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Attitudes of lower class negroes towards illegitimacy

Eleanor Williams

Atlanta University

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ATTITUDES OF LOWER CLASS NEGROES TOWARDS ILLEGITIMACY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
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SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
MAY 1966
I want to acknowledge the cooperation of the three co-authors who worked with me on this group thesis, Fannie Eisenstein, Ann Graves and Marva Peace.

It was a rigorous and rewarding collaboration.
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CHAPTER I

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

We can expect in the next five years increasing concern over the problem of illegitimacy. Even if the percentage of illegitimacy does not increase, indeed, even if it should decrease slightly, there may well be an increase in the number of illegitimate children.

Almost ten million females were born between 1953 and 1957 as compared to 5.25 million females born in the period 1933-1937, 7.50 million born during 1943-47, and nine million born during 1948-1952. Thus, for example, the number of thirteen-to-seventeen year old unwed mothers in 1970 can be higher than in preceding years without any increase in the proportion of all thirteen-through seventeen-year old females becoming pregnant out of wedlock.

Atlanta ranks second in the nation, outdistanced only by Washington, D. C., in the proportion of illegitimate births to all live births. Illegitimate births in the nonwhite group exceeded even the District proportion, placing Atlanta first in the nation in the ratio of nonwhite illegitimate live births.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>2,046</td>
<td>146.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,813</td>
<td>292.1</td>
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</table>

1Statistics for the five county Metropolitan Atlanta Area, Georgia Department of Public Health, Georgia Vital and Morbidity Statistics, 1963.
Illegitimate Live Births, Number and Rate per 1,000 Live Births by Race

1963 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Nonwhite</th>
<th>Rate Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Nonwhite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DeKalb</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>278.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobb</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>220.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwinnett</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>210.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayton</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>220.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even granting that statistical information on out of wedlock births is inaccurate, that differences in rate by race may be affected by differences of reporting between class and ethnic groups, by abortions, by interstate migration of white women, and other efforts at concealment, current evidence suggests that known illegitimacy is most prevalent among low-income, non-white groups.

Many of these families will eventually need the help of public welfare agencies. How this help will be given, what policies and practices will be developed, will depend in part on how the problem of illegitimacy is seen and understood.

One element of this kind of knowledge is to understand the attitudes of low-income, Negro families toward illegitimacy.

The Problem of Definition

How . . . should an illegitimate birth be defined? To many professionals it is a psychological symptom, an outcome of internal, emotional stresses—the mother must therefore be treated as a client or patient. But morally she may be a deviant—and there are frequent movements to abolish, or severely limit, welfare payments to mothers who continue to

1 Florence Crittenton Home for unwed mothers is located in DeKalb County.
have illegitimate children—the hope being that this may also limit immorality. But socially and economically the illegitimate mother may be a victim. Raymond T. Smith, of the University College of the West Indies, has shown that when steady incomes are available to Negro families in the Caribbean there is greater family stability, less male desertion, and fewer illegitimate births. From this view effective help is a matter of reducing inequality and expanding opportunity. In short, how we define "illegitimate birth" determines the fate of mother and child—and, in practice, the fates of many mothers and children.1

Illegitimacy is only one sector in the continuum of illicit sex. The continuum starts with illicit intercourse and may have any of a number of outcomes ... there may be no incident of pregnancy, there may be pregnancy and abortion, an illegitimate birth, or a forced marriage. It is not always clear what the social objection is—is it illicit coition per se, or illicit coition without successful contraception, or illicit coition with abortion, or illicit coition without abortion, or a live birth to an unwed mother, or a forced marriage with a high possibility of early desertion or divorce?

It is difficult to tease out exactly what the "problem" is. Is there a problem only when a live baby is produced by an unwed mother? Is it a problem at all when a live baby is produced and then adopted by eager parents while the biological mother goes back to work or school? Is the live illegitimate baby a social problem only when the mother keeps it or only when the mother keeps it and needs help from the society to maintain it?

The identification and labelling of a social problem tends to reflect administrative, financial or legal considerations rather than the nature or causes of the problem. Particular consequences and how they

1Martin Rein, The Social Service Crisis, p. 3 (Mimeographed reprint from Trans-Action, a publication of the Community Leadership Project, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri).
are viewed in terms of costs to the community create the selective concern.

One can label both the sixteen year old daughter of an upper middle class advertising executive and a sixteen year old Negro girl from an urban slum "unwed mothers" but for all practical purposes these are two distinct problems.

To reflect the verisimilitude of life, social problems have to be seen in their class and caste context.

Premarital and extramarital intercourses leading to illegitimacy offers another example of differentials in the social response to deviation depending upon the economic position of the offender. First of all, illegitimacy is handled very differently in the several social classes. In the middle and upper classes, abortion is a common remedy. If abortion is not chosen as the preferred solution, then the child is placed through the good offices of understanding and discrete private physicians or privately supported adoption agencies. The poor, by contrast cannot so readily afford abortions, nor is it nearly so easy for them especially if they are members of a minority group—to dispose of their illegitimate offspring through private physicians and private agencies, for no one wants such children. They are, in short, constrained to keep their children—to become unwed mothers socially as well as biologically. The paucity of opportunities for abortion and child placement among the poor helps to produce the high rate of unwed-mothers families in this group. Such families are highly visible if only because many of them eventually require financial support through tax-supported programs of public welfare.¹

But when illegitimacy is viewed in a class and caste context,

¹Richard A. Cloward, Social Problems, Social Definitions and Social Opportunities. Mimeographed address pp. 5-6. Prepared for the Regional Institutes on "Juvenile Delinquency and Social Forces" sponsored by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the Ford Foundation, April, 1963; reproduced with permission for use by the Metropolitan Social Services Conference of Executives, United Community Council, Columbus, Ohio, September, 1964.
it becomes clear that illegitimacy is not an isolated phenomenon but part of a complex of problems which are interrelated, part of a total life situation and therefore part of a total life expectancy.

Some Facts on Illegitimacy

The first and most salient fact is that our statistical information on illegitimate births is incomplete.

Fifteen states do not record illegitimate births. In the states that do record, some illegitimate births are not reported for registration. Other records are falsified to conceal illegitimacy.

It has been widely accepted that illegitimacy is more widespread among lower socio-economic groups. The California studies of Clark Vincent on unwed mothers raise some doubt about this belief. Vincent found that illegitimacy among the deprived was far greater than among the middle class if one examined the public hospital records, but that illegitimate births among middle-class individuals were far more frequent when data were collected from private doctors.¹

Vincent's study presented data based on 71% response from 576 doctors who provided information on 137 unwed mothers delivered in private practice in Alameda County, California. 83.9% of the mothers were white; 51.8% were 22 years or older; 38.0% had attended or completed college, and 60.5% were employed in professional or white collar jobs or were college students.²

Information from private physicians is more difficult to obtain than information from public hospitals.

Against the background of omissions and inaccuracies and falsification, the latest estimate of the National Division of Vital Statistics, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is 224,300 illegitimate births in 1960.

The projected estimate for 1962 is 275,000 illicit births.

Planned Parenthood and other sources estimate that there are 1,000,000 abortions annually in the United States. It also estimated that these abortions are performed in the main on white women since abortions are expensive. Some estimates run as high as 97% white abortions. Most abortions, according to admittedly imprecise knowledge, are performed on married women. Even if 10% are performed on unmarried women, the number involved would be around 100,000—nearly half the number of illegitimate births.

The proportion of nonwhite illicit births to all illicit births increased from 53% in 1938 to 65% in 1957 but decreased to 62% in 1962. This may reflect more reporting in hospitals of nonwhite mothers.

In the large cities, the proportions of illegitimate births to all live births were highest in Washington, D. C. (18.8%) and in Atlanta (14.5%). Illegitimate births in the nonwhite group exceeded the District proportion in four cities: Atlanta, Cincinnati, Memphis and St. Louis.

In Atlanta in 1957, the total number of illegitimate live births was 1,820—white 1146 and nonwhite 1,671. The Atlanta ratio per 1,000 registered live births was 114.6: the white ratio was 21.3 and the nonwhite 292.9.1

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In the number of illegitimate births, ratio (per 1,000 live births) and rate of illegitimacy, (per 1,000 unmarried females of child-bearing ages) females under 20 years of age show the smallest increase for 1938-1957. The rate of illegitimacy which is the most reliable indicator of increases (because it takes into account the total number of single females in any given age group) shows the increases among the 25-34 year olds are at least four times as great as among those under 20.

The years 1957-1962 reflect the sharp increase in the total live birth rate that began in 1945-46 and increased the total number of fifteen and sixteen year olds in 1962. The illegitimacy rate for the age group 15-19 decreased 4% while the rate in the older groups increased.\(^1\)

The rate of out-of-wedlock pregnancies was highest for the entire period not among teenagers as many people seem to believe but among women between 20-30 years of age. It also has increased the most in this older age group. In fact, among girls from 15-19 years of age, the illegitimacy rate showed no increase between 1956 and 1960 but a slight downward trend. At present the annual illegitimacy rate is about 15 per 1,000 among teenagers and about 40 per 1,000 among unmarried women of 20-30 years.\(^2\)

Again, these figures need to be viewed against a background of other unreported data. For example, in a middle class suburb of a large city 14 girls out of 200 in the senior class left school before

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graduation due to illicit pregnancy. In all but two cases the families had moved "for business reasons" to another community, or a hasty marriage had taken place with the young couple moving elsewhere.¹

"Forced" or "pushed" marriages are variously estimated at between 30-50% of teen-age marriages. Twenty per cent of all brides who marry are pregnant, it is estimated.

According to Kinsey, 48% of all married women studied had had premarital intercourse. Of course there are methodological questions concerning Kinsey's sample since they were volunteers, with what this may imply about the non-random quality of his sample. Other investigations tend to corroborate a steady rise in premarital coition.

Although in the past unwed mothers were thought to be an immoral "type," fallen women, and later conflicted personalities "acting out" in unconscious but purposive illegitimate pregnancies, more recent studies have concluded that there is no "type," no characteristic traits which would distinguish the girl who gets pregnant and has a baby out of wedlock from other girls who sleep with boys before they marry.

Clark Vincent made a systematic inquiry into the likenesses and differences in personalities of unmarried mothers and a matched group of single, never-pregnant girls. He demonstrated that unwed mothers are likely to be unique only to the extent that they are unwed mothers, being in the main representatives of females throughout the country. His group comparisons, using the California Personality Inventory, revealed that unwed mothers are not unrepresentative of

the population in either mentality or emotional stability. He con-
cluded that unwed motherhood is not the result of any one personality
type, intrafamiliar relationship or social situation.¹

Causes of Illegitimacy

When one speaks of the causes of illegitimacy, one needs to be clear what the point of reference is. There is only one cause of illegitimacy and that is illicit coition, or rather that part of illicit coition which results in the birth of a child to an unwed mother. Although society makes obeisance in the direction of preferring a diminu-
tion of illicit sex, excitation and stimulation of illicit sex continue to mount in business advertising, TV, magazines, movies and adult ex-
ample.

It seems as though illicit sex is tolerated—as long as there is no baby.

Double standards in sex between men and women, between adults and teenagers, between words of restraint for others and realities of license, tend to breed either confusion of cynicism. The commercial-
ization of sex is part of the same culture that piously says sex is a privilege reserved for married couples.

Although many factors have been seen as multiple causes in illegitimacy—changes in patterns of family life with increased free-
dom and lessened adult supervision for adolescents, widespread changes in attitude toward illicit relations, poverty and exclusion from middle class culture, rapid urbanization, poor housing, segregated education, ghetto living—the evidence seems to point to the fact that an illegiti-

mate birth can happen whenever there is illicit coition—in any class or station in life—but that the births largely take place under differential conditions of class and caste.

**Services to Unwed Mothers**

The Florence Crittenton Association of America and the Salvation Army which have 80 maternity homes account for about half of the total capacity of all the homes for unwed mothers. The proportion of nonwhite mothers among their clientele is 12%. In contrast, an estimated 25% served by public child welfare agencies are nonwhite, while 60% of all illegitimate births are to nonwhite mothers.

If the proportion of clients who are nonwhite is the same in all maternity homes combined this would mean that about one quarter of all white unmarried mothers reported are served by maternity homes, but only 1 in 50 nonwhite mothers receive such care.

Seventy per cent of all white illegitimate children are given for adoption but only 3-5% of nonwhite illegitimate children are adopted.

With a chronic shortage of Negro adoptive homes, most Negro unmarried mothers have little choice but to keep their babies, which all but rules out the specialized voluntary agencies as a source of help for them. Some maternity homes are frankly or indirectly discriminatory in their admission policies.

In the main, nonwhite unwed mothers used public hospital clinics. A study conducted at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York revealed that:

Adoption was the primary plan among the white women, but only one Puerto Rican and one Negro woman planned adoption. This reflects in part the relatively small demand for children

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1Hannah M. Adams and Ursula M. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
2Rose Bernstein, "Gaps in Services to Unmarried Mothers," *Children X* (March-April, 1963).
for adoption among these two ethnic groups. It may also reflect the general lack of agency services to encourage or satisfy application for Negro or Puerto Rican children to adopt.¹

The majority of the Puerto-Rican women in the Mount Sinai study planned to care for their out-of-wedlock children themselves within a framework of consensual union, or with assistance from a public agency if that became necessary. The Negro women for the most part tended to take their babies home to support themselves or with the assistance of a public agency.

There have been two concepts behind categories of service, differentially delivered. "One is sociological, the other psycholo-analytic. The sociological is applied chiefly to Negro women, the psychoanalytic, to white."²

The setting for help for the nonwhite unwed mother is the hospital, and, as needed, the welfare department. The setting for the white unwed mother has been the social agency with its adoption services.

The history of the white unmarried mother's use of the social agency's services has been that she tended to accept help with concrete plans for care and adoption, and rejected the counseling and implications of personality difficulty.

Of the children who are adopted, about 30% of the white children and about 16% of the nonwhite children are receiving Aid for Dependent

Children. The nonwhite population, it is estimated, is supporting 1.2 million illegitimate children without public assistance funds. Two hundred thousand white illegitimate children apparently are supported from sources other than ADC. ¹

Values

Different values stem from different life possibilities. The discussion of the problem of premarital coitus for middle-class adolescents is one kind of discussion that would seem to have little relevance for lower class adolescents. Thomas Poffenberger took issue with L. A. Kirkendall's concept that interpersonal relationships were the criterion of satisfactory sex behavior and that premarital coitus was not wrong in itself but only wrong if disturbing to the couple's interpersonal relations. Poffenberger pointed out that this position could not be used in a public high school which had to uphold the mores of our culture. "As long as adolescent premarital coitus is not approved of by the majority of the members of the society, the schools can take only the position that it is not approved of and not approved of under any circumstances."²

But this is possible only where the schools have a certain relationship to the youth—to white middle class youth for example, who are being prepared for "open" jobs and further education.


When Poffenberger says the "present preoccupation with sex in the culture needs to be replaced with other values"—educational and intellectual achievement as well as occupational and professional productivity—that is a feasible goal for middle-class, white college-directed youth.

The schools here are in a "caring" relationship, goal directed both for the adolescent and his society. But what of the lower-class, Negro adolescent in low income and/or segregated schools, overcrowded and understaffed and underpitched in goal and curriculum,—where the role of the school is more a "push-out" one and where the values of occupational and professional productivity and educational and intellectual achievement are conceived of for "others," those who are going somewhere to be welcomed, not to be rebuffed.

Poffenberger's article is really addressed to middle-class, college-oriented youth who have a stake in the white adult world. There is, therefore, a normative "identification with sympathetic and understanding adults whose own values are made clear to the child and adolescent."

The adolescent, shut out of this world by the cumulative and corrosive effects of poverty and slum or ghetto living, may know about these values and possibilities but also know they are for "them" and not for "us."

Does this alienation remove the common values of the culture from the life-space of the lower class adolescent?

For example, is illegitimacy deviant or normative within the lower class?
There are many approaches to this question.

Some social scientists maintain there is a common value system and that even from the point of view of the lower class, illegitimacy represents deviant behavior.

Other researchers find a class-differentiated value system in a stratified society. Middle and upper class Negroes have the same attitudes toward marriage and illegitimacy as the comparable white groups. Allison Davis's studies find that those in the lower class react to different reality situations and that therefore their values and social goals are different.

Hyman Rodman combines the two positions with his concept of a "lower class value stretch" which he sees as the major response of the lower class to its deprived situation.

