature killer and exists in every society. This study focused on an intervention program with adolescent males with backgrounds in which they had experienced many forms of violence.

The intervention was instituted with the adolescents to determine a method to intervene in the cycle of violence. The goals included: to reduce violence in their homes and community; to provide opportunities for completion of basic education; to provide access to job training; and to provide mentoring from positive role models. Methods of inquiry used in this study included case method, questionnaires, and qualitative evaluation. Approaches employed in working with the youth in the study included the use of individual case management, small group sessions, and peer counseling.

Evidence of the effectiveness of the program included: reduction in the violent behavior of the young men; use of new ways of coping with frustration; development of skills for working; completion of their basic and vocational education; attitude change; positive interactions with adults and peers; disassociation with gangs; reduction in violent behavior; consistent employment; and goal setting.

The program has been a model for legislation for statewide programs for increased intervention programs for youth from violent backgrounds and for mentoring programs for disadvantaged youth. During the 10 years of the program more than 500 young men have participated in the program.

Introduction

Violence has become recognized as a major public health problem in the world. Violence is a public health problem for at least three reasons: the magnitude of the violence, the characteristics of violence and the types of strategies that are offered to help prevent violence⁽²⁾. The World Health Organization in 1999 held a conference and issued The Kobe Declaration on Violence and Health because of the public health impact worldwide. 4% of all deaths in the world each year are from violence⁽¹⁾. Violence in society and the world today is gaining increasing attention. Violence in families has become acknowledged in recent years as increasing. One may ask is it increasing or finally being acknowledged? What role does awareness have to do with docu-

mented increases? Is there any way to intervene with documented cycles of abuse? What causes violence? How much of violence is a learned behavior? Can interventions be effective? What types of interventions can make a difference and reduce violence? What role does media have on violent behavior? What factors related to violence experienced by children affects their behavior? Can interventions to curb violence be successful?

BACKGROUND

In 1985 the State of California instituted the Adolescent Family Life Programs throughout the state to provide comprehensive case management for pregnant and parenting teens⁽³⁾. The comprehensive case management was not only for the teen

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mothers but also for the teen fathers if they were involved with the mother and child could be included in the case management. The objectives of the project were to reduce teen pregnancy, to improve the outcomes of teen pregnancy, to promote the retention of the teens in school until high school graduation, to mobilize community resources to meet the needs of the teens, and to assist the teens toward some type of potential employment upon completion of high school.

In 1985-86 a Swiss physician and the male case managers in San Diego Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting Project (SANDAPP) established a support group for teen fathers. Many of the females involved in the project were pregnant by older men but some of them had partners who were under 20 years old and could receive case management services. A survey was done with the teen fathers in San Diego. Some of the other Adolescent Family Life Projects in the State also administered the survey to the male teens in their caseload. The data analysis revealed that almost all of these males had been sexually assaulted at a young age. Many of the boys saw impregnating girls as an indication of manhood. All reported that they grew up with violence. In many of the group meetings, violence was a major topic. Often these young men would express that they only lived for today, because with all the violence in their lives they did not expect to live to adulthood. Often the discussions focused on a peer who had been brutally murdered, violence that they had witnessed or experienced.

Theories related to violence are often categorized as: instinct theories (basic instinct in all by nature) or learned behaviors (arising from frustration or imitation). The frustration-arousal theory may evolve from internal or external stimuli and may have other characteristics to be observed such as limits, consistency and standards, which allow for the cues or catalysts which may predict outbreaks of violence.

Issacs⁽⁴⁾ identifies children who live in communities in which violence frequently occurs are not only more at risk for physical, sexual,

emotional abuse and neglect, rape, fighting, drug and gang involvement accidental injuries from weapons but also are co-victims. Acute and chronic exposure to community violence has been shown to negatively affect some children's mental health, levels of psychological well being, emotional distress and subsequent behavior^(5,6,7,8). Research has demonstrated the effect of media and its relationship to violent behavior, however the environment in which young children live greatly impacts their perception of normal. Media may serve as a catalyst or cathartic for violence. Research has also provided information about pleasurable consequences of aggression for example, in sibling relationships and relationships with parents as the only way to achieve a desire; a form of negotiation; expression of masculinity power, strength are some examples in which pleasure is achieved as a result of aggressive behavior. The response to violence again may be internal or external and may also be expressed in overt behaviors such as forms of non-aggressive behavior, indirect aggression, destructive-instrumental aggression, explosive random aggression or strong inhibitions, even psychophysiological forms.