By the value stretch I mean that the lower class person, without abandoning the general values of the society, develops an alternative set of values. . . Without abandoning the values of marriage and legitimate childbirth he stretches these values so that a nonlegal union and legally illegitimate children are also desirable. The result is that the members of the lower class, in many areas, have a wider range of values than others within the society. They share the general values of the society. . . but in addition they have stretched these values, or developed alternative values, which help them adjust to their deprived circumstances. 1

But stretching the range of values implies a thinning out, and Rodman adds that insofar as the lower class person stretches his values there would be a "low degree of commitment" to all the values he holds.

Perhaps there is not a low degree of commitment to all the values but instead a priority system of commitment, with the highest priority...

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assigned to survival and other priorities in value commitment adapted to the changing conditions of the struggle to survive.

Low-income Negro mothers in the District of Columbia were asked to comment on the possibility of a daughter's premarital pregnancy. Many of the answers revealed that the mothers felt it was far better to bear a child in wedlock than out of wedlock but that one had to handle whatever "hurting thing" happened to one's children.

One mother said:

I hope this will never happen, but I would certainly say I wouldn't make them get married. I'd have to stick by them and make the best of it, but it would be a hurting thing.

Another mother of eight answered:

I know it would hurt me an awful lot. But I wouldn't put her out. A real mother wouldn't do that. But it would really hurt me. . . .

And another:

That's why I didn't want any girls. I used to pray that I would only have boys, but I got girls also. So I'd have to put up with it.1

The answers indicate the desirability of wedlock, a commitment to the value of legitimacy, but a higher commitment to the value of protecting one's child and helping her to survive hurt.

Many mothers in the low-income category are opposed to forced marriage, and this opposition appears to be related to the notso-strange

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belief that one should marry for love and happiness.1

A young wife of twenty recalled her feelings when she became pregnant at sixteen:

I could have gotten married when I first got pregnant but I didn't think it would work and I didn't feel that I loved him. . . I didn't think I could tell him that I loved him until I really felt it. . . and that's when I did.2

Another mother left the decision of marriage to her pregnant fifteen year old daughter with this advice: "It's better to be an unwed mother than an unhappy bride."3

Hyland Lewis raised the question: "Does the behavior of lower-income unmarried mothers necessarily reflect their desired norms and values—or do they accept conflicting sets of norms and values and act pragmatically?"4

Perhaps the lower class mother's norms and values are like rubber sheeting which, when stretched by the rigors of lower class life, does not stretch evenly, but develops waves and troughs. The troughs may represent the desired goals and norms, and the waves represent the higher priority thrust to survive the storm and get through to the next calm.

This may not be acting "practically" however, or with a "low degree of commitment," but from principle, the principle of survival,

1Elizabeth Herzog and Hylan Lewis, op. cit., p. 13.
2Ibid.
3Ibid.
4Ibid., p. 10.
of loyalty to children, or desire for human love and happiness in marriage.

Hylan Lewis observed that "birth in wedlock is an important value; it might be preempted by another important value, or its realization thwarted by practical considerations."

Preemption implies not a low commitment to all values, but a priority system of values that adapts to blows and denial.

... the poor focus on the problem of survival, not because they are personally deficient, but because that is precisely the problem facing them. They often find it hard to believe that natural and social forces can be harnessed and controlled precisely because the experiences of their lives—as contrasted with the lives of middle-class people—tells them that nothing can be done except to endure such pressures. If their life conditions change—if their opportunities are enlarged—their values will change. Meanwhile they adopt values which enable them to adjust, to accommodate in a reasonable fashion to their specialized conditions of life. These adaptive patterns, once stabilized, are taken by members of higher classes as evidence of the deviant motivation of the poor.

... the female-centered household... is a product not of freedom of choice, but rather of force of circumstances. The great problem of many lower class girls in our society—especially those of minority status—is not that they are likely to become unwed mothers but, rather, that their opportunities for becoming wed mothers (that is, becoming part of a stable, monogamous family system) are extremely limited. The middle class family system is first of all based on the simple notion that the male will have the opportunity to work and thus support his wife and offspring. But what might happen to such a family pattern if men were denied the opportunity to engage in stable employment? Indeed what would happen if women were given greater opportunity to work than men? This is precisely the situation of many Negroes in America... Under such conditions, the monogamous, nuclear family cannot develop. So it is that the women become the organizers and supporters of the family...

... no amount of preachments, clinical help or threats of punishment will change this family system. It arose from economic deprivations; it will be changed only by the provision of economic opportunities.

In short, approaches to lower class illegitimacy as a moral
problem, as a psychiatric problem or as 'an accepted way of life' miss the point. These approaches imply that the problem is one to be solved through rehabilitative services or merely to be tolerated. By such ways of defining the situation, we draw attention away from the basic social and economic inequalities in our society that give rise to these alternate social patterns.¹

The Negro lower class may thus have conflicting attitudes and values. The dominant white culture defines goals, rewards and satisfactions which magnetically attract both those who have good possibilities of attaining them and those who have almost no such possibilities at all. Who does not yearn for recognition, security, health, and comfort? A good education for one's children, a pleasant home, "love and marriage"--all these are shared aspects of a common culture. But if the commonly cherished prize is reserved for "others," if "love and marriage" like "a horse and carriage" are for "them" not "us," life is still to be lived, and other forms, not properly institutional, will be found. The values instilled by the common culture may continue to exist as a hope for the future, for one's children, perhaps--but for the present one must survive with as much of life's possibilities as can be salvaged from or recreated out of the debris of exclusion.

...institutions do not keep going just because they are enshrined in norms, and it seems extraordinary that anyone should ever talk as if they did. They keep going because they have pay-offs, ultimately pay-offs for individuals. Nor is society a perpetual-motion machine, supplying its own fuel. It cannot keep itself going by planting in the young a desire for those goods and only those goods that it happens to be in shape to provide. It must provide goods that men find rewarding not simply because they are sharers in a particular culture but because they are men.²

There are a number of stereotypes reflected in current literature about the attitudes of the lower class Negro toward sex and illegitimacy. According to these stereotypes, illegitimacy is an accepted way of life among lower class Negroes and no stigma is attached to it. Lower class Negroes are described as casual about sex, seeking sexual gratification without concern for outcome. The lower class Negro woman—the matriarch—is depicted as accepting the total responsibility for offspring. The lower class Negro male drifts on, unhampered by responsibility.  

There is evidence that all lower class Negro families do not accept illegitimacy and its burdens. Although many Negro families will "accept" the hurt and trouble of an illegitimate pregnancy and out of wedlock birth, other families are punitive and rejecting, abandoning their daughters to "shift for themselves."

John R. Larkins, of the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, in a 1943 report stressed the need for maternity homes to "protect and train during pregnancy Negro girls, many of them between twelve and fourteen, who are left to shift for themselves." The report continued: "They are seldom taken out of the environment in which they were living, their relatives often turning on them."

In his campaign against Negro illegitimacy in Northampton County, North Carolina, in 1954, John Larkins included among other


public educational measures "removing home sanctions against unwed mothers."¹

Far from accepting illegitimacy as a way of life, these families abandoned the pregnant girls, turned on them, or brought sanctions against them.

The delineation of the lower class Negro as untroubled by illegitimacy, ruled by "impulse gratification," and accepting of the female-centered household comes out of a sloppy equation of life preferences with life conditions. How people would want to live and how they do live is often separated by the sea of the possible. The nature of the discrepancy, what occasions it, what forces deflect people from normative desires, may be of far more import than the deviance itself. Poverty and discrimination may force people to live in certain ways, because the reduced means which poverty and discrimination entail preclude certain ends. They way in which people live is then, through the terrible alchemy of the actual, seen as the preferred way of life, a subculture, or cultural system of "their own"—the culture of poverty.

Female-based households exist, and existing they are seen as "accepted" in the sense of being present without discernible movement to change their form of existence. But acceptance has two modalities—endurance and desire. It is one thing to endure the special features of the female-based household—it is another to desire them as a way of life.

If it is true that people may be living not as they wish to

¹Ibid., p. 4, quoted from John R. Larkins' speech October 5, 1954 in Northampton County, "Children Born Out of Wedlock."
live but however they can to survive, then the "focus of efforts to change should be on background conditions and on precipitants of the deviant behaviors rather than on presumably different class or cultural values."\(^1\)

Here, changes in social conditions are envisioned—such as available jobs at decent wages for Negro males—what Hylan Lewis calls the "critical importance of an adequate job for the male."\(^2\)

John Kenneth Galbraith called family life the "luxury of an adequate income."\(^3\) If change is the goal, this may mean that the provision of possibilities for earning a living are crucial while attempts to train the poor to be better and perform better with the little they have are trivial in comparison.

Even in this less significant area, however, more might be available in the direction of change by leading from the strengths and fighting spirit to survive of the poor rather than from their stance of defeat which comes from bracing for blows.

Recently there have been attempts to differentiate among the poor instead of lumping all the poor together—marking the differences among the stable working class, the employed poor, the unemployed poor, the chronically dependent poor. Others divide the poor among the upward striving, good church folk poor, intermediate poor with occasional

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brushes with the law, and the criminal poor.

Writing about the "very poor," (the chronically unemployed or casual unskilled labor groups) Catherine S. Chilman approaches change not from the point of view of changing social conditions and eliminating acute poverty but changing the people who are "very poor," changing them and their "way of life" or subculture:

Perhaps the subculture of poverty could be tentatively diagnosed as being . . . a comparatively immature system of behavior and attitudes, since, in the light of available research, some of their outstanding features are magical thinking, subjective judgment, impulse gratification, use of force rather than reason, alienation from authority figures, lack of goal commitment, distrust of heterosexual relationships, projection of problems on to others and other similar characteristics. If it is agreed that these characteristics are more typically associated with childhood and youth than with adult maturity in the middle class culture, does it follow that many of the poor need, in effect, to be guided with the same kind of mild, firm, consistent discipline that research reveals to be so closely associated with positive mental health, educational achievement, "good moral character" and eventual marital success? Such guidance would require modification, of course, in its use with adults.¹

If this is our concept, that lower class Negroes, large numbers of whom are among the "very poor," accept this subculture as a "way of life," there are certain consequences. Change becomes contingent on changing the poor, "guiding" them with firm, consistent discipline. This involves programs directed toward individuals. If this concept is not correct, if this is not the way of life which the "very poor" accept as desirable, if they have not a lack of goal commitment but a desire for goal possibilities, this accents programs directed toward

social change.

Hylan Lewis writes that a man's ability to support and stand
for the family is of particular importance—that wives, mothers and
children expect this of him. Commenting on this, Elizabeth Ross writes:

So—both low income wives and their children expect the
man of the family to work, expect men to head their families.
Do we believe that? Rather, don't many of us think that in
"low income culture" women willingly run the family show,
expecting their men to goof off?"¹

What is seen as the problem stems from what is seen as reality.

Pseudo facts have a way of inducing pseudo problems,
which cannot be solved because matters are not as
they purport to be.²

It is to investigate how matters are, that this study is directed.

¹Elisabeth H. Ross, Comments on "Child Rearing Practices Among
Low Income Families in the District of Columbia," a paper presented
before the National Conference on Social Welfare by Hylan Lewis,

Sociology Today, Robert K. Merton, et al. (eds.). Basic Books (New
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine certain attitudes and values of lower class Negroes toward illegitimacy.

Restricting our study to lower class Negro families, is not done to contrast Negro families with lower class white families. The limitation of our study to lower class Negro families is only to examine certain attitudes attributed to this particular group.

Hypothesis 1: Current conceptions of lower class Negroes' attitudes toward illegitimacy are stereotypes.

Sub-Hypothesis (a): Lower class Negroes do not expect lower class Negro men to be responsible for their illegitimate children.

Sub-Hypothesis (b): Lower class Negroes expect lower class Negro women to accept total responsibility for their illegitimate children.

Sub-Hypothesis (c): Illegitimacy is accepted as a way of life by lower class Negroes.

Sub-Hypothesis (d): Lower class Negroes look upon sex as immediate gratification without concern for outcome.

Hypothesis 2: Lower class Negroes have conflicting values about illegitimacy based on the real situations they face.

Sub-Hypothesis (a): The preferred value among lower class
Negroes is marriage with children in wedlock. It is future oriented toward desired goals.

Sub-Hypothesis (b): The survival value among lower class Negroes is acceptance of unwed mothers and their illegitimate children. It is present adapted to meet reality situations.

Definition of Terms and Concepts

Attitudes.—There are a number of definitions for attitudes. Gordon W. Allport gives the following: "An attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."¹

Sorenson and Malm define attitudes as, "a tendency to think or act in a certain way in respect to some object or situation, often attended by feeling."²

For purposes of this study, however, we shall define attitudes, as they have been defined by T. M. Newcomb: "a state of readiness for motive arousal"; an individual's attitude toward something "is his predisposition to perform, perceive, think and feel in relation to it."³

Values.—General precepts to which men give their allegiance and about which they are likely to have strong feelings. They represent attitudes of approval and disapproval, judgments of good or

³Klineberg, op.cit., p. 482.
bad, desirable or undesirable, toward specific persons, things, situations and events."¹

Survival Values.--Those values which take precedence in the struggle for existence.

Preferred Values.--Those values which are desired above and beyond the survival value.

Illegitimate.--Any child begotten and born out of wedlock to a never-married female.

Negro.--Any person who claims or who is known to have Negro ancestry.

Stereotype.--An over simplified and frequently distorted picture, about some aspect of reality.²

Lower Class.--There are a number of definitions given to the concepts of lower class, based on research undertakings of sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, etc.

Among these definitions, one by W. Lloyd Warner and his associates indicates that the concept lower class is divided into upper lower and lower lower. Members of the upper lower class are semi-skilled workers in factories, service workers and a few small tradesmen. They live in the less desirable sections, and have low incomes.

The lower lower class, according to Warner, live in the worst section of town and are semi-skilled and unskilled workers. They comprise the largest proportion of individuals on relief.

Hollingshead and Redlich presented in their Index of Social Position, the cultural characteristics of each social class. This social index was premised upon three assumptions: that social stratification exists in the community; that status positions are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted cultural characteristics; and that items symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by statistical procedures so that a researcher can reliably and meaningfully stratify the population.¹

The three indicators of status utilized by the Index of Social Position to determine class positions are: the residential address of a household; the occupational position of its head; and the years of school the head has completed.²

There are five principal social classes. In class five, the bottom stratum of the class structure, the authors indicate that there are employable and semi-skilled and unskilled males; as well as some who have never held a job. The authors indicate also that jobs in class five are low paying jobs and require long hours, six or seven days a week. Class five jobs are seasonal, and there may be long periods of unemployment and hard times. Thus a class five family may have to be supplemented by unemployment compensation, state aid or direct relief.

Over two thirds of class five live in crowded old tenement areas of the city, where sanitation problems are common due to insufficient toilet facilities.

²Ibid.
Class five has a very poor education background. The median years of schooling completed being six years for men and slightly less than eight for women.\footnote{1}

In addition to the characteristics described here by Warner, Hollingshead and Redlich, there is a statement concerning status given in the 1960 Census Report: "Occupation, educational attainment, and income are all related, though no one of them by itself is an adequate indicator of socio-economic status."

For purposes of this study, however, we are equating lower class with low-income, as it is indicated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, "families who try to shelter, feed and clothe their children, stave off disease and malnutrition, and somehow build a better life on less than $60 a week."\footnote{2} The category of this study is lower class Negro families of four or more living on $3000 or less per year. Included in this category are: women heads of households with three or more children, and male-spouse households with two or more children.

Procedure, Scope, and Limitations

Four students worked jointly on this study. As our instrument for eliciting data we used an interview schedule designed by the members of the group.

We used an interview schedule as against a questionnaire, because: first, we felt the interview to be a more flexible instrument. The interview permits rephrasing of questions, or asking additional ones to make clarifications. Second, an interview allows more

\footnote{1}{Ibid., pp. 114-121.}
\footnote{2}{The Economic Opportunity Act, op. cit.}
opportunity to appraise validity, as the interviewer is in a position to observe not only what the respondent says, but how he says it. He can follow up contradictory statements, by probing in both areas. Third, the interview is more appropriate for revealing information about complex emotionally laden subjects. Fourth, the interview is more versatile with respect to the atmosphere which can be created during the interview.¹

In other words, because our major concern in this study was with values and attitudes, we used an interview schedule to create a more relaxed, open atmosphere, to provide a sensitive response situation to the interviewee's searching, and to permit the interviewee to take the initiative in formulating his own answers.

The administration of an interview schedule of this type takes time on the part of the interviewer, as well as the interviewee. Time is a factor in the development of the kind of atmosphere needed to elicit the free expression of thoughts and attitudes felt by the interviewee. Time is an important factor in the administration of the open-ended questions which are designed to permit the free expressions of the interviewee. Time is also needed to record the responses and to transcribe them after the interview. We, therefore, found it necessary to administer the schedule to a relatively small random sample.