Research has also studied the importance of early attachment, basic trust in others and in one's self, realistic appreciation of one's assets and liabilities, establishing realistic limits, and recognition of need for change in environmental factors. The relationship between chronic exposure to community violence and post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms in a nonrandom sample of 221 African American youth ages 7-18 year revealed that more than 70% of the respondents were victims of at least one violent act, 85 % had witnessed at least one violent act, and 43 % had witnessed a murder⁽⁴⁾. The intake interviews of the young men in this study revealed that all had not only witnessed violence but had experienced it.

Thornberry, Wei, Stouthamer-Loeber and van Dyke⁽⁹⁾ report that boys who become teen fathers are likely to engage in a constellation of

problem behaviors such as criminal misbehavior, disruptive school behavior and drug use. Teen fatherhood has received little attention yet has also many negative educational, financial, social, health, and other developmental consequences for these young men and their children^(10, 11, 12). During the period from 1986-1996, the rate of teen fathers increased to 23 out of every 1,000 males between 15 and 19 years of age in the US. Sexual violence against these males is a contributing factor as well as the other violence in their community. The perpetual cycle of the victim becoming a perpetrator exists. Partners of pregnant teenagers were not the topic of any studies before 1968. At that time Panor⁽¹³⁾ pointed out that teenage fathers should receive comprehensive care like their pregnant partners. Panor's study interviewed more than 100 teenage fathers, in attempt to obtain information about stress, social structures and topics of interest for an eventual educational program. Recommendations were based on a large number of interviews; several years passed before other investigations were made.

No doubt fathers are important not only as a support for pregnant partners, but also for the rearing of the babies^(14, 15, 16, 17). Studies demonstrate that an infant at birth or only a few weeks old, can distinguish clearly between mother, father or stranger^(18, 19, 20). Literature that relates to the effects of father absence on children's cognitive development assessed by standardized intelligence quotient (IQ) and achievement tests and school performance was reviewed. Evidence shows that rearing in father absent families or in families in which fathers have little supportive interaction with their children is often associated with poor performance on cognitive tests. The findings are generally consistent with the hypothesis that children's interactions with parents foster cognitive development and that a reduction in interaction hinders it. Anxiety and financial hardship may also contribute to the observed effects⁽²¹⁾.

Interviews with teenage fathers showed that they had an interest in helping the young mothers in the difficult periods of pregnancy and delivery^(22, 23). Data gathered in the initial intake interviews of teenage fathers in this study presented that 62.5% reacted positive to the pregnancy. 84.4% relate their relation to their female partners as caring or very caring and 62.5% rate their knowledge about baby development as rather poor. Therefore, prospective teen fathers need prenatal education^(24, 25).

The age of the father does not seem to influence the important role for both the teenage mother and her baby; there exist more difficulties for the teenage father to accomplish this task. Increased efforts for comprehensive care and prenatal education are needed^(26, 27, 28). The biggest differences between teenage and adult fathers appear to be psychological^(29, 30). The largest follow-up study, covering 15 years, indicated significant differences in early school drop outs because of teenage pregnancy, and therefore lower work achievement, for both male and female partners^(28, 31, 32, 33). Characteristically, the teenage father often comes from lower socioeconomic groups and often repeat the cycle^(30, 33). Many young men drop out of school to provide financial support to the young family⁽²⁸⁾. Social support is needed for these youngsters. The main task lies in better prenatal education. Education must include birth control counseling. Both knowledge and application of different methods of contraception are poorly understood in sexually active male adolescents, especially in the Black and Hispanic population^(35, 36). The potential hypothesis is that a comprehensive program, including educational issues, results in: an increased understanding of pregnancy and baby care; an appreciation of the important role that the fathers play during the pregnancy and early post delivery period; and provide a structured way to directly involve young fathers in this process. The direct involvement will give fathers experience in giving and receiving social support. This intervention could represent

a beginning interruption of the cycle of generational recidivism in teenage pregnancy.

The San Diego Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting Program (SANDAPP) includes all of San Diego County. The description of San Diego County based on 1997 data is represented in Table 1 Population and area, Table 2 Distribution of population characteristics by race and Table 3 Economic indicators. The ethnic data for the schools is not given however, in the San Diego City Schools, there are more than 129 native languages other than English. Parental approval was required for individuals to participate in the project, so often the permission slips had to be translated into the native language of the parent.

METHODOLOGY

In the first year of operation, SANDAPP enrolled thirty-two teen father clients, only 3% of its 250 client caseload. The number has remained relatively constant over the years, mainly because many of the fathers of the teenage girls' babies continue to be older men. Data have been gathered from the beginning through structured intake interviews. The characteristics of the young men based on the interviews are represented as follows: Figure 1 relates to school status and job. Figure 2 relates to current living arrangements. Figure 3 relates to employment status at initial interview. Figure 4 reflects sexual abuse in either the form of rape or molestation. Figure 5 reveals the teen fathers by race. Figure 6 gives the ages of the teen fathers.

SANDAPP as one of the projects funded by Adolescent Family Life Project (AFLP) through Maternal and Child Health (MCH) of the State of California, had to restrict the enrollment of teenage fathers into the program according to AFLP program guide lines that stated fathers can only be part of the program, if: their girlfriend/wife is a client of SANDAPP, (age limit for the girls is 18 years old) and the male is

under 20 years of age. Initially, a research project that received state and federal funds provided data previously not available and has been greatly expanded as a result of the original study and justification for new services provided.

There is no question that these restrictions exclude too many fathers and teens who are non-fathers who would benefit from this program. At the time there was no agency in San Diego that provided comprehensive counseling of teenage fathers including establishing fatherhood (especially without the consensus of the girl friend's family), managing a productive job and school attendance and learning about medical issues (pregnancy, delivery, baby care, birth control, etc.) From the experience in two local hospitals working with teenage pregnancy clinics it is clear that many young fathers are seeking more information. This program and the original data stimulated new programs offering services to juveniles in trouble with the law or from high risk communities as a preventive approach to the reduction of violence.

As mentioned in the introduction, the basic objective of a teenage father program has to be to directly involve the young fathers and then to give them the experience in giving and receiving social support. Social support is lacking in their life so it needs to become a learned behavior. Preliminary data revealed that 75% of teenage fathers do not have a father as a male role model in their home, 34.4% are undecided about their future relationship with their girlfriends, and that 90.6% look for more information about medical issues (pregnancy/delivery, baby care, child development).

Summarizing this information it becomes obvious that a teenage father program would focus on basic issues: male role and sexuality; father skills/relationship with baby; education /job; basic medical knowledge. This is in accordance with the experiences published in the literature⁽³⁴⁾. Measurable objectives must be simple and limited. Table 4 presents the initial objectives,

activities, and methods for evaluation for the project.

Soon after the initial interviews were done by the case managers teen father support groups were established. In the support groups of the teen fathers, discussions were held freely with the case managers and the young men. They discussed real situations that the teens experienced and the outcomes. Since many of the incidents were recurring in their lives, the group discussed alternative ways of working with violent and frustrating situations. In follow up sessions the case managers with the teen fathers would compare the results. Through the relationships between the case managers and the young males, the young men developed trust relationships with adults that they had not previously had. There were limits set for the meetings and expectations agreed upon by the group. As expected, the young men would test the relationships, and find that the case managers were honest with them and worthy of the youth's trust. Soon there were behavioral changes in the young men. They had lacked role models in their everyday life and for the most part their school experiences had been negative. Their rewards came from successes on the streets.