We decided to draw our sample from lower class Negroes living in low-income housing projects, because, in the interests of time and

accuracy, we could more easily establish income levels for Negroes living in public housing. Income data is already established in public housing and we felt it might be made available to us without our having to question people directly about their income. Asking people how much they earn is fraught with difficulty: they may resent being asked, which is a poor prelude to the administration of an attitude interview, or they may give you inaccurate information which, in the framework of this study, the interviewers could not check. Although income answers given to the housing authority might also be open to some question, they were open to the usual checks and verification of eligibility determination. We, therefore, restricted our study to public housing in order to establish our sample more quickly and accurately in the limited time available for the collection of data.

We realized our sample might be skewed by differences which may exist between lower class Negroes living in and those living outside of public housing. Negroes living within public housing may have had better opportunities. They might be families with more initiative. There could be a higher proportion of families living on welfare. We recognized that these might be limitations, and needed to be taken into account. The advantage of having the data on income made available, however, was weighed against other limitations of time and accuracy, and we restricted our study to public housing. That this was a significant but uncertain factor was demonstrated in the subsequent experience of one of the interviewers.

Since our student group consisted of three Negroes and one white student, the race of the interviewer might constitute a
limitation of the study. The race of the interviewer might have bearing on a person's willingness to cooperate in the study and might influence his responses. That we were all middle class students, going into working-class families to discuss attitudes, may have introduced another limitation and possible source of error.

We had originally hoped to draw our entire random sample from Perry Homes in Atlanta and complete the interviewing during the summer months, June and July, 1965. Through the cooperation of the Perry Homes Housing Management, which provided us data on income levels and household composition we were able to select our random sample of 128 families.

In order to include return visits which might be necessary to accommodate to the needs of interviewees or to develop the relationship needed to elicit the data to test the hypotheses of this study, we decided to allow a minimum of four hours for each interview. Additional time was allowed for transcribing. Therefore it was decided that each member of the group would interview thirty-two persons. This would give each interviewer 128 hours of interviewing, and include 128 persons in the sample.

We found we were not able to complete the interviewing during June and July. Many of the people we came to interview were not home, and follow-up visits were necessary. On occasion appointments made were not kept, and again follow-up visits were necessary. More time was involved than had been planned.

Consequently, the collection of data had to be revised in terms of the limitations set by second year field work block placements. One of the students in the group had her block placement in
Atlanta and was able to complete the collection of data from Perry Homes as planned. Another student elected to remain in Atlanta during the vacation month of August and completed the collection of data from Perry Homes also. A third student was placed in an agency in Charlotte, North Carolina. She selected her random sample there in Fairview Houses, repeating the same random sampling technique used in selecting the sample at Perry Homes. The fourth student ran into procedural difficulties in the city of her placement, Yonkers, New York. The housing authority there would not make available the income data released in the other two cities. She, therefore, had to modify the procedure for selecting her sample.

**Selection of the Sample**

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 defines the poor as: "Ten million families who try to find shelter, feed and clothe their children, stave off disease and malnutrition, and somehow build a better life on less than sixty dollars a week." The Act goes on to specify that two-thirds of the poor live on less than forty dollars a week, and one third of the poor live on less than sixty dollars a week.

The category of this study is lower class Negro families of four or more living on $3000 or less per year. Included in this category is: either a woman head of the house and three or more children, or a man and his wife and two or more children.

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2. Ibid.
From the 1960 census report, table 225, we have determined that in the U.S. there are 36.5% nonwhite low-income female headed households, with their own children under 18 years. We arrived at this figure in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under $1000</th>
<th>$1,000 to $1,999</th>
<th>$2,000 to $2,999</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband-Wife</td>
<td>174,290</td>
<td>225,554</td>
<td>29,036</td>
<td>693,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with own children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female-head</td>
<td>168,362</td>
<td>147,581</td>
<td>84,582</td>
<td>400,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with own children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1094,405</strong></td>
<td><strong>473,135</strong></td>
<td><strong>113,618</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,681,158</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

400,525 = 36.5% Nonwhite female headed households in the low-income group, who have their own children under 18

We modeled the drawing of our sample on the national census figures, in which we found 36.5% nonwhite female headed households in the income group below $3000 per year. We followed this proportion in our sample. Our total sample being 128, this meant there would be 46 female headed households, and 82 husband-wife households. From the latter group, we intended to interview half men and half women—41 husbands and 41 spouses. By using this method we hoped to elicit both male and female attitudes toward illegitimacy, from the husband-wife group, and the attitudes of women who headed households alone.

Therefore, our total sample of 128 was to include 46 female heads of households, 41 male heads of households and 41 female spouses.

The original sample of 128 was drawn at Perry Homes, a Negro

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low-income housing project in Atlanta, Georgia. There are 1,000 units in this project of approximately 5,000 people. The Perry Homes management permitted us to draw our sample from their files. We excluded all families from the project population which did not meet the criteria of the study in terms of family composition and income. We then divided the remaining families, families of four or more with incomes of $3000 per year or less, into two groups: female headed families and male headed families.

From the female-headed households we picked, at equal intervals, 50 women--our sample of 46 and 4 for a pre-test. From the households headed by males, we picked both males and females in this way: starting with the first file card, we picked at equal intervals 43 males--41 for the sample and 2 for a pre-test. Starting with the second file card, we picked at equal intervals, 43 female spouses, 41 for the sample and 2 for the pre-test.

The families were then divided among the four interviewers, the pre-tests were conducted, the interview schedule adjusted in terms of the experience gathered, and the data collection was begun by all four interviewers at Perry.

In order to collect the proposed sample of 128 interviews with 46 female heads of households, 41 male heads of households and 41 female spouses, interviewer #1 was to interview 12 female heads, 10 male heads and 10 female spouses; interviewer #2 was to interview 12 female heads, 10 male heads and 10 female spouses; interviewer #3 was to interview 11 female heads, 11 male heads and 10 female spouses, and interviewer #4 was to interview 11 female heads, 10 male heads
and 11 female spouses.

**Collection of Data at Perry Homes,**

**Atlanta, Georgia**

Interviewer #1 and interviewer #2 completed their interviews at Perry; the other two interviewers did not. The interviews they did complete, however, have been included in the Perry Homes data since they were part of the original random sample chosen.

The easiest interviews to obtain at Perry were interviews with women. The men at Perry Homes were for the most part working men and it was difficult to find them at home. Therefore, the first interviews gathered by interviewers #3 and #4 were in the main with female spouses and female heads. This accounts for the larger number of female spouse interviews than was originally detailed.

Perry Homes, at the time that we arrived for our study, had not been subjected to other research teams. For the most part we were well received, especially by women, many of whom were eager to discuss ideas and attitudes. As one woman remarked, "It's been a long time since anyone asked me what I thought about anything."

The white interviewer encountered only one male refusal to grant an interview. Two of the nine male heads she interviewed were constrained during the opening phase of the interview, but this wore off. The presence of a wife helped ease the atmosphere, the interviewer noted, and arranged to do the interviewing of male heads of households on Sundays when their wives were home.

Children announced: "There's a white lady here," and women were initially surprised at a white interviewer's sudden appearance.
With one or two exceptions, however, the women discussed freely, some of them with a rush of ideas and illustrations.

One woman hesitated about giving an interview: she was "ashamed" she did not have much education and thought the interviewer would "do better with someone else." She was afraid she would give "wrong" answers.

The interviewer assured her there were no wrong or right answers. We were after how people saw and understood what happened in the life around them—their own ideas about and attitudes toward illegitimacy.¹

She gave the interview. At the end she said: "It wasn't as bad as I thought it would be. In fact, I enjoyed it. It made me feel I would want to go back to school and get an education. And now that I heard my answers, I think they are good answers, to my way of thinking."

The interviewers did not ask anyone they interviewed about their own personal experiences with illegitimacy.² Nevertheless, a number of women volunteered that information about themselves and their daughters. For example, at the end of one of the interviews, a woman asked the interviewer if there was any difference in how women answered the questions as between women who were mothers of legitimate children and women who were mothers of illegitimate children. The interviewer answered that we did not ask mothers whether their children were legitimate or not. A few had told us anyway, but it was

¹See Appendix, Schedule 1. Approach for Interviewing.
²See Appendix, Schedule 2. Interview Schedule.
hard to judge from a few. The woman then told the interviewer her oldest daughter was an illegitimate child. One male head of household at Perry Homes also volunteered the information, at the end of the interview, that his first child was illegitimate.

One of the women who during the interview told of her own experiences—-the illegitimacy of her first child, an unwanted marriage and its breakup—said at the end of the interview that it was "good to talk things out."

The atmosphere during the interviews granted at Perry Homes, was in the main a welcoming one. There were a number of men and women who obviously enjoyed being asked for their ideas, weighed them carefully, sometimes changed how they stated their attitudes during the interview in an effort to clarify for themselves and the interviewer what they thought and how they saw the question.

It may be that there is a difference in attitudes between those willing to grant interviews and those refusing to do so, and this would be a further limitation of the study.

The total number of male interviews completed by all interviewers at Perry Homes was seventeen. One male-headed family had moved. Seven male heads of households who were reached refused to give interviews. Thus, out of twenty-five male heads of households, seventeen interviews were completed.

The total number of female spouse interviews completed by all interviewers at Perry Homes was twenty-eight. Two families had moved and no one in this category refused to give an interview.

The total number of female heads of household interviews completed by all interviewers at Perry Homes was thirty-one. None
had moved. Two refused to give interviews.

Thus, out of the eighty-eight attempts at interviews in Perry Homes, seventy-six interviews were completed, nine refusals were encountered and three possible interviewees had moved.

Collection of Data in Schlobohm Homes and Mulford Gardens, Yonkers, New York

The interviewer was unable to elicit the cooperation of the housing authority in the city of Yonkers, New York. Consequently, the interviewer was without information relating to annual income, family composition, marital status, and location of the Negro population, within the housing projects.

Although the interviewer did not have access to the information specified above, the rationale for continuing the study in public housing was based on three factors: (1) the knowledge that all residents of low-income housing were subject to verification of income, within certain limits; (2) in areas outside of housing the interviewer would find the same difficulties in establishing exact incomes; and (3) collecting data in public housing would give greater uniformity.

The interviewer attempted to gather data in accordance with categories specified in the methodology: eleven female heads, eleven male heads, and ten female spouses. However, because of the handicap of collecting data without information about location, family composition, and income, and because of the interviewer's limited time in the Yonker's area, the interviewer modified the collection of the sample.

The procedure for locating and approaching Negro families for
purposes of the study was as follows: on each floor of the housing project the interviewer would knock on the first door and speak with an adult resident. If the family was Negro, she proceeded to get the information; if the family was white, she would inquire whether there were Negro families living on the hall. Where there were Negro families, the interviewer would call on them; where there were no Negro families, she proceeded to move to another floor.

Questions relating to income met with resistance. Very few people would state actual figures per month, or per week. Some would approximate; others frankly indicated that they would rather not state their income. Therefore, the interviewer judged income levels on the basis of visible items—the amount and quality of furniture, and the clothing worn by parents and children.

The manner in which income was established may introduce a limitation, in that some families included in the sample may have had incomes more than $3000 per year.

The interviewer initiated the collection of data in Schlobohm Homes, where she met with a tremendous amount of rejection and hostility, based on a fear that the interview would subsequently lead to displacement from public housing and/or loss of employment. At the conclusion of one month of interviewing in Schlobohm Homes, only eleven interviews had been collected, and ten persons had flatly refused to participate. The slow intake of data from Schlobohm Homes consequently led to completion of the sample in Mulford Gardens, another low-income housing project in Yonkers.

The sample accumulated included ten male heads, eight female heads, and fourteen female spouses. Seven male interviews were
completed, three male heads refused to grant interviews. Nine female spouse interviews were completed; five refused to grant interviews. Six female head interviews were completed; two refused to grant interviews.

Collection of Data at Fairview Homes,
Charlotte, N. C.

Fairview Homes, a federal housing project located in Charlotte, North Carolina, houses 500 families. Housing records showed that of these 500 families, 109 families of 4 or more people, lived on an annual income of $3000 or less. Of these 109 families, 52 were headed by males, and 57 were headed by females. From this population of 109 families, the interviewer was to select 10 male heads of households, 11 female spouses, and 11 female heads of households.

The interviewer selected the 10 male heads of households to interview, from the total population of 52 male-headed households of 4 or more people living on an annual income of $3000 or less. In an effort to arrive at this sample of 10, she divided 52 by 10. The quotient was 5 and the remainder was 2. The interviewer then deleted the first apartment number and the last apartment number. After she did this, she selected every fifth apartment number, for the purpose of interviewing the male head of the household.

After the interviewer selected the 10 male heads of households to interview, the original population of 52 male-headed households was reduced to 42. From this population of 42, she selected the 11 female spouses to interview. She arrived at the sample of 11 female spouses to interview by dividing 42 by 11. The quotient was 3, and the remainder
was nine. She then deleted the first 4 apartment numbers, and the last 5 apartment numbers. After she did this, she chose every third apartment number for the purpose of interviewing the female spouse.

The interviewer selected 11 female heads of households to interview from the population of 57 female-headed households. She arrived at this sample of 11 by dividing 57 by 11. Through this division, she obtained a quotient of 5 and a remainder of 2. She deleted the first apartment number and the last apartment number, and selected every fifth apartment number for the purpose of interviewing the female head of the household.

The housing manager of Fairview Homes informed this interviewer that this housing project had been penetrated by a great number of interviewers from anti-poverty programs. As a result of this infiltration of interviewers, he warned her that she might have some difficulty in the people permitting her to interview them, as they were somewhat weary of being interviewed and studied.

This interviewer did find some of the people reluctant to talk to her, and 3 openly rejected being interviewed. These rejections, along with the interviewee's failure to be at home for interviews, resulted in 24 actual interviews, out of the projected 32. When the interviewer found an interviewee not home, she went to his house 5 times trying to obtain an interview. After she went to a house 5 times without getting an interview with the individual who was part of the sample, the interviewee was listed as "never home."

Of the 11 female spouses she was to interview, she interviewed 10. The eleventh was never home. Of the 11 female heads of households
she was to interview, she interviewed 8. Two refused to respond on the basis that they did not have time, and 1 interviewee was never home. The interviewer interviewed 6 of the 10 males she had planned to interview. One male refused to respond on the basis that he did not have time, and 3 of the interviewees were never home.

As a result, this interviewer completed 24 interviews.

Summary

Out of a total of 152 attempted interviews, the 4 interviewers completed 122 interviews, encountered 22 refusals, found 3 had moved and 5 were never home.

Of the completed interviews, 30 were with male heads, 47 with female spouses and 45 with female heads.
CHAPTER III

DATA, PERRY HOMES, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

On the first day when our research team worked in the Perry Homes Management office sorting cards and choosing the random sample for the study, a number of staff people connected with housing projects who happened to be present at Perry asked us what we were doing.

We explained that we were interested in researching the attitudes of lower class Negroes toward illegitimacy. One of the staff personnel laughed and said, "I can tell you about that . . . they are just real serene about it."

Another said that from his experience in low-income housing projects he could tell us that there was a "general acceptance" of illegitimate pregnancy, what he termed a "clear case of moral degeneration." To illustrate, he described a group of five and six year olds he had observed at play at another low-income housing project in Atlanta. They were playing "pregnant," wearing big cover-up clothes and eating starch--play acting big bellies and a yen for specific foods. It was interesting to us that he assumed they were playing illegitimate pregnancy. Might they not have been playing just "having a baby," being an expectant mommy?

This prelude to the gathering of data seemed to sketch in the outline of our first hypothesis: that current conceptions of lower class Negroes' attitudes toward illegitimacy are stereotypes.
As we began our interviewing, we found in our random sample people who might readily fit preconceived ideas of "not caring," of having one illegitimate child after another without thinking anything of it," of being "just real serene about it"—until we heard what they said, what their attitudes were, not the attitudes attributed to them.

Our sample was not drawn from people who had themselves had illegitimate children--it was drawn from the total population of families in the low-income housing projects whose incomes were $3000 a year or less for a family of four or more. We asked no questions about personal experience with illegitimacy, either in their own lives or the lives of others in their families. When we asked "How would you feel if your unmarried son told you he got a girl pregnant?" or "How would you feel if your unmarried daughter told you she was pregnant," we explained we were asking for an act of projected imagination.