Gang membership was a common part of their life, providing a sense of belonging that they had not experienced in their home lives. They were well aware of the dangers of being in gangs, but the alternative of not belonging to a group was worse in their eyes. Requests came from other young men to participate in the group meetings. According to the guidelines of the project, they were not teen fathers, and the project was not about to encourage siring behaviors to become a member of the group. To overcome this problem, the group meetings were held at two school sites that were in two polar areas of the county where the project was conducted. Since the meetings were held in schools, other students could participate.

Additional funding was granted by the State for more comprehensive study of violence and

substance abuse and the funding and study are continuing. There are now other project sites in the State and data is collected on a regular basis. The case management of the teens not only included the support groups but also assessments of health and the components of daily living. Detailed comprehensive histories are done on each participant in the program. Data is gathered related to family, educational levels, life experiences, nutritional habits, social habits, etc. The project from the start was multi-cultural, multi-ethnic; this included both the clients and the case managers.

The project had to find resources in the community to meet the various needs of the participants. This required bringing together social service agencies that were listed in common directories but who had services that were unused and who did not know how to reach the clients who needed their services. The case managers not only educated clients about services, but also educated services about client access and developed an awareness of other agencies who had services to assist their clients.

Since violence is often a result of the frustrations experienced in trying to meet unmet needs, it is important to educate individuals with many unmet needs, how to meet their needs in a socially acceptable manner. In the process of carrying out the mandates of the project, other resources were found such as many able and interested senior citizens wanting to contribute to the youth of the society. While working with pregnant and parenting teens, members of gangs and school drop outs, were not initially what these retirees had in mind, the experience became beneficial to both groups and opened avenues of new horizons for all. Fortunately, this very active group of retired executives from many professional groups in the area expressed interest in sharing their expertise with others. Several of these volunteers contributed their time and developed positive relationships with the young. There have been changes seen in this population as a result of the program. Even today, the

seniors continue to work with the youth. The seniors have obtained special programs for the youth, plan and operate special events for them and continue to be amazed at how well these young people behave, how appreciative they are and what surrogate grandchildren and great grandchildren they have become. They have also found funds for a van for transportation for the teens and infants for outings and appointments, provided funding for a variety of events and sought grants to assist not only the program but also needy individuals.

Parents eventually became part of the project and the improvement of family ties through the years has been remarkable. A grandparents' support group was developed. Women in the group have received job training and have become employed. Through these support groups, the women have learned many of the skills their children have learned in their support groups. The outcomes of appropriate problem resolution, reduction of violence and constructive methods of communication as well as the strengthening relationships between parents, children and grandchildren.

Due to the success of this project, for the past six years additional funds have been given to the project to increase their work with the violence prevention programs. Initial data and continuing initial assessments indicate that this is one of the major needs. The research for appropriate intervention and the appropriate individuals to conduct the groups took some time. The data reveals that one of the basic tasks of the family, early bonding with the child, does not occur. The ongoing surveys conducted with the participants reveal that violence and aggression continue to be common in the home and environment of new participants. Nearly all of the participants come from dysfunctional families. The families are often not intact families, but even in rare instances of intact families there is abuse and dysfunction.

To assess a project of this nature various factors have to be assessed, not just the program

and the materials used in the project. The individuals or groups of individuals implementing such a program have a direct impact on the outcome. One of the original case managers has been with the project since 1986 when it developed a regular pattern of meetings. This individual has lived through a variety of experiences. He relates well to individuals from all social strata. He has the ability to stimulate a positive response with all whom he comes in contact and has a special talent for diffusing anger and hostility in extremely volatile situations.

The project has established consistent times for the support group meetings. If there are to be any changes the youth are notified in advance. This type of respect was new for many of the participants that someone would take the time to communicate with them a change of an appointment. The group plans field trips and if it is a social outing then there are guidelines that must be met to be eligible to attend. Standards of dress and behavior are stated and enforced. Visits to the neonatal intensive care unit have had these "tough" young men in tears and has stimulated many of them to get away from drugs when they see what illegal drugs do to developing fetuses and the poor outcomes of pregnancy.

Group meetings vary in the topics to be presented but discussions of immediate concerns are always part of each session. The participants may contact the case managers at other times and each participant is given the phone numbers to contact. The case managers always promptly return calls from the teens, which again communicates a respect as well as a concern. Ongoing data collection is part of the process. The group has identified its purpose as an educational environment in which teen fathers; prospective fathers and future fathers may safely explore the challenges and responsibilities of their fatherhood. (This allows any young male to freely participate.) The group identified the core problem, as most of the attention addressing teen fathers is negative. The teen male has relatively no place to discuss his sexuality,

relationships and developmental demands in an environment of unconditional support and accurate information which can lead him to responsibility and wisdom in selecting values and making personal decisions. The content of the program routinely explores: responsibility; respect; relationships; decision making; normal/abnormal child development; drugs, pregnancy, child birth; sexuality and disease; education; employment; multi-ethnic relationships; consequences of teen pregnancy for the male and other issues as they arise.

The structure for participation in the group requires two edicts: 1) All contributions from the students are confidential; what is shared in the group stays in the group. 2) What a student brings up in the group is addressed by other participants with utmost respect. The adult leaders take the responsibility for setting the tone of adherence to the rules and assuring that content is addressed during the year. The group schedules the speakers, field trips and videos to provide cognitive and experiential education for the following: effects of drug usage on both the male and female and on the fetus/infant; importance of self esteem; the female perspective on male/female relationships; a male walk in the shoes of a pregnant minor; AIDS prevention and normal child development.

At the onset of the project, the following expected outcomes were identified: student respect and appreciation for their roles as males and fathers; students' increased awareness and acceptance of responsibility for their actions as males and member of society; threshold knowledge of those factors required by the students to make responsible choices and decisions with respect to their sexuality; increased confidence in male teens to address their issues openly, with emotional honesty and belief that they can find constructive solutions in the context of their family relationships.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The program has expanded since it was started. Additional financial support has been granted from the State specifically for this program. Now the project has expanded and receives additional funding through other grants such as the Violence/Substance Abuse Prevention Project, the Cal-Learner Program, the Male Involvement Program, California Mentor Initiative and Partnerships for Responsible Parenting Program because of the success of the program. In 1998 it was cited by the San Diego County Comprehensive Strategy for Youth, Family and Community as a resource for alcohol and drug abuse prevention, intervention and treatment. The juvenile court has worked with SANDAPP from the beginning and frequently refers youth as part of their sentencing to attend the teen father groups, many have come reluctantly initially, but soon become advocates for others to join.

The project director for the teen father component of the project is involved in training individuals and groups throughout the State about how to work with young males and how to relate to these young men to develop a sense of trust and to establish positive relationships with them that allow for their growth. He teaches others how to teach decision making and the responsibility of choices. He was honored by the governor as Man of the Year in 1996.

Results that have been consistently observed in the participants are: increased school attendance; more respect for their female partner; increased interest in the well being of their children; positive interactions with adults and their peers; attitude changes; reduction in the use of violence as an expression of frustration; use of alternative newly learned ways of coping with disappointments.

The juvenile court system, schools and employers have recognized the impact of the group on the behavior of many participants. As a result, new participants are often referred by the juvenile courts and/or court mandated. Attendance at alternative education schools may be ordered for the young men, again with a requirement of

participation within the male group. Criteria used by the judicial system to monitor the success of this program have been disassociation with gangs; cessation of abusive behavior toward their mates; graduation from high school; consistent employment; and goal setting.

The use of retired executives as guest speakers and often volunteers to mentor the development of skills necessary for employment opportunities has been a benefit to the young and the old. Many of these teens reflect their acting out behavior through their dress and hairstyles. Beneath the facade, they have the basic needs of being accepted and being successful. The development of relationships between the young and the old has met the needs of both groups of men. The reaction of the teens initially to many of the retirees is as negative as the reaction of the retirees to the teens. In addition, because of all the negative press the teens receive there is often an initial fear in the older men. As the two groups work together on a one to one basis, feelings of mutual admiration and respect are generated. Some of the retirees have commented on the resilience of the young men and the metamorphoses they observe.