Nonetheless, a number of respondents told the interviewers during the course of the interview, and in some cases after it was over, that they had had illegitimate pregnancies themselves. The two interviewers at Perry had sixteen women volunteer information on their own illegitimate pregnancies or those of their daughters or both. A few other women inferred it, but did not state it outright. Only two male heads at Perry volunteered that they had had an illegitimate child, lived in common law marriage with the child’s mother, and finally married her.

The data gathered in the interviews are responses formulated by the respondents; there were nuances of feeling and emphasis that
shifted during the interview itself. A respondent would say, "no, I really do not mean it that way" after she had said "I would shoot myself" when asked how she would feel if her unmarried daughter told her she was pregnant. In some cases the respondents were aware that they were contradicting themselves and excused themselves saying "it was very hard to think things through." Yet despite the variations of individual answers, certain patterns of response emerged.

Even more striking than the patterns of response was the expressed yearning for a quality of life which was truly human on the part of many respondents. Their answers formulated a model, perhaps unachievable, of compassion for human error, support for the struggle to maintain life, hunger for a mutuality between men and women, and commitment to the future possibilities of one's children.

Before turning to the pattern of responses revealed in the open-ended interviews, we are including excerpts from a few of the interviews which transmit a sense of that quality.

A number of the interviewees, in the process of the interview, brushed aside or forgot the question asked, and talked about themselves. One woman, a female head of household, 32 years of age, had 8 children living with her—a household of 9 persons living on an ADC grant of $1608 a year. Her husband had deserted. She said of her life:

"I birthed 13. Not all are living. I was 14 when I was pregnant with my first one the first time. I went to school till the eighth month. I was in the 10th grade. No one knew. My parents wanted me to go to night school after the baby was born. I wanted to go back to day school. The principal was going to let me go back. But my parents would not let me, and I made a mistake. Since they
would not let me go during the day, I didn't go back at all. I would tell a girl who got pregnant—go out of town to have the baby so people don't know and then you can come back and go to finish school. My big mistake was not to go back to night school—at least night school.

"My two oldest were fathered by one man. My oldest child is a boy—17 years old now. I never raised him. His father raised him and has him—he's still with his father. He promised to marry me, the first one. He took the baby to his home and he took care of me. I felt embarrassed when we didn't marry. I have cried and been hurted. I have had people talk to me so ugly. I would make a man marry the girl for the sake of the child.

"Then I had another child by him, a girl. She is fifteen years old and my aunt adopted her from birth. The father had promised to marry me and didn't and I was so hurt, I would not even let him see his baby, and he never saw her. My aunt raised her. I don't see her.

"Then I met the second man—all of the rest of my children are his. My fourteen year old boy is his oldest and all the rest are his. Finally, we married, but some of the children were born before we married. Only the last two are legitimate, but the six others are his too, but don't have his name. First, I didn't know you could change the names. I thought it would be too much money and we didn't have it. When I found out we could change the names, he had already left and he needs to sign to adopt them and give them his name.

"After my last child, I went to the doctor at Grady and asked him to do the operation so I could not have any more children. My
husband is gone and he would have to sign too. But the doctor at Grady helped—he gave me the coil inside. Even though my husband wasn't there to sign for the operation, I got the coil and the doctor told me that it works in 99 out of 100 cases. My husband came back, and then he left again. But I'm through with babies now—not more. I feel like a person now—not pregnant and it feels wonderful.

"It is a terrible feeling to get pregnant by a man and not get married to him. The first man promised to, but didn't. The second man promised, then he wanted to leave me. Welfare did not want to help me. I loved him—but he wouldn't marry me. Later he did marry me. He said he was coming back when he left. Maybe he will come back. He may not be much help, but the children need a father. Welfare won't let you have a friend. I'm human. I like to go out and have fun, but the children come first. So I'll be waiting. I've waited before and he has come back. Sometimes I'm happy; sometimes not. When I'm with people who have husbands, I feel lonesome and blue, left out, but most of the time I make it all right.

"I had a hard time. I used to cry every night. They said I had too many illegitimate children and no one would help me. Everywhere I went, I was turned down. But all the children were of the same man. It was hard.

"When I got pregnant with the second man's child, I almost had a breakdown. I lived with him in the same apartment. That was a bad mistake. And later he married me. He didn't do me any good even when he married me—he didn't stay with me. He never loved me or he would have married me earlier.

"I have always wanted to get married. My daddy felt he could
not force the boy to marry me. He felt if the boy wanted to, he would. But a name means a lot. My parents couldn't understand. With my daughter, I'm going to make a boy marry her if she gets pregnant and later he can go where he wants to go. Illegitimate children are not right. I was real sick over that.

"When I needed help, welfare wouldn't help less I went to get a warrant out for him. The court said if I did not sign out a warrant for him, the court would put out a warrant for me, not him, and put me in jail a year for each kid--four years then. If I didn't sign against him, they would lock me up.

"After I had my first child, I wanted to be called Mrs. Each time I had a baby, they would always put me in the hospital with married girls and I would feel so bad when there was visiting hour. So I would lie from embarrassment and say I was married too, till they began to talk about names and then I couldn't lie no more, and then they would find me out, and I would feel so bad. Even when I had this last baby and he was gone, still I was married, and I felt more better.

"He didn't want me really. He said he loved me but he didn't and doesn't. A man's love means more than anything. I would be happy if he came back. I would take him back and try to make it.

"My kids ask about their daddy all the time. When is he coming back? And I say when he comes back here, he'll find us right here... we'll be right here waiting.

"The children need a father. Whippings don't do good. My fourteen year old, he's old enough to help me. Still he gets out of hand. The kids here run with the wrong crowd. Neighbors don't want
their children of marriages to run with your children if they don't have a father. The man down the last house in this row tells his children to 'get away from those bastards.' He means my children. Another neighbor called me and told me she did not want her kids to play with mine. My boy asked me if he was a bastard, and I explained about his name. I told him later his father married me; they all know their father; yet and still, he is still a bastard.

"I sit here by myself. My kids don't see things here. My kids are in—-not running the streets. They don't live like illegitimate children. I never leave them alone. I try to do as much as I can. But it is hard without a father. A child just be better if he got a daddy. So many here don't have fathers. It makes a whole lot of difference. They are asked: Where is your daddy? And my kid has to say: 'I don't know where my daddy is.' The first things the kids around here ask is about another kid's daddy. Even the teacher asks where is your daddy. And the tears come in my eyes."

Another female head of household, a 30 year old restaurant worker who had completed the seventh grade, was supporting four children—a family of five—on $2474 a year.

She spoke with emotion almost from the beginning of the interview:

"It is a poor man who don't want to do anything. I have had one myself like that and it's a poor man who is that way. Even if he can't help with money, he should come and see the child so the child knows he has a father.

"A man should not be made to marry, because I have had that experience and it is no good. He never did care for me, even though
we had two children, and it was bad; better if he had not married me. I could manage better alone than with a man like that.

"It is hard on the woman, real hard. But sometimes, when something happens, it could be for the best. I was myself that way. I hadn't been taught anything. Didn't know A from B about anything. I was embarrassed myself when it happened and I felt bad for years. I wouldn't want my girl to be that way without being married. Yet it can help you in life sometimes. I lost my mother when I was five years old and I had no one to teach me. When my child was born, I didn't know which way to go. After the birth though, it seemed to help me to know more about life, to be more a grown person than a child. If I had some teaching, I am sure it wouldn't have happened. I have already told my daughter what I wasn't told. She knew by eleven years old.

"Children who grow up without a father have it rougher, they sure do. They don't have father love. They only have mother love. My child often asks me where is her father. Seems like to me it is a little lonelier. They can grow up to be as understanding as though they have a father, but when they are small, it is lonelier for them. Then it is hard in the support way without a man in the house."

Another female head of household, thirty-two years old, supported five children—a household of six—on $250 a year—a combination of ADC and three days of domestic work a week. She was a high school graduate. Her husband had left her with five children about six years ago. Her sixth child, a baby girl, six months old, was illegitimate. The father was a married man; he supported his baby but could not marry the mother. She had not told either her
welfare department worker nor the housing management about the new baby. She said that the welfare department would put her off if they knew she had an illegitimate child and the housing manager would probably put her out:

"I expect this to happen. I hope it won't. It would make everything harder and I don't know where I will go. I told my friend about it and he said he would help as much as he could if it came to that.

"My husband separated from me about six years ago. He did time for nonsupport. The man I am going with now--my new baby is his. He is married, so we can't get married. Now I'm going to a birth control clinic.

"When the doctor said I was pregnant, it broke my heart. People told me how to get rid of it--inserting a rubber tube, but I was scared. I said to myself, bear it and suffer the consequences.

"I don't know whether they will make me move. I was really ashamed in front of the welfare lady. I didn't have the courage to tell her. Also I might get kicked out. At first I guess they didn't know because my friend's mother kept the baby for awhile. They discontinue the check if they find out. Still I'm disappointed in myself I didn't talk to the welfare woman before. As for my friend--he has told me the truth so far. Still, I don't have complete confidence, like people should have in one another. I guess I still remember the first one and how he turned. . . .

"People haven't said anything to me around here--not to my face. They don't know the feeling between him and me. Anyway, when people say they would never do thus and so, don't listen, because
they don't know.

"I was a child who grew up without a father. I don't know how it feels to have one. I lost my father when I was about four, maybe even younger. I had a stepfather, but he was not mine and I knew it. Mama died when I was nine. For three weeks after she died, we were alone. We would get some money from my stepfather and play outdoors. Then people found out we were alone. People talked about me and my sister. They condemned my grandmother for going out of town and leaving us without a mother after my mother died. The girls my sister went to school with stopped going around with her after she had become pregnant. I went to Carrie Pitts Home when I was ten. We would get whippings and I grew up resenting people.

"My boyfriend takes care of the baby—it's his baby and he takes his share. When my days were cut, he helped—he still helps. He has been a great help to me and so far he has come through on things.

"I try to teach my girls more than I knew. When my eleven year old asked questions, I got a book from the woman for whom I work called For Girls Only or some such title, and I answered her questions as best I could. Take an example—no one knew when I began to menstruate. I picked up what I knew by watching the girls at the Carrie Pitts Home. But my girl knows about Kotex. When I sent her to the drug store to get some, I told her when she asked me what it was. I remember how I could never manage with rags even from the beginning and I'm not going to expect my kid to get along with some rags."

Another woman, forty-three years old, a female spouse, was the
mother of ten children--four from an early marriage who now had homes of their own, and six from a second marriage. The six children, she and her disabled husband--a family of eight lived on an ADC grant of $1608. She had a 10th grade education and until she became ill, had worked as a cook-maid. She said of the unmarried girls who become pregnant:

"I think they can be as nice as the next girl--it just happened to them. My two daughters had babies. I told them plainly: you don't turn to the dogs. They went back and finished school. One daughter got her diploma in summer school and the other through correspondence. Now she's in training for a clerical secretary. Some go to the dogs. But you don't need to. Now both of my girls are married. My mother took one of the babies and I took the other. Between the two of us, we managed. I kept the baby for my girl while she went to summer school. One is trying for the Post Office and the other for a secretary. A mother should sit down and tell her girls not to go to the dogs just because they get a baby when they are not married.

"When I heard from my girl she was pregnant, it liked to killed me. I cried over it and it nearly killed me. It tore me all to pieces. But I boosted them up and helped them along. And now they are both married. My older one and her husband took her baby and now they have one of their own. My other girl and her husband took her baby too when they got married... they don't have another baby yet."

Another woman of thirty-six, a female spouse, lived with her husband and six children on his janitor's earnings of $2766 a year. She had finished the seventh grade; her husband the sixth. Their
oldest daughter, a girl of fifteen, was living with them although she was married. The daughter was in her ninth month of pregnancy. The woman told the interviewer that when her daughter got pregnant, the father wanted the girl to marry her nineteen year old boyfriend. The mother didn't agree, but the youngsters listened to the father and got married. The father said, "If it doesn't work out, it won't be the first marriage that didn't." But meanwhile his child would be protected.

The mother said:

"When she told me she was pregnant, it shocked me so bad I couldn't say anything for three weeks. He (the boy) was ready to marry that minute. She finished the grade. Then they got married. First it worked beautifully and then it was no good. He won't work. Now I guess we'll let her get a divorce. If she finished school, she could meet some nice person and do better. Meanwhile we would raise the baby. I'm home anyway with my own. My own little one is two. I can stretch it out another few years. We could raise the baby. She could finish school, get a diploma and then work and support the baby. Later she can get married.

"My husband feels we should take the child and raise it and she should finish school. The boy should help. She has got to have the baby and the baby has got to be raised. I'm willing to take care of it. My daughter's been to the show twice in her life, never enjoyed anything. She ought to have a chance now to enjoy life and make something of herself. My husband didn't believe in forcing, and yet and still he thought it was better for them to get married. If it didn't work out, well, it wouldn't be the first time a marriage
The mother said maybe she felt different from her husband because of her own life:

"When I got my monthly, I didn't even know what it was. I had one illegitimate baby. I made an oath I would never get another until I was married. I got married and I been married 21 years. I never been separated from him except for six weeks. . . . My husband and I had ten children, six living and four dead. The oldest child I had—not his—that would make my seventh living child. She has been brought up by my mother. That baby was retarded and deformed. My mother still has her. She's devoted her life to the child. My first child was born when I was sixteen and didn't know much.

"I could have married the first one; he got me a marriage license, but I didn't marry him. He is married now and has four children. His wife is most understanding. He visits his child at my mother's and his wife is understanding. My mother didn't make any demands for support for her grandchild.

"Once, just a little while ago, after all them years, he came to talk to me about putting the child in a hospital or retarded school. He felt we should do something for her, shouldn't we? I said, go and see about that with my mother. She raised her and she should have the say-so. I felt he should talk with her, and he did. My mother kept the child at home. . . . I made a mistake in letting my girl get married. We are just going to have to file for divorce."

Another woman, a mother of seven children, was twenty-four years old. She was married to a man with TB. The family of nine lived on $2328 a year. She was diapering a tiny baby (it had been
premature) at the beginning of the interview and she exuded a sense of having achieved a good outcome to her life. She said:

"I had two illegitimate children. I think it is not right, but I had them. My mother took care of them. She said she would rather take care of them than anybody else. When she passed, people talked about me, about my having two children and not being married. I held my head high. I tried to make people think I am proud. I am glad I did have the children because my mother had her grandchildren from me before she died. She was crazy about the two, my oldest children, and if I had waited, maybe she would never have known them.

"A lot of parents fuss with their children about this, but not my mother. She did not argue and she did not fuss. She accepted me and she was proud of my two kids. When she bought stuff for them, she bought for me too. I was only fifteen years old and I was boy crazy. The two children had different fathers. The parents of the second boy wanted to take the baby. When the second kid came, the father came and wanted to take the child, but my grandmother didn't want that; she didn't even want their help. Nothing was too good for me and the children.

"After she died though, I was on my own and I had hard times. Then I met my husband and he accepted me and my two children just like he accepts ours now--my other two and now his. Because he accepted my kids, that opened a way for me to get married. I never have had trouble with him about the kids. I was satisfied that he could love me and my children. He was willing to raise my two children. But I did have my hard times before I married him. My
oldest boy's father skipped town, and I have never heard from him since.

"Most parents forget what they did. It used to be thirteen was a baby but now it is modern times and thirteen year olds are doing what I did at fifteen. If it happened to my daughter, I'd let her go back to school or to work and take care of the baby myself. I would take it she's still young--later she will grow up."

Data gathered through the administration of the interview schedule was directed to testing the hypotheses of the study in sixteen open-ended questions about attitudes toward illegitimacy.

**Responsibility-Employed Male**

Questions one, two and three were dealt with as an interrelated complex by almost all respondents. 1. What do you think a man should do who has a job, if he gets an unmarried girl pregnant? 2. If the father who has a job does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for the child? 3. If the father who has a job does not marry the mother what do you think he should do to provide for her?

Eight of the twenty-eight female spouses at Perry answered that the man should marry the woman, regardless of whether they loved each other, in order to give the child a name.

One of these women declared: "If he gets her pregnant, he should marry her. He must have loved her in some way if he got her pregnant. If he won't, though, he should support the child and help as much as he can."

Another said: "The man should marry the girl regardless of
whether he loves her, for the benefit of the child. If he won't marry, he should support the child."

The third said: "He should marry her to give the child a name. Most don't stay too long. But he could marry her to give the child a name, and leave afterward if he didn't care for the girl. The next best thing is to support the baby."

The other twenty female spouses, however, felt that the man and woman should marry only if they cared about each other. Without love, it was better not to marry. The responsibility of the man in that case was to support his child.

"If there is an agreement," said one woman, "if they love each other and think they can make it, they should get married and take care of the kid."