While this project is a microcosm of society, it provides much information not only in relationships between data and outcomes, but also effective methods of intervention that can strengthen family relationships. The techniques used in this program, the strategies and interventions provide insights for use in other situations in working with families.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This project has been successful in obtaining its original goals and goals that have since been added. Family relationships in the nuclear sense and in the broader societal sense have been strengthened. The project started as a pilot project with 400 clients and 10 case managers and now is mandated to serve all recipients of welfare in San Diego County with nearly 40 case

managers. In addition, other project grants have been added such as the special funding for the violence prevention program, the program for prevention and rehabilitation for drug abuse in teens, a San Diego Foundation Grant to support experiential learning for the clients, and Lynch Foundation grants for special needs such as vehicle purchase, are just a few of the additional projects that have been added because of the effectiveness of the case management process and the support groups. Computers of SANDAPP have been linked to the County social service computers for better access of services and data.

Human potential has been maximized with the initial target group and later with senior citizens, as well as through other social service agencies. The successes have exceeded the expectations. The personnel as well as the program effectiveness has had a major impact on individuals learning how to improve themselves with development of new relationships as well as effective methods of decision making.

Further study of the methods of individuals most responsible for the implementation of the project is needed to determine how to teach the characteristics that make them so effective in working with such diverse groups and bringing together families that have been dysfunctional for generations. Replication of this study in other settings has been done. Since this program was multi-cultural and the problems and presence of violence knows no boundaries it is time to replicate this approach in other countries to evaluate the universal effectiveness and to test the ability to replicate results.

The application of comprehensive case management utilizing community resources prior to a major life event that has such traumatic effects as teen pregnancy could be preventive in nature. This project has recently been awarded a grant to use the strategies used in this project with siblings to institute early intervention as prevention.

Comprehensive case management as used in this project and some of the support strategies have

demonstrated their effectiveness when used with families with victims of child abuse and spouse abuse. Dysfunctional families demonstrate higher rates of violence. The violence is often a result of frustration which relates to patterns of ineffective coping often because individuals have not learned effective coping skills. The acting out behavior is resorted to because there has been no other means of coping learned. The development of effective relationships is important to the reduction of violent behaviors. The application of this model of intervention to reduce violence should be tested in other situations where violence is a factor.

Developing programs for schools to teach young children effective decision making and coping skills is also recommended. In some cultures, violence is a way of life. It is the behavior learned as a child, experienced at home and in school and often as an adult. Injuries as a result of violence are common. Interventions to eliminate this type of violence will take time to orient the society to make changes. One may hypothesize in countries where there is a high incidence of violence in the family and society and there are problems that seem excessive such as high rates of epilepsy and brain damage, violence has to be studied more closely.

The challenge for all interested in reducing violence in the world is to follow the words of the program director who states: the key to success in working with those who have experienced violence to help them learn new ways is rhythm--- find out where they are, walk with them and you will move forward, you may even need to reach down to take their hand, you can't expect them to reach up to you⁽³⁵⁾.

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Population		Incorporated	1850
1996:	1,183,102		
1990:	1,110,549	Area:	211,147 acres
1980:	875,538		329.9 sq. mi.
% Change '80-'90	27%		
% Change '90-'96	7%		

Table 1: Population and Area of San Diego

Population Characteristics (1996)					
			Non-Hispanic		
	Total Population	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian/Other
Number	1,183,102	267,780	657,457	103,924	153,941
Pct. of Total	100%	23%	56%	9%	13%
Pct. Age 0-14	22%	33%	16%	28%	24%
Pct. Age 65+	11%	5%	15%	6%	7%
Median Age	32.6	25.1	36.9	27.5	30.2

Table 2: Population Characteristics by Race

Median Household Income					
1996 ('95\$):	\$37,838	1996 ('89\$):	\$31,515	1990 ('89\$):	\$33,933

Interim Series & Forecast	1990	2000	2005	2015	%Change '90-'15
Total Population	1,110,549	1,314,248	1,409,990	1,573,656	42%
Housing Units	431,722	473,187	513,371	591,437	37%
Employment	668,512	687,978	742,947	822,468	23%