"Before you get married," said another, "love has to be in it. In some cases, people are not ready to marry . . . The man should support her and the baby. He should provide for both the mother and the child. He should visit the child. It is his and the child can get to know him."

"If he thinks enough of her," said another, "he should marry her. If not, he should help her with the child."

One woman commented: "We married and we didn't care about each other. We did it just for the child. If I had it to do over, I wouldn't."

One wife said she didn't believe in people marrying unless they loved each other. Without love, it was better for the man to help support the baby. When her fifteen year old daughter became pregnant, however, she said her husband felt that the daughter should
marry. Her husband said, "If it doesn't work out, it won't be the first marriage that didn't." She disagreed. She felt the 19 year old boy should just try to support his child. She hoped for better things later for her daughter.

Four of the thirty-one female heads of households felt that the man should marry the woman regardless of their feeling for one another. "Marry her, regardless of love," said one woman, "to give the baby a name. That's the best. Later she can give him a divorce if he wants it, and she can get married to someone else. If he doesn't marry her, though, he should put her in an apartment and take care of her like she was a wife. A child needs money each week—rent, food, clothes, lights, gas. She can make it if he helps and she gets 2 or 3 days of work." Twenty-seven of the thirty-one female heads of households, however, felt that if the man did not love the woman, it was better not to marry. Instead, the man should support his child.

"A marriage without love won't work," said one mother. "It is better for the child if the man doesn't marry the mother if he doesn't love her. Instead, let him take care of all the expenses, help her financially."

"If he does not love her," said another, "he should not marry and mess up her life. Maybe she can find someone else."

None of the seventeen male heads of households at Perry felt that the man should marry the woman if he did not care for her. All seventeen felt that the man was responsible for the support of his child. Two of the seventeen added the stipulation "if it is his."

One of the men who early in the interview said "the best
thing is to marry her" changed this after the interview was over and told the interviewer the best plan was a common law arrangement. When he got his wife pregnant, they weren't married at first, but they lived together. "First I wasn't ready to get married. Then a person is sure and you know." Later, he married her, and they now have three children.

Another man declared: "If he doesn't support the child, he is a rattlesnake; she should turn him in and make him make twelve months in jail." He spoke very vehemently. I have a particular reason. My father left my mother with seven children. He said the law made a man give $7.50 a week for a child, and that wasn't much "but if a man didn't come across, the woman ought to get the law on him."

Another husband declared: "If he know the child is his, regardless of whether they marry, he should support it."

There was agreement by twenty-seven of the twenty-eight female spouses, and by every female head of household and male head of household that the man who has a job and does not marry the mother, has a responsibility to provide for his child. Only one female spouse said it was the responsibility of the mother alone.

A few of the women specified what they considered reasonable cooperation in providing support for the child. One female spouse said that if a man makes $50 a week, he should give the child's mother $20 as his share of the expenses in raising a child. Another suggested $46 a month.

One female head of household said that a man should give a minimum of $10 a week or the woman should go to court. Another
pointed out that the court only granted $7.50 a week when $10 a week wasn't enough. But other women expressed great distaste at going to court. One female spouse declared: "If the boy doesn't help, go to work yourself. I don't hold much with taking out a warrant for support though, because that gives him the right to ask for the child later. Never make a man take care of his child if he don't want to. Get a job yourself. And later, by himself, the man might feel something for the child."

Most of the respondents did not mention court or specific amounts of money. They said a man who has a job should provide "everything the baby needs," "help as much as he can," "share the expenses of the child," "help the woman out," "support his kid."

The word used most frequently was "help"—that the man should "help" the mother with the child. "The mother should take care of the child and the man should help support it."

A number of the women indicated a recognition that a man might not be in a position to do much, but they stressed that he should "try." "To the best of his ability a man should support the girl while she is carrying the baby."

Both men and women looked upon support of the child as a shared responsibility. Both female heads and female spouses pointed out that a woman could "make it" if a man could help her till she had the baby, got "back on her feet" and back to work, and then helped out.

Eleven of the female spouses and eleven of the female heads specifically stated they felt that the father should not only support the child financially, but visit the child, take him out, let the child "know he has a daddy" and "know who his daddy is." One female
spouse said the man should visit the child only if he helps with money. Another said he should visit the child, but not "hang around"—"that way there could be more illegitimate children." One female head remarked that the "father should come to take the child out if he doesn't want to disown him. It is important for the child to know who his daddy is."

Only four male heads out of seventeen warned against visits. "Support the kid," one said, "and then leave them alone. No visits."

The other male heads felt that in addition to giving financial support, the man should visit the child, that he "ought to be a father to his kid."

One male head said the man "should visit the child and take the child out—he should be a father." Another said, "If a man is supporting his kid, he has a right to see him."

Only two female spouses, out of twenty-eight, felt that the man owed support not only to the child but to the mother. A number felt that the man should provide for the woman only until she was able to go to work and help herself. One female spouse said: "Mothers don't ask for themselves; they ask for the baby. If he wants to help more, fine. Anyway, when he helps the child, this helps the mother." Many women specified that the man should help with hospital expenses and pay the medical costs of having a baby "whether it's private or Grady." (Grady is Atlanta's Municipal Hospital.)

Aside from supporting the child, paying medical bills, and taking care of the mother until she could go back to work, the women felt the man owed them nothing. "He don't owe the mother nothing so long as he takes care of the child," said one female spouse.
"He is not responsible for the girl unless he gets married to her, only for the child," said another.

"Help the lady until she gets on her feet--help pay medical expenses. But after the baby is born, he is not responsible for the girl, but just for the baby," said another.

Two female heads out of thirty-one felt that the man owed support not only to the child but to the mother. The other twenty-nine did not. One female head declared: "It depends on how he feels toward the mother. He doesn't owe her nothing unless he wants to. If it was me, I wouldn't want anything except help for the child."

Nine of the seventeen male heads declared the man had no responsibility for supporting the mother other than helping with medical expenses; his responsibility was only for the child. Other male heads, however, felt that the man's responsibility to the woman depended on her condition: "If she is disabled, he should help her out," said one male head. "It depends on how much she needs it," said another. "If she needs help, yes, you help her too."

"A woman knows the responsibility she is taking," said one man, "and therefore the man isn't responsible for her; only for the child."

One man said take full responsibility for the mother.

Abortion

Of twenty-eight female spouses interviewed at Perry, twenty-two rejected outright the idea of abortion, four said they "just couldn't say," "didn't know" or it was a "possibility." One who first said "no abortion" changed it to: "If the man doesn't have a
job, abortion should be left up to the girl to decide."

The female spouses who rejected abortion rejected it largely because of the danger to the mother: "No abortions, period. It can mean her life as well as the child's." For many women, there were many feelings involved: physical fear, religious belief, and a sense of distaste and even horror at "getting rid of a baby." One woman said "go through with it regardless to anything else." Another said: "No. God put us here to bear our fruit. Something might happen. It is dangerous. You might not later be able to have kids. I'd rather have it and not mess up my life, plus it is murder to kill a child."

The answers of the female heads of households were almost identical. One female head out of twelve said an abortion was all right—when the circumstances were safe: "If a girl is in school and the man takes her to a doctor in the first month or two when it's safe, that's all right. The first time it would be all right to have an abortion and go back to school. But too many times it's dangerous."

Another female head said: "No, an abortion can mean the girl's life. I lost a friend in school that way." But then she added that if the man were without a job and couldn't get one "maybe then an abortion would be something to think about—but no quack doctor—a real one... I know someone who did it herself to her daughter, almost killed her own child. She used a rubber tube. A friend wanted to use it on me and I said no. I would certainly not want it for any child of mine."

Another female head said, "Well, sometimes a woman gets depressed,
but I wouldn't do it." Another said she would reject abortion for herself but she didn't blame a friend of hers who had one "because she didn't have a husband." One of the female heads said abortion was too dangerous—"it was better to take care not to get that way."

The women who rejected abortions spoke with a chill about "coat-hanger wires" and "rubber tubes" and a few said abortion was "murder" or "self-murder."

Three of the seventeen male heads said that under certain circumstances, abortion could be considered. One man said: "In some cases, abortion helps. Some don't want kids no way. Some mothers will just get their daughters to do away with it. If a woman has a reasonable family, then you don't need abortion. Abortion is reasonable when you have no family and the man takes off. But if you are going to have an abortion, you gotta use a doctor—no quack."

(At this point, his wife who sat in during the interview, interrupted and said she was against abortion. The girl should go on and have the baby even if she "had to go ahead and put it up for adoption. A girl might be just all torn up inside having an abortion." When the interviewer asked her if she meant physically torn up, she said, not just physically—other ways too. She repeated that she felt abortion was no good for the woman. If neither the man nor the woman wanted the baby, she could put it up for adoption, but if she wanted the baby she could keep it.)

Another male head said: "If the girl doesn't want the child, abortion is OK. It is her place to decide. If she didn't want the child, she would not be a good mother and it would not be a good
idea to have it."

Fourteen male heads of households rejected abortion. One said: "No, too risky. The woman might die." Another: "No, I couldn't go along with that. It is putting the lady's life in danger and that's out." Another expressed fear that it would "probably hurt the girl."

Others felt that taking a life was wrong: "Life is life and you don't do away with it." Or: "No telling what the child could amount to when he gets older." Or: "No, no matter how many things are bad, still you should not get rid of a child. A child born out of wedlock--that's no crime."

One male head said he just couldn't answer a thing like that; it was too hard. The interviewer, he said, would have to "ask someone who could give advice on something like that."

Only nine female spouses out of twenty-eight felt that adoption was wrong. The other nineteen felt adoption might be a way out, but specified conditions and circumstances.

One of the female spouses who objected to adoption said: "Later you can be hurt you gave up your child." Another said: "Adoption is another wrong thing. Let the boy finish school; later the girl can finish. You might want your kid later and feel all wrong. I have always been crazy about children."

The other female spouses felt that adoption wasn't wrong; it was "up to" the woman to decide, or, in some cases, the man and the woman together.

"The decision should be the girl's about adoption. If she wants it, she should keep it."
Or: "If she can handle it, she should keep it. If she doesn't have help to handle it, then put it up for adoption."

Or: "If they both agreed to adoption, that might be OK."

Or: "If a man doesn't have a job, adoption should be left up to the girl to decide."

A number of the women who felt it was all right to consider adoption, also had conflicting feelings about it. One female spouse, whose own first child was illegitimate, said: "In some cases it would be all right. When you first get pregnant you think about the future and then you think about finishing your education—-that is more important than anything. If you give it up, some one else might give it good care. I don't think there would be nothing wrong with that."

Yet later in the interview she said, "I wouldn't want to put my baby up for adoption. I think it goes against the woman's feelings. It's better to go to welfare . . . for help."

Sixteen female heads of households out of thirty-one rejected adoption completely. One of the female heads said "It would be a mighty low person to put up a kid for adoption."

The other fifteen female heads of households examined some of the difficulties surrounding adoption. One of the female heads said, "In Atlanta, I don't know how they could get it adopted."

Another female head said: "In Negro cases, they don't have adoptions. If you have your baby, you have to come out with it. Unless you know someone and arrange to have it adopted first. In the white hospital, like Georgia Baptist, it is different—the white girl don't have to see it, if she is having it adopted. It would be wonderful if it could be the same for Negro girls. But at Grady, you have
it, you have to take it with you. Ain't nobody going to take your baby. Maybe now that they integrating the hospital, maybe it will change and both can have babies adopted." The same woman said at another point in the interview, "Adoption is all right if you don't stay in the same town and know them. My first boy's father took him and my aunt adopted the second child--the girl."

Another female head said, "The way I love children, I couldn't put the child up for adoption. But if the man didn't have a job and could not help, maybe they ought to think about putting it out for adoption so it has a home."

Another female head said that adoption should be decided between the girl and her parents. "If she wants it, he should be made to support it. If she wants to put it up for adoption and her parents agree, OK."

Another female head said about adoption: "No, if the man is working; maybe, if the man can't provide..."

Adoption seemed to be a difficult question for male heads of households. Nine were either undecided or found it too difficult a question to answer. One of these men told the interviewer he "didn't know what to say to a thing like that." The other eight had various approaches. One male head said: "If they don't get married and the man can't support the child, it could be a good idea to put the child up for adoption." But another male head, unemployed at the time of the interview, said: "I wouldn't put mine up for adoption. If I couldn't feed them, they would have to perish along with me."

Another male head declared: "If he don't want the child and
she don't want the child, then adoption is OK." (It is interesting here that the man raised the question not only of the girl's wanting and claiming the child, but the man's. In a number of instances, the men or their families did take the child.)

Another male head said: "If a girl didn't have a family and was abandoned by the guy, then maybe adoption would be OK, but if the parents are willing to work it out, that's best."

One male head rejected the idea of adoption: "Let the girl go on and keep it with his help and hers." His wife, who was present at the interview, disagreed with him. She said the man and the woman and both families should talk it over. "If it is a pretty good family, it might not want an illegitimacy—they wouldn't want anything like that." When the interviewer asked her what she meant by a good family, she said "wealthy so to speak—a good standing." (This wife was the only person in the entire Perry Homes sample who had had more than a high school education. She had completed her sophomore year in college.)

Responsibility -- Unemployed Male

Questions 4, 5, and 6 were also dealt with by most respondents as an interrelated group. (What do you think a man who does not have a job should do if he gets an unmarried girl pregnant? If the father does not have a job, and does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for the child? If the father who does not have a job, does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for her?)

Six of the twenty-eight female spouses felt that if a man did not have a job there was not much he could do, although they did not
absolve him from the responsibility of trying. One female spouse put it this way: "If he has no job, there's not much he can do. Adoption might be a way out, but not abortion. He should try to get a job and help." Another asked: "If he doesn't have a job, how could he help? He should try, but he couldn't do much." Another declared: "He can't help till he gets something to do. A girl has to go a rough way till he gets something. You can't always get a job--work gives out, you get laid off, you can't just pick a job off the street when you need it. He should come round and see the child and let the mother know he is trying." Another said the same thing: "If he doesn't have a job, he can't support the child, he can't help. He should still visit the child."

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight female spouses felt that the man could do something, get some kind of job--part time, irregular, something. When the interviewer asked whether they felt jobs were always available, many answered that the men could get something, not anything they wanted most likely, but something.

This is the way a number of them put it:

"If he doesn't have a job, whatever he gets, he should share and do the best he can. Whatever way he plans on living, let him work and help out, even keeping the baby with him."

Or:

"He could at least get day work, as much as he could, and give a certain part for the baby."

Or:

"I hate to say the chain gang. He needs to do something. They should protect themselves or be punished some kind of way."
Or:

"He should get him a job. He can get some kind of work to do. If he gets even a part-time job, he should share his salary with the child."

Or:

"If he loves her, let him get a job and get married. There is always some kind of a job—it may not be a job a man wants, but there is always something he can make out on and get married."

One female spouse said the man should make an effort to find a job "to handle the responsibility coming down on him. Let him go and seek him a job. If it pays pretty good or just nothing much, she'll be satisfied if he tries. He could ask some of his people to go along with him to help the girl in every way possible. But give him a chance before getting a warrant. Only a mulehead gets a warrant first off."

Another female spouse declared: "It happens in so many cases like that. But you can't put too much pressure on him till he gets something, finds some kind of a job. Maybe part-time work or one of the training jobs where they pay you when you train. He could get something. And she got to have clothing and food and help while she is carrying the baby. I remember I felt neglected because we couldn't afford things when I was carrying my first baby. I know what it feels like not to have when you're carrying your first baby."

Another female spouse said: "He should try to get some work. He has to take care of it one way or the other. If the child is born, it has to be taken care of."

Two of the thirty-one female heads felt there was nothing a
man could do to help who did not have a job. They put it this way:
"I don't know anything he can do if he doesn't have a job and is
unemployed. There's no way to help if he doesn't have a job and has
no money." And: "Ain't nothing he can do if he ain't got a job.
He should be told go get a job and take up your responsibility. I
don't approve of visiting--that's the way you get more illegitimate
children--but he should see his child and the child should know his
parent."

The other twenty-nine female heads felt as did most of the
female spouses: "Let him get out and get a job. They can get a job
but sometimes the job they get ain't the job they want." Another female
head declared: "It is best for him to go out and hunt a job unless he
wants to go to prison. He has a responsibility to bring up some sup-
port for the child. He could get a job. He might not want that kind
of job. But if you got a child coming up, you ought to take a job at
anything until you get what you want." Another female head said sadly:
"It sure does happen. He should try to see about getting a job to help
the lady till she can get on her feet. She might have to take him to
court to get the help."

Whatever the difficulties of finding work or being reduced to
accepting undesirable jobs, the bulk of the women felt the man "should
still shoulder the responsibility for medical bills and take care of
her and the child."

Two of the seventeen male heads felt there was nothing a man
could do who did not have a job. One of them (a man who was trying
to support a family of seven on $1527 a year) said: "It is hard for
a man who has no job to take the responsibility. It would be up to
the girl because she knows what kind of position this man is in and he couldn't do much without a job. Even without a job a child should know his father, that he has a father, and the child should know who he is."

"What could he do?" asked the other male head. "That man is just out, I mean out."

The other fifteen male heads felt, as did the majority of women, that the man was still responsible, and could find some kind of job, miserable as that job might be.

One male head put it this way: "He should try harder to find steady employment so that he can find some kind of work to support the child. He can always find some kind of work—wash cars, work on the golf course. He could find some kind of something to help out."

Another male head declared: "He could get part-time work. He could give her a little money out of that, show her he is trying. He could probably find some kind of a job; it might not be paying what you want, but it could help out a little. While he has this, he could look for a better one."

Another male head said, "If a man has a job, he should show he wants to help the child by helping as much as he can with whatever he has. He should take an interest in the child whether he has a job or not."

And another: "He should fix it to get him a job. It might not be what he wants, but he can find something to do."

Forced Marriage

There was an almost universal rejection of forced marriage.
(Do you think a man should be obligated to marry a girl he gets pregnant?)

Even in the few instances where people felt it was better to marry to "give a baby a name," regardless of love, they rejected force and pressure. If marriage was to take place, it ought to be voluntary. Only four out of twenty-eight female spouses endorsed forced marriage. One female spouse said: "Yes, he is obligated to marry her. That's in respect to the fact that the child is his. He's obligated if only for the sake of the child, whether he cares for the girl or not." One female spouse started to say yes and changed it to no: "It was just as much her fault as his." Every other female spouse rejected forced marriage. "No, the marriage would not work. I only think marriage should be for love, not because anyone says you should marry. That's up to the people."

One female spouse said, "No, a man isn't obligated. Even if he wants her, the girl might not want him. It is better to wait till after the baby is born and then decide."

Another female spouse said, "No, if he don't want to, he won't do right. I wouldn't want to have anyone who didn't care for me. It would not work out anyway."

And again: "No, if he is forced to marry he feels he is being neglected, losing his own opportunities in life, and that everything is against him. He should want to marry. Pushing is no good. I don't think it would last. Some of these pushed marriages break up in one year."

Five female heads out of thirty-one said yes, the man should be obligated to marry her. One of these was the woman who married
the man with whom she had had six illegitimate children and finally two in wedlock. She said, "He can divorce her later if he wants to."

All twenty-six other female heads rejected forced marriage. One said: "If he cared enough to go to bed with her, he should care enough to have her share his name. But if he doesn't care enough about her, she will regret it if she marries him. I heard of a couple who married because of the parents who pressured them. Mostly it was an in name-only marriage. He had other women and she was not happy. It just does not work."

Another female head declared: "No forcing, because marriage won't make a happy home on this basis. It will break up and the girl will be back where she was."

And another: "Not unless they both want to get married. It would only end up in a divorce court anyway."

And another: "No, no one should be obligated. They could not get along. It is best to make it alone if a man doesn't want to marry—or a girl either."

One female head stated: "No forcing, even though it would be good for the child and start the child off right. It may be nothing but puppy love, most times, and maybe she learns a lesson and might be able to get her a nice husband later."

Another female head declared: "No, a man should not be made to marry, because I have had that experience and it is no good. He never did care for me, even though we had two children, and it was bad, better if he had not married me. I could manage better alone, than with a man like that."

The other remarks of female heads were variations of the same
theme: that people should not marry unless they loved each other or wanted to get married. Otherwise it would be "a messed up life for both."

Every male head interviewed at Perry Homes rejected forced marriage on the same grounds the women did--it wouldn't work out. One male head said, "Pushing a man into marrying wouldn't work. That depends on feeling, how a man feels about a woman."

Another male head remarked: "There are certain women you would like to have a relationship with but not as a wife."

Another said a forced marriage would "just grow hate."

Most of the male heads said a man should not be forced to marry the girl; he should just support the child. "No need of marrying, if you are not going to get along."

**Earnings and Marriage**

To the question "What do you think a man needs to earn before he decides to get married and have a family?" eight of the 26 female spouses answered $50 a week; 3 answered $40; 3 answered $60, 4 answered $75; and 5 answered $100. Five said they couldn't name an amount; he just needed a "steady job."

One woman who said $40 a week, said that was the "lowest." "That's hard. But you could get by." One of the women who said $50, said that you couldn't do it under $50. "Too big a strain--just too hard. You have to do without so much even with $50." Another said $50 was just to begin: "Later you would need more. You would need more but you could start on that." Another woman also pointed out that $50 a week was just for the beginning. "If you don't have
money for furniture, you could get a furnished room. That's showing the
girl you are trying."

Eight of the 28 female spouses named amounts close to the income
they lived on themselves--$40-$50 a week. The others named higher
amounts. One female spouse, whose family of 8 lived on $1608 a year,
named $50 a week as the minimum to get by on--or $1000 a year more than
her own income. Another woman who said $50 was what a man needed to
earn before he decided to get married and have a family, herself had
far less than that for her family of ten--$1800 a year instead of the
$2600 a year $50 a week amounts to. Two women who mentioned $75 a
week had an income of only $50 a week for their respective families of
six and seven, according to the income data listed by housing. One
woman who said $100 a week was living on half of that with a family of
six.

A clue to the figures which were larger than the incomes the
women were subsisting on was given by one of the women who listed $100
as what a man needed to earn. "A truck driver can earn $100 and that's
not bad. But my husband made a hundred and something every two weeks
... I guess it was a lot of pressure on him, cause I did want things."

The answers of the female heads of households were quite similar
except for one who mentioned the lowest figure of all--$30 a week.
"That's what my husband had when we started out." (Her husband left
her after the third child was born. She is now the head of a household
of four living on $2066 a year.)

Again, many of the women listed incomes far higher than they
enjoyed. One woman, whose family of five had only $1008, listed $80
a week as what was needed—an income of $160.

Another female head of a household of nine living on $1608 (the maximum ADC grant in Georgia—$134 a month) said that when her husband (who has now deserted) worked at Lockheed "he earned $134 or $97 some weeks. We could live then. We had a good place to stay... After Lockheed, he wouldn't work for $25 or $30 a week. Then I went to work for $21 a week. I was pregnant and late in the pregnancy I couldn't work and got on welfare. I was already married and they gave me welfare when they locked him up. Not for long though. He got out. Then he couldn't get a good job because of the jail record. Then he left."

Twelve of the 17 male heads of households answered the question about what a man needed to earn with amounts exceeding their own earnings by $600 to $3000 a year. When one male head said $100, his wife laughed and broke in and said, "Come on, you could start at $45."

A man who said at least $60 a week was necessary ($3120 at year) supported, or tried to support, a family of 5 on $2523. A man who said $50 ($2600 a year) tried to support a family of 4 on $2080. A man who said $75 was necessary ($3900) headed a household of 9 trying to live on $2148.

One man who said it would take about $150 a week was challenged by his wife who said it could be done on $100. (The income for this family was listed by housing as $2340 for a family of 5—or about $45 a week.)

Only five male heads reflected their own situations in their answers—one said $45 a week, the lowest amount mentioned by a male
head, and another one said he couldn't answer that question--"right now, I'm unemployed."

**Community Comment**

There were all kinds of contradictory answers to the question: What do people around here think about a man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant?

Five female spouses said that "they think he should marry her"

... "Everyone I talk with thinks he should marry her" ... "If he ain't married, let him marry her."

Another female spouse answered: "We don't do that much talking about it. He is supposed to take care of the kid."

Another female spouse said: "Not much is said." And another one remarked, "People don't really think nothing about it."

One woman answered, "They think he is low down and dirty if he gets a girl pregnant," and another one said, "Some people say hard things and some people don't."

One woman said the first question she heard people ask was: "Is she going to get married or is she going to be put out?" (Housing evicts the woman who gets pregnant out of wedlock.) Another female spouse said, "In the project you have to be married. Some say they should be ashamed. But the men are so different. Some don't care and some men try so hard."

A few others remarked that "not much was said about the man."

Answers given by female heads of households were very similar. "They don't say much about the man." Or, "They don't think anything about the man. It is always the woman who is degraded." Or, "They
don't like it too much. Yet and still, they blame the girl." Or, "People don't say anything about a man."

One female head declared: "In the Atlanta area, I don't think they pay it any mind. It happens to so many." Another said, "In the neighborhood I lived in before I came here to Perry, they felt it was awful. Not here."

Another female head said she couldn't answer. "Everyone has their own ideas." Another said, "You have to look at the type of girl first. Some girls don't know the father of the baby. That's a different kind of thing from making a mistake about a person."

The male heads either said they didn't know what the people around them thought or said "people don't talk about him." One man said, "It is not just looked on like nothing. There is criticism. But it's not discussed too much." Another man remarked that he hadn't been around too many that brought up that conversation.

"When my grandma was alive," said one male head, "they would ban them from society. Now there's nothing to it. Society has softened a lot. You see it so much in life; people don't scorn it. The average colored person don't scorn it."

To the question: "What do people here in the community think about an unmarried girl who has a baby? thirteen of the twenty-eight female spouses answered scorn, scandal and "hard words." One of the women said, "They feel it is a disgrace because you just have to get out and go to work yourself and leave the baby." Another woman said: "They probably won't say it, but they feel they don't want their daughter associating with girls who get pregnant. Girls drift apart; they say hello, but the girls who aren't pregnant drift away from the
ones who do get pregnant." Another woman said, "They look on her as though she has done wrong, as though she should be embarrassed for what she has done." Another woman said the people call her "slut" and "give her bad names. When I got pregnant they said plenty about me."

Three of the female spouses pointed out that the people in the area didn't seem to say too much about the first one, "but if they keep this up, naturally, people talk." Or, "Everyone is entitled to make a mistake once. One slip can happen to anyone." Or, "If you keep on having kids, that's bad."

Two of the female spouses said that what people said was influenced by the kind of woman involved in the illegitimate pregnancy. "People don't speak too badly unless it's a teenager. There are neighbors around here I know are providing very well for their children. Others don't do too well." Or, "There is one woman upon on the hill who has illegitimate children and no one says anything about her."

Another female spouse said that the main thing people say is that the girl should be in school, not getting pregnant and leaving school. Another female spouse said that, "Nobody thinks anything about it... Used to be when a girl got pregnant, she stayed in the house and was ashamed. Now it's nothing. The girl keeps right on running with the same crowd."

Fifteen out of thirty-one female heads of households reported that people in the area criticized the woman. "They think it is pretty nasty. They talk about it—that she's fast, etc." Or, "They talk about unmarried girls. She should have used protection; it could have been avoided; she should have been more careful." Or,
"A lot of them shame the girl." Or, "They say it all about the girl.

... They are starting younger than when I was coming up. (She was first pregnant at 14.) ... They are starting at 12 and 13 years old now."

Eight other female heads reported that people in the area didn't think too much about it. "It happens to so many, people don't pay it any mind." Or, "People used to think badly about this, but now there is so much of it, they don't think much about it. If she just has one, they encourage her to go back to school, make something of her life. But people hate to see it continue." Or, "It's not like it used to be. When my mother came up, it was bad. Now not too much attention is paid. In my mother's time--well my mother didn't permit her daughters to associate with girls who got pregnant." Or, "Sometimes they criticize, especially teenagers. But really, not too much is said."

There were a few other comments by female heads: "Most feel a little sorry for her and blame her parents." And, "If it is her first, well, everyone is entitled to one mistake. But then if she continues, some precaution should be taken to stop it one way or the other."

Four male heads said they didn't know what people in the area thought about the girl, but nine others said most of the talk was about the woman and it "isn't good." "People make her feel bad," said one male head. "But some time people make a mistake; they don't have to keep making it over and over. If a guy won't support the child, the reason may be that lots of men don't want to support when they think the kid is not theirs. When women go to court, they try
to act like the kid is the man's. But maybe he doesn't think so."

Another man said the people in the neighborhood seemed "to scandalize the girl. They make light of her. I don't think it's right."

Another man remarked: "There's no use being critical if a person is doing the best she can. There's a girl who has two children and is not married, but no one could have any complaint against her, working and raising the children by herself."

Respondents' Own Estimates of Illegitimacy

In answer to the question "What do you think about an unmarried girl who has a child?" most of the female spouses revealed that what they thought was important was not the circumstance of illegitimacy itself, but what kind of a person the girl was, how she handled herself and her child. Twenty-one of the thirty-one female spouses indicated that what they judged was not the act of illegitimacy, but the response of the girl—how she conducted herself and what she learned.

Even the three female spouses who felt illegitimacy was "wrong" had feelings of compassion and understanding. "I feel it is a disgrace. I can understand a first mistake, but even so, it is too rough," said one. And another said: "I feel both ways—I feel bad for her and I feel that she is wrong."

But the bulk of the comments stressed that "one slip can happen to anyone," that everything "depends on what kind of girl she is," and that "if a girl has a child, she should try to do the very best she can and give it all the love a child should have."
One female spouse explained, "Well, it happened to me and I been married twenty-one years." Another said, "I wouldn't think too hard of her. She'll make it all right. She might wind up and find her a nice man and settle down. I did."

Another female spouse declared: "I figure that girls get a little hotheaded; things slip up on them. But a girl shouldn't let it happen more than one time. It can happen once, but then after that, she should take care."

One twenty-three year old female spouse who had only recently been separated from her husband, talked about herself: "I didn't want to be like that—pregnant. When you get confused between love and pregnancy, you are bad off. I felt like he didn't want to be bothered. But he married me and tried to do better by me—but it wasn't fast enough for me. He didn't make very much and we needed things. He tried real hard though. It happened so darn quick. You have to do the best you can. There was no love in it really. But sometimes you have to try to make the best of it when there is not love. If there was love, there would be no mistake. But even when there isn't, you still have to do something.

"You got some more life to go ahead with. Having one baby like that—well, that's not the end. Like I say, there's still life to go ahead with. But you shouldn't go ahead and make the same mistake over and over. There is birth control and I am very much in favor of birth control."

In the main, the reactions of the female heads of household were similar. A few of the female heads spoke even more sharply about the difficulty and strain on the woman: "It is hard on her,
real hard... I was myself that way." And, "It is a misery for her."

Many of the female heads urged more care, using "protection," taking "more precaution."

"If it is her first, well, everyone is entitled to one mistake. But then if she continues, I don't know--some precaution should be taken to stop it one way or the other."

One female head pointed out, "There are other girls do the same things and nothing happens to them. There are ordinary people who are good people and they get caught on one mistake and there they are."

One nineteen year old mother of three, whose husband had deserted, said defiantly, "I don't see that there is anything wrong with it," but the older women--thirty-two, thirty, fourty-four--stressed not the wrongness or rightness but the hurt, and difficulty and misery.

"I feel sorry for the girl who gets pregnant," said one female head. "Other people are glad, maybe, or have a whole lot to say, I feel sorry."

One female head said: "Anyone can make a mistake. One time yes, but repeating don't make sense."

And another remarked, "Perhaps she thought she liked him--that they would get married. It's a problem, but it is not the worst problem. Most of all it depends on the two people themselves."

The only two negative male remarks about the unmarried girl who has a child referred to doubt about paternity and attempts to freeload on welfare. Otherwise, the men's answers paralleled the
women's.

"I feel bad for her," said one male head, "She is showed up to the public and people can think of her as a bad girl."

Said another: "I know it's wrong, but human. No, not wrong. In one way it isn't and in one way it is." It wasn't wrong "to do," he said, "it was wrong not to take care."

Another male head said, "Both are responsible. She is not the only one to blame; none of us is perfect."

Another declared, "It is one of those things; they just got caught. Either one could have used protection. There's no fault either way. The woman shouldn't be scorned. If she is trying to help herself, I would help her all the way. I wouldn't be down on her."

One male head said, "It depends on the kind of woman she is and how she does by her child."

And another echoed, "The only thing I feel is that she should be a good mother toward her child."

**Attitudes Towards Sons and Daughters**

When the interviewer asked "How would you feel if your unmarried son told you he got a girl pregnant?, all of the female spouses felt keenly that their boys would have to "face up to" the responsibility. Eight of the twenty-eight felt that their son ought to marry the girl "if he loved her." If he didn't they joined the other twenty female spouses in feeling he had to "make arrangements to help." Either marry or otherwise take care of the child, was the overriding response.

"He should talk with the girl and get an understanding--see if
they could make a happy marriage," said one female spouse.