Table 3: Economic Status Indicators

Measurable Objective	Implementation Activities	Methods of Evaluation
Prevent repeat pregnancies	Birth control counseling to strengthen goal oriented thinking in group discussion	Follow-up interviews and data collections after 6,12,18,24 months
Encourage and/or develop relationship with baby	Education in baby development baby care, information about importance of fatherhood for baby	Follow-up interviews and data collections after 6,12,18,24 months Relationship with mother, frequency of father-baby contact Involvement in baby care
Finish school - high school graduation	Encourage continuous high school education Organize alternative educational programs	Follow up data collection High school diploma or GED
Financial support for baby	Develop "job bank" with acceptable part time jobs for fathers in school Develop new job opportunities (apprenticeships, etc.)	Follow-up data collection Amount of financial support Job involvement (part time/full time) Number of new job opportunities
Strengthen positive male characteristics	Group discussion focus on male issues and fathering Offer positive role models Arrange activities in positive male environment	Follow-up interview focused on activities; i.e. boys club, etc. Gang, no activities, etc.
Outreach	Establishing relationship with father of the baby Sensitivity of cultural differences	Number enrolled fathers in 1 year Proportion of ethnic groups represented

Table 4: Objectives, Implementation and evaluation criteria

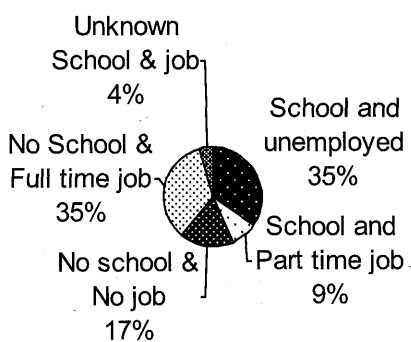


Figure 1: School Status and Job

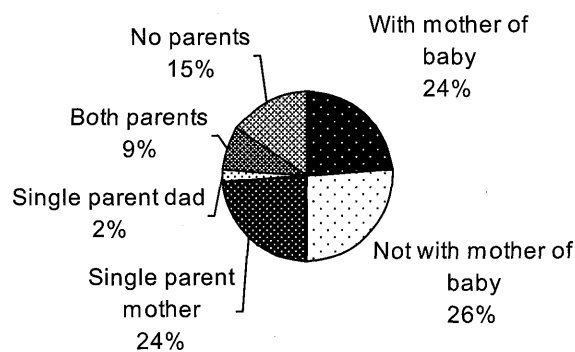


Figure 2: Current Living Arrangements

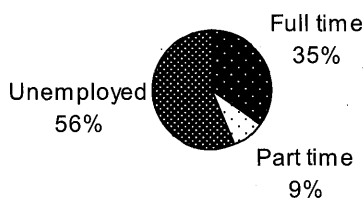


Figure 3: Employment Status (Initial interview)

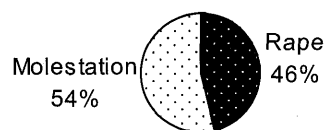


Figure 4: Sexual Abuse (rape and molestation)

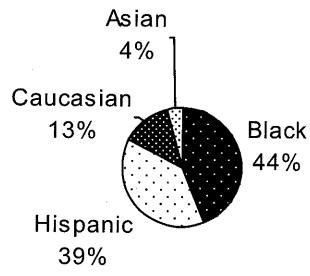


Figure 5: Teen fathers by race

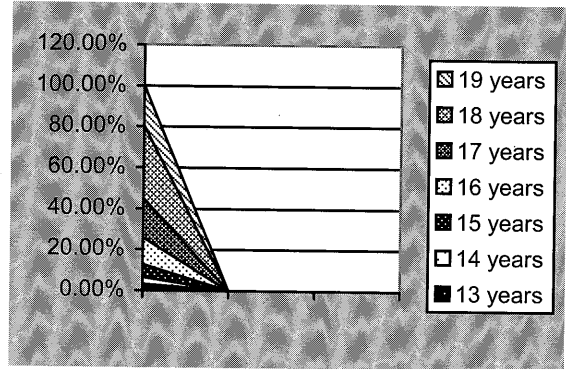


Figure 6: Ages of Teen Fathers