"He ought to marry her if they care about each other," said another.

Said a third, "If you go with a girl, you are responsible. You should marry her. If there is no doubt, marry her, if the girl is not wild and if you know it is your baby. If you don't want to marry, make arrangements to help."

One of the female spouses said, "I am telling you the truth, I don't know. He would have to find work to support that child."

One mother started to say, "I would tell him he should marry her." Then she stopped, thought and changed it. "I would tell him I would help him. They could stay with me till he found a job or till she had the baby. We would help them get on their feet. If they wanted to get married, we would help them do things right and go on and get married. I would tell him I had been through it and how he could do it." (This was the female spouse quoted earlier who had had two illegitimate children herself, been helped by her mother, and later married a man who accepted her two children.)

Another female spouse declared: "I would want him to take care of the baby. But I wouldn't pressure for them to get married. I would talk to the girl. Maybe she doesn't love my son and they couldn't make it. I wouldn't say don't marry her, but if they don't want to marry, let him do his thinking and take care of her and the baby, because he still has the responsibility for the baby and her. Maybe he wants to finish his education. Let him go and take a training project and then support her."

The impact of the illegitimacy on the education of the young
people was a central concern for nine of the twenty-eight female spouses. One of them said, "I would be hurt a lot. I would like for him to do right for her, but I would feel hurted because he might have gone on to college." (This was an act of imagination in terms of hopes and aspirations for a twenty-five year old mother whose two children were only two and a half years and fourteen months old.)

Another female spouse said, "I would be upset about school. I would want both him and the girl to be in school."

Many mothers said, "I would try to help as much as I could." Only one mother said sharply, "I would tell him you are going to take care of her, not me."

Female heads responded in the same way as did female spouses. They felt that their son should either marry the girl if he loved her, or help her the best way he could. One mother said she would tell her son: "Well, son, go on and get married and go out on your own. . . . When you make a family, you need to be on your own." Other mothers, however, declared their willingness to "help him in any way I could."

One of these female heads declared, "I would feel angry at first but I wouldn't force him to do anything. I would try to help him and the young lady. If they wanted to marry, OK. They don't know what they were getting into. At seventeen or eighteen I wouldn't approve of marriage. Better not to marry but just provide for the child."

The importance of finishing high school was raised by nine of the thirty-one female heads. One of them said, "If he knows it's his and he loves her and wants to marry, I would help him all I could. I
don't know what is the best, but I would like for him to finish high school, but not to forget the girl. He would have to work and help support the girl till she was able to manage. And after he finished high school, he could make up his mind what he should do."

Another female head said, "I would feel awful, especially if he were still in school. I would try to get him to get a job and try to care for her. He shouldn't leave school though. He should get him a job at night and go on with school. Then he can help the girl, and then her parents might help too."

Another female head said, "I would try to find out how they feel about each other. School is another problem. I would try to find out if they wanted to get married. I would give consent for marriage if they both wanted it. I would let them stay with me. I would keep the baby and let her go back to school with him and get her high school diploma."

One female head summarized succinctly what a number of women proposed: "If he can get a part time job, he should help the girl and keep on going to school."

A number of the women expressed how "hurt," "sad" and "embarrassed" they would be. One of them said, "I would feel awful bad. I would want him to go to her parents and say what he did. And if they want him to marry her, they should get married. I would try to help both as much as I could till he gets a job. He should think about the way he come up. I would like him to use protection so they could avoid it. When a child is made, it got to be taken care of."

The main concern reflected in the answers of male heads of
households to the question about their unmarried sons was the problem of supporting the child. The next most urgent consideration was finishing school. Six of the male heads stressed finishing high school.

One twenty-five year old father who finished the eleventh grade, but was not graduated from high school, said he would tell his son, "Go on and finish high school and I'll support the kid. Better finish school. If it was my son and he wanted to marry the girl, I would leave it in his hands."

One twenty-five year old father who had only finished the ninth grade, said, "He should continue in school. Both of them. He could get a job in the evening to help out. She might stay out a little while and then go back or go at night. Both ought to finish school. After they finish, then they could get married."

One twenty-seven year old father, who had finished the tenth grade said "I would feel that he is wrong. He knows he is not ready with income. I would like for him to complete his grades but if it comes to a point like that, he would have to make some income to go along and help the girl take care of the child."

One twenty-eight year old high school graduate said of his son: "I wouldn't want him to quit school. He should continue in school and try to find him a night job."

One father, who had finished the eighth grade, said, "I would try to discuss it with my son. I would ask him, do you want to marry. If not, take care of the child. I would try to make him support the child."

Another father, a high school graduate, felt that the parents
ought to help. "I'd ask my boy what are you going to do--what is your opinion? Do you feel you want to marry the girl? If you don't, take care of the baby. The average high school kid is not ready to get married. It is better to get the parents to help and later they can get married if they want to."

Most of the respondents, both male and female, raised the same concerns about their daughters that they had about their sons. They said, briefly, "same as for a son--if they didn't marry, I'd help." Or, "I'd help her go back to school, finish her education, and later she could marry."

A number of the women and the men reacted more intensely to the prospect for their daughters, however. It was not that what they suggested was different--they still said, in effect, marry if you are ready to get married; if not, raise your kid, and we'll help as much as we can; finish school if you can work it out, and later you can get married.

The emotion, however, was more intense.

One female spouse said, "It would hurt me, it really would. I wouldn't get angry--I don't believe I would--but I would be hurt. I would try to find the boy and find out about him. If she was a teenager, she would be too young to marry and I wouldn't want her to marry because he would be in school too and couldn't support a wife."

Another female spouse said, "I'd shoot myself." Then she said, "No, I'm just saying that. I would ask the boy how he's going to take care of her. If she doesn't want to marry--wants to finish school--maybe he could help take care of the baby. I would want her to finish high school. If he loves her enough and if she wants to
marry, that's OK, but if she doesn't want to get married, no. It takes time for anything in life. Maybe later he will have a job and could marry her after his training. I wanted to go back and finish my course. I am still thinking about going back to trade school, the beauticians' training course in the vocational high school, and soon as I can arrange it about the children with the nursery school, I'm going to."

Another female spouse, who had actually had the experience of having her fifteen year old daughter become pregnant, said, "It shocked me so bad I couldn't say anything for three weeks." This was the female spouse, quoted earlier, who disagreed with her husband who encouraged the girl to get married. "Now I guess we'll let her get a divorce. If she finished school she could meet some nice person and do better. Meanwhile, we would raise the baby."

Another female spouse said, "Now that would upset me. I would talk with the boy and see if he had some plans to get married."

In one case, a female spouse felt differently about her son and her daughter. About her son she would say, "You are going to take care of her, not me." About her daughter: "If the boy was willing, I would say get married."

Female heads showed the same reaction as female spouses. In the main, the attitude was the same. "I would feel like she should have the baby and get married if the boy wants to. If not, have it and go on in life and work out something."

Another female head said, "I would definitely not force marriage. I would take the child myself. I wouldn't want her to marry too young, at 16 or 18. Later, if I took the child and helped
her out, she could marry and take the child if both she and her husband wanted it."

Another female head, nineteen years old, who had finished the tenth grade, and whose husband had left her with three children said, "I would help her any way I could. I would help her to go back to school. Later they could get married if they wanted to."

Again, the emotion was sharper than that projected for a son. One female head said, "When it comes to a daughter, there's more hurting. I hope and trust the boy would come and talk it over with me. Maybe I could help and later he could take care of the child. If he wouldn't talk it over with me, I would go and talk with him."

One thirty-two year old female head, (quoted earlier, who had started with an illegitimate pregnancy at 14 and "birthed 13") made a sound of despair without words when asked how she would feel about her daughter. Then she said, "I don't know how I would feel ... I will start telling her things at 10 ... I would want her to marry him. I would tell him and make him marry her ... I would have no money for abortion. And I would be afraid the abortion might kill her. If his parents had money, let them use the money for support during pregnancy and after school he and she could get married." (This was the female head who had said, "In Negro cases they don't have adoptions ... ").

Another female head declared, "I would feel bad, for a while, but I would get over it and try to help her as much as I could."

Another female head, thirty years old, who had finished the seventh grade, declared, "It would be best for her to get married, but if not, I wouldn't want her to leave town--she would need all the
encouragement I could give her. She should try to understand and realize there is another day, and try to find someone else. I would want her to stay with me. I have already told my daughter what I wasn't told. She knew by eleven years old ... I would not want her to put it up for adoption if I'm able to help care for it ... I would take it as mine if I had to."

Only two female heads felt their daughters should marry regardless of their feeling for the boy. One said, "If she came up pregnant, I would feel she had no business being with him if she didn't love him. So she might as well marry and the baby would have a name." The other said, "When you make a family, you need to be on your own. Let her go out and get married and make it on her own."

The answers of the male heads were the same for daughters as for sons except for two men, who found that a harder question to handle. One man who said he'd tell his son to go on and finish high school and he'd support the kid, said about his daughter, "I'd have to talk it over with her mother. Maybe she should have the baby and go on back to school and finish school." The other male head, who had said about his son that he wouldn't want him to quit school -- try to find him a night job -- said about a daughter, "I don't know what I would do. That's a hard one."

The other male heads affirmed the same attitudes for daughters as for sons. One man said, "The way I believe I would do would be to see if they could work it out first. Don't push people. Yet and still, if they couldn't work it out, I wouldn't turn my back on them. I'd help work it out."

Another male head said, "She should finish school. He (the
boy) could get a part time job. She might stay out a little while and then go back or go at night. Both ought to finish school. After they finish, then they could get married."

Another male head first said, "I really couldn't say." But then he added, "No, I want to take that back. I would want to try to help her. I would say I would help her go back to school."

Another male head declared: "If it was my daughter, I'd have a discussion with her same as with a boy. And I'd talk to the boy too. I'd talk with them about what marriage means. I'd tell them to think it all through. You have to support a child. If the boy didn't do that, I'd have him locked up. If he was willing to help, best as he could, I would help them. The best thing is going to school to finish up. After you finish your education, you might want to get married." His wife broke in to say she wouldn't want to send her child away . . . that's when they need their parents.

Another male head, a man who had finished the eighth grade, said, "I would try to get her to talk to the boy, but either way it turned out, I would be with her, and I would want him to take responsibility. Anyway it turned out, she would be welcome at home. The world don't turn over. It could happen to anyone."

Best Plan for an Unmarried Girl Who Gets Pregnant

In answer to the question "What do you think is the best plan for an unmarried girl who gets pregnant" respondents chose as "best" marriage, if possible, and if not, having the baby and going back to school.

Of the twenty-eight female spouses, fourteen--half--felt
marriage was best where it was possible. Nine said having the baby and going back to school was best where enough help from parents and the boy was available. Five said having the baby and going back to work was the best plan. In the very specification of the best plan, however, they noted how fragile "best plans" were and listed alternatives in the same breath.

One female spouse said, "The best plan is to get married. If she can't, and if she wanted to finish school, she could put the kid in a foster home and go back to school. Later, when she could get a job, she could get the child back... Sometimes it might be better if a girl went away where no one knew her so she wouldn't be ashamed and embarrassed for herself. Welfare might also help if nothing else worked. Or her mother might be willing to help so she could go back to work."

Another female spouse said, "Get married if possible. If not, the family could help, but everything would be harder. Then later she could get a job. If the father of the child would help, she should take the support."

Another female spouse said, "She should marry him whether she liked him that much or not. But if he refuses, no abortion. She should stay at home; there's no use to going away. I don't believe in adoption. If it was me, I would keep the baby. Maybe she could go on welfare till she could go to work. Most parents are willing to help out if they can do it."

Another female spouse said the girl ought to "get married so that they wouldn't talk about her. If it was my daughter, I would keep her here--no abortion, no adoption. I'd let her go back to
school or to work and take care of the baby herself. I would take it that she's still young. Later she will grow up."

Another female spouse said, "She should marry if he is willing to marry. I think if her mother is able to help, let her get her a job and work. Her parents would give her a hand most probably."

Another female spouse said, "She should have the baby and go back to school. She would have to find some kind of job and go to night school. She would have to pay someone to take care of the baby. I wouldn't be able and couldn't take care of it." (The female spouse had told the interviewer at the beginning of the interview that she was a sick woman.)

Another female spouse said, "If a girl could go back to school, that would be best. But a baby has to be taken care of—by the father or by the mother."

In the same vein, another female spouse said, "Find someone to care for the child and go out and work to support it. If the man is not willing to give help, don't press charges. Unless he gives support willingly, forget it and raise it yourself."

Another female spouse said, "After having the baby, she should try to get as much education as she can. If she hasn't finished school, she should take a course and try and support the child. She could try to get someone to help her with the baby, usually someone in the family would be best."

One female spouse summarized it swiftly, "Have baby, make arrangements for care, get a job, get training or finish school."

A number of female spouses looked to the future. One said, "Let the parents raise the baby. Let her finish school, get a diploma
and then work and support the baby. Later she can get married."

There was a shift in emphasis between female spouses and female heads in choosing "best plans." Of the twenty-eight female spouses, fourteen—-one half--felt marriage was best where it was possible. Ten of the thirty-one female heads of households--about a third--felt marriage was the best plan. Eighteen felt having the baby and going back to school or work, with the help of parents or family was the best plan. One mentioned a home for unmarried girls and two suggested welfare.

One female head said, "The best plan is to have the baby and try to hold up her end. Don't get any more and later on, maybe she could get married and he might give it his name. Later in life, the child might not be any different off."

Their own struggle to survive, shaped the "best plan" answers of some female heads. One female head suggested, "Talk with the man and find out if he is going to give support or whether she has to force him. If he skips town, she can go to the welfare. If he don't skip town, she can go to court and get support. That's what happened with me. I got a warrant, had him picked up. He did some months. Then his mother got him out and he skipped. I went on welfare."

Another female head suggested, "Try to get on welfare for the time when the baby is small if she could not depend on other people, or if her parents couldn't help her. Later she could support the child herself."

Another declared, "Have the baby, find a job and support the baby, if he doesn't want to."
One female head said, "I think the best plan is to go to a home for unmarried girls, but not to give the baby up for adoption, but bring it back home with her. The man should be reliable to take care of it. If he is not out of high school, he should finish high school and get training, and then go to work to help."

Another female head said, "A mother should be able to work it out. Leaving town is no good. Lots leave town, but that is just for respect for the family. The best thing is to talk to your child early, tell them what life is and to try to get a husband and start off right."

Thirteen of the seventeen male heads stressed the help of the parents as the essential component of the best plan. A number of these male heads made clear they mean both sets of parents. One man said he didn't know what the best plan would be, and his wife broke in and said the best plan was "to bring the baby home and get help from her parents."

One male head said the best plan was to "stay home and ask parents to help her. That way she could have a home for her and the baby both."

Another male head said, "It depends on whether they want help. If they do, go talk to the family; see if you can work it out; talk to both families and between them they work it out so it's not pushing too much on one family."

Another male head said, "The girl should work and try to raise the child. Let her mother or sister keep the baby and she can raise it. Let the man help out. I wouldn't give away a baby of mine. Most of the girls get married." (This was the male head who after the
interview suggested common law arrangements as the best plan.)

Another male head said, "If her parents could help and the

guy didn't want to marry, the best thing is to let her parents give

her a hand. That way she could continue school after the baby is

born. The guy could help and she could bring up the baby."

Another male head said, "The best plan is to work out both

support and school with the help of the parents." Similarly another

male head said, "A mother and father have to help her figure out what
to do."

One male head mentioned welfare, "She has parents. Or she
can go to welfare and see can they help her." He was the only male
head who even mentioned welfare, and welfare was last choice with him
also.

**Effect on Families**

A number of respondents found the question "What happens to the
Family of the Unmarried Girl Who Has a Baby? hard to answer. Seven of
the twenty-eight female spouses said that they couldn't answer that
one or didn't know or hadn't noticed. Fifteen female spouses said
the family was hurt by the talk, upset or even split by the problem.
Three said there is "so much of it in a place like this" that "no one
pays it any attention." Three said the parents are "not to blame."

One female spouse declared, "The family gets farther apart.
The father gets upset and the mother takes up for her." Another said
that a family she knew back home in Griffin, Georgia "got all sad and
didn't want to tell the grandmother." Another said that people "speak
and worry it about" and this bothers the family. Another said,
"Families know that the child is talked about and not in a nice way."

One of the female spouses said, "Some families don't want to have to help, so they give her a hard way to go. They all get on her. I thought my mother and daddy were all against me. We had four rooms and there were other kids and I thought they were all down on me."

Nineteen of the thirty-one female heads said that the families suffered hardship under the talk, or the gossip, or the economic difficulties, or the reprisals of housing (which made families move when an illegitimacy was reported.) Five female heads agreed there "wasn't too much criticism... there was so much of it here." Even they commented, however, that it was "kind of hard on the parents."

Five female heads said they didn't know.

One female head observed that "most of the time the boy and girl get married." Another said, "In the family next door, the lady has one and is expecting another. People don't look down on her--it is just what happens." (It is interesting that although many tenants reported that housing would evict a woman who had an illegitimate child, the interviewers ran into, in their random sample, families which had such illegitimacies, or knew of such illegitimacies in the project, which no one had reported to housing.) On the other hand, another female head said, "It is a disgrace to your family to have an illegitimate child. The second one is even worse."

One forty-four year old female head said it would be "too hard" on her if it happened in her family. "There's lots of talk up and back. If it happened to us, we'd have to leave the project--that's the housing rule. If your child gets married, they can stay
till they get an apartment. But if they are not married, they have to leave—housing don't want more unwed mothers here. If you can't let your child go alone, so you have to go too—the family has to leave the project. For me, it would be too hard raising up other babies. It is not for me to raise up another set of children. It is too hard."

One female head who had said, "There is so much of it here" also pointed out that "things have changed. People look on things in different light. In my grandmother's time they would look down, but now it happens so much, people sympathize more and see the problems and don't feel people should suffer for these mistakes."

Eleven of the seventeen male heads stressed the hardship an illegitimacy placed on the family, particularly the economic hardship. "Even when a family is willing to help," said one male head, "it makes a hardship." Another father said, "If the father is not making too much, it makes it harder for the family. It's just harder, that's all."

Other hardships were pointed out also. "I have seen families that feel hurt, like they have been let down by their kids. They feel people look down on them."

Two male heads felt that what was important was "how the family takes it." Two male heads "didn't know" or "hadn't" noticed. Another pointed out, "Right here, they are loud about it at first, then it dies down. Especially if it happens just once. But if it happens more than once, that is bad."

Effects on Children

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight female spouses and eighteen of
the thirty-one female heads answered that children needed a father and were "hurt" growing up without a father, in response to the question, "What do you think happens to children who grow up without a father in the home?" The other six female spouses and thirteen female heads said it "depended" on the mother and father in question.

A number of the female spouses spoke of the child's need to know the father "especially when they are small." One female spouse said, "A child wants to know why she don't have a father." Another said, "Without a father, children seem like they drift away from home without training. You don't get good training in the home without a father." Another female spouse suggested, "Maybe because it is so hard when there isn't a father, fathers ought to take the boys and mothers the girls."

One female spouse said that children "are a little hard to manage without a father because mothers can't take up too much time with them. They have to work and can't do all." That wasn't the only side of the picture, however, she pointed out. "When the father isn't with them, they get money from welfare, sometimes more than some fathers can make. Some fathers give less home than welfare. They can't make as much."

Another female spouse said, "It is rough on a child without a father. The mother does the best she can, but it is better where there is a father. But if it can't be helped, it can't be helped and you have to raise them the best way you can."

Another female spouse declared, "It is better on the children if they have both parents. Some fathers are more strict and some kids need that. . . . Having both parents is better. You can't
"Neighbors don't treat the children differently," and then changed it to, "Well, maybe in some cases they do--certain people that is, they make it feel like it don't need to be living, asking where's your daddy, and making a child feel bad."

Among neighbors it was often the children, not adults, who teased or taunted children without fathers. Even without teasing, children would "feel bad" when other children talked about "my daddy." One female spouse said, "When other children speak of their fathers, they feel bad."

Eighteen of the thirty-one female heads felt that "each and every child should have a father." A number of the female heads pointed out that "men were better with boys" and that "a child gets cheated without a father."

One female head declared that without a father "there are lots of disadvantages. Children do need a father. A father is more firm. A mother can't make them do what a father can. Especially boys need a father, but not a father in name only. He should want to be a father and do things for his children."

Another female head pointed out that children "feel neglected when other kids are playing with fathers; they want to know where is my daddy." Another female head said, "It does something to them to be without a father. They are always going to wonder 'where is my father'? They see other fathers come home and they want to know when is their father coming home. It affects them in certain ways."

Another female head declared, "Children who grow up without a father have it rougher, they sure do. They don't have father love. They only have mother love. My child often asks me where is her
father. Seems like to me it is a little lonelier. They can grow up to be as understanding as though they had a father, but when they are small it is lonelier for them. Then it is hard in the support way without a man in the house."

Another recalled, "I was a child who grew up without a father. I don't know how it feels to have one. . . . I went to Carrie Pitts home at 10. We would get whippings and I grew up resenting people."

"Children want to know their father," said another female head. "When is my daddy coming home and where is my daddy—that's what the kids ask all the time."

Another female head (quoted earlier) said, "I try to do as much as I can. But it is hard without a father. A child just be better if he got a daddy. So many here don't have fathers. It makes a whole lot of difference. They are asked: Where is your daddy? And my kid has to say I don't know where my daddy is. The first things the kids around here ask is they say something about another kid's daddy. Even the teacher asks where is your daddy. And the tears come in my eyes."

Five of the thirty-one female heads made the point that with "some fathers" the children were better off with only mothers. One said, "Sometimes there is better attention with a mother and without a father. It depends on the father." And another said, "If he is a drunkard, it is best not to have him around. The children need a father but if he is no good, it is better not to have him around. But being drunk is not just fathers--there are some mothers like that too. . . . Some illegitimate children get
better care than those with fathers."

Only seven female heads felt that neighbors discriminated against illegitimate children, but many remarked that it was the children who teased and pointed up the difference.

Ten of the seventeen male heads felt it was "harder on a child to go up without a father." One male head said children were "more likely to get in trouble without a father--dropouts, crime, everything." He pointed out that the "children who have fathers are proud of it and the children who don't have fathers, miss them."

Another father pointed out, "Chances are better with a father in the house. There is a whole lot of things a father can tell a boy that a mother wouldn't think to tell him."

Another male head pointed out, "It is more better that the children have a father. . . . A child should be able to know he has a father. There is more respect towards their mother. And if they want to go to a club or Boy Scouts, they can get in. In things like that you need a father, and for clothing and other things, it is better a child have a father."

Six of the seventeen male heads said it "depended on" what kind of a mother and what kind of a father. The ones without the fathers, said one male head, "sometimes they be the best kids."

"I think it is left up to the mother--how she raises the kid," said another male head.

"It depends on the father and mother," said one male head, "It depends--some of the kids can get wild or they can be OK. Maybe a child is more protected with a father. If a father isn't there, it just all depends on the mother, what kind of person she is."
Another male head said, "Coming up like that is rough when you don't have a daddy. But if a kid has a father and that father is not home, it is still nothing for the child. That is no better than not having a father. Yet and still, it is up to the cat himself. If a cat makes up his mind to go straight, he goes straight. It's the crowd you go with."

A number of the men said they did not know how the neighbors reacted, but one male head said, "Some of the people do make a difference, but mostly it is the kids who do it." Other male heads also pointed out that "the kids tease more than the older people do."
CHAPTER IV

DATA, SCHLOBOHM HOMES AND MULFORD GARDENS,
YONKERS, NEW YORK

Most of the data gathered in Yonkers was similar in content to that which was collected at Perry Homes.

Responsibility -- Employed Male

Questions one, two, and three, concerning the responsibilities of the employed male, were answered by six female heads in the following manner: four felt that a man should marry a girl only if he loved her, otherwise he should support his baby; one felt a man should marry the girl regardless of his feelings. One female head, who did not express her position on marriage, simply stated, "support the baby."

Of the seven male heads interviewed; six also said a man should marry a girl only if he loved her, otherwise he should support his baby; one stated that he should marry the girl regardless of his feelings for her.

Of the nine female spouses interviewed; six stated that a man should marry a girl only if he loved her, otherwise he should support his baby. One female spouse stipulated that the couple concerned could marry for love, unless they were teen age--too young to assume adult responsibilities. In such a case this interviewee said, "It would be better for the boy involved to support the baby"
until both were old enough to make a mature decision about marriage."

One female spouse indicated that the man should marry the girl regardless of his personal feelings for her. Another female spouse, the mother of two sons, maintained, "If she's old enough to give herself to a man, she should be ready for the consequences. But if he liked her enough to get her pregnant, he should take care of his child."

Of the sixteen persons who indicated that a man should marry for love only, the overall opinion expressed was that forced marriages are not good for the mother, father or the child. As one female head indicated, "What good is a household where there's no love to thrive on? A child having to bear a man's name is society's doing anyway. When he's brought into the world, the child doesn't know that he is supposed to have a father."

One female spouse also pointed out, "A lot of men have good intentions and say 'Don't worry, I have a job. We can get married.' But these good intentions don't always work even though they may sound good. Once you're married and begin to live together, things may be different."

Of the three persons who felt that the couple should marry regardless of their feelings for one another, one felt that the couple should marry to give the baby a name and two felt the two should marry because they had committed an act belonging to married persons only.

When asked whether the father, who did not marry the mother, should have other responsibilities to his child, two of the six female heads answered "no" and one answered "yes." One female head specified, "Only with the mother's permission and if he's supporting
the child." Another female head stated that it depended on the nature of the relationship existing between the man and woman. Still another female head indicated that it would depend on whether the child was taught to recognize his father.

When the male heads of household were asked about additional responsibilities of the man who did not marry the mother, only one answered, "yes," with no stipulations. One male respondent specified, "If the man was supporting his child." Another indicated it would depend on whether the child was taught to recognize his father.

Of the nine female spouses who answered the question concerning additional responsibilities of the man who did not marry the mother, two answered, "yes," with no stipulations. One female spouse indicated it would depend on the type of man he was. Two stated, "If he wanted these responsibilities;" another two stated, "If the mother allowed it." One female spouse answered, "If the mother allowed it" and the father "wanted to;" and still another specified only if the relationship could be kept in its "true perspective."

Of the twenty-two persons who spoke to the question of additional responsibilities of the father, only two persons felt that the father should not be granted visiting privileges. One of these two, a female head, explained, "This will create other problems. The child will want to know why the father isn't at home all the time."

There were, however, four persons who felt the father should visit regardless of the circumstances. As one female spouse pointed out, "A man can love his child and not love the mother." One male head also stated, "The child is as much his as it is hers."
When asked whether the father who did not marry the mother, should also make provisions for the mother, two female heads answered, "Yes, if she was unable to provide for herself." One female head stated that he should contribute to her support permanently. Still another female head stipulated, "If it was a case of assault." Another female head specified, "If the girl could really prove the man to be the father of her child." Only one female head felt that the man should under no circumstances, provide for the mother.

When the male heads answered the question of support for the mother, six said that the man should support the mother until she was able to do for herself. One of the six also maintained that the man should permanently support the mother if the outcome of the baby's birth left her physically disabled. Only one male head felt that a man should never support the mother.

One of the female spouses replied that she did not know. Another female spouse indicated that the most decent thing a man could do was to visit the mother periodically to see how she was doing. Two other female spouses felt that, if a man wanted to, he could support the mother. Another two stipulated, "only if a man was able to support the mother." The remaining three female spouses felt that the man should not support the mother.

**Abortion**

Four female heads felt that under certain circumstances it was permissible for a woman to have an abortion. Two female heads felt that abortions were never permissible.
Three male heads also indicated that abortion was permissible under certain circumstances. But four male respondents felt that abortion was never permissible.

Only one female spouse stated that abortion was permissible under certain circumstances. One female spouse stated that it was left to the individual to decide; and seven female spouses felt that abortion was never permissible.

Of the eight persons who express that under certain circumstances abortions were permissible, four specified only therapeutic abortions. One male head stipulated, "only if a girl could not make proper arrangements for child." Two female spouses specified "in rape" situations only. One female spouse stated, "if a girl felt the baby would stand in the way" of her personal achievements.

Of the thirteen persons who said abortions were never permissible, nine felt it was too dangerous; three felt it was morally wrong; and one stated that it was against the law.

Adoption

Concerning the subject of adoption: four female heads felt that there were circumstances which would warrant a mother considering adoption for her baby. One female head said that a mother should never consider adoption. Still another female head said that a foster care arrangement might be better. This mother explained, "I think foster care is better or some kind of arrangement wherein a girl can still have legal rights to her child. I think this might be psychologically better on the mother. Most girls want to keep their babies but are told that they can't take care of them and are
forced to give them up."

Six male heads felt that if circumstances made it advisable, a mother should consider putting her baby up for adoption. As one male respondent expressed it, "Generally a mother shouldn't want to do this. But as far as finances are concerned, maybe she would have to under some circumstances." Another male head indicated that a mother should never give her baby up. He maintained, "If a mother begets a child, she should stick with it. Money is not always a sure answer to the happiness and security of a child."

Three female spouses said an adoption; "No." One said, "I could never give my baby up, never to see it again." Another female spouse felt that no mother should consider adoption for her child. The remaining five female spouses felt that under certain circumstances it might be advisable to consider adoption.

Of the fifteen persons who felt that adoptions were sometimes advisable, the basic need was financial.

**Responsibility -- Unemployed Male**

Questions four through six, concerning the responsibilities of the unemployed male, were answered by the twenty-two respondents in the following manner: two female heads felt that the man should find a job and assume his financial obligations. Four female heads felt there was nothing a man could do if he wasn't already working.

Five of the male respondents indicated that the man should find a job and assume his obligations. Two felt that there was nothing the man could do.

Four female spouses stated that the man should try to find
Opinions were evenly divided. Eleven respondents felt that the man without a job should find one; eleven respondents felt that a man without a job was not a working man and would not spontaneously become one upon learning that he was to be a father. As one male head pointed out, "You can't tell a man what to do. You can't say get a job because you've fathered a child. He should know enough to already have one, and if he doesn't have one, you can't expect him to suddenly get one."

**Forced Marriage**

In discussing the subject of forced marriages, only one female head felt that a man should be forced to marry a girl he got pregnant. Another female head stated that forced marriages were "chance" marriages—sometimes they worked out; other times they didn't. Four female heads felt that a man should never be forced into marriage.

All seven of the male respondents contended that a man should never be forced into marriage.

Eight female spouses also said that forced marriages were wrong. Only one female spouse stated that a man should be forced to marry a girl he got pregnant.

The nineteen persons who felt that marriage should never be forced maintained that marriage without a foundation of love would never yield a happy household.

A female head, one of two respondents to answer "yes" to
the question of forced marriage, stated, "If men thought they didn't have to marry women, they'd have a merry time wouldn't they? We'd have a much larger rate of illegitimacy than we do now." The other respondent, also a female head of household, indicated, "Marriage should be insisted on for the child's sake."

Earnings and Marriage

With regard to earnings and marriage, one female head stated that a man should earn at least $70 a week. Another female head explained that a man should earn enough to set aside some for a rainy day. Four female heads felt that money was not the most important condition for considering marriage.

Of the male respondents two replied that they could not state any particular amount but that the financial responsibilities of marriage should not be underestimated. Four male respondents specified amounts of $70, $90, $100 and $125 a week. Still another male head indicated that money should not be the basis for determining the state of readiness for marriage.

There were two female spouses who also felt that they could not specify incomes. One respondent indicated, "I can't say any particular amount but I do think money is important these days. Having a child is so expensive. I think he should have a steady job and a wife who visits planned parenthood."

Three female spouses felt that money was not the major consideration for marriage. One pinpointed $100 a week, and three felt that a man should earn between $75-$80 a week.
Of the fourteen persons who said a man's income was of primary importance to the marriage, one female spouse became personal: "Before I got married, I use to have everything I wanted, when I wanted it. I felt so independent. I could do things the way I wanted to. But then I got married, and with the money my husband made, he couldn't give me all the things I wanted. When we first got married I use to cry all the time because I had to get use to being dependent and to sharing and sometimes doing without. I'm sure that for a time I made my husband very unhappy."

Community Comment

Three female heads indicated that they were unaware of the community's feelings toward men and women involved in illegitimate pregnancies. Two female heads reported that not very much was said about the man. Another stated that not much was said about the woman. Still another female head stated that the community "downed" the man, while two others maintained that the woman was highly criticized in the community.

Three male heads indicated that they were unaware of the community's feelings toward the man and woman. Four male respondents stated that nothing was said about the man, that the community held the girl mainly responsible. As one father explained it, "Norm- ally the man is not criticized as much as the woman. And if he is, it dies down sooner or later and it doesn't bother his reputation much. I mean a man can do whatever he wants and still be a man, but this isn't true with a woman."

Only one male respondent stipulated that the community
criticized the man, but only if he didn't marry the girl. One male respondent maintained that the community was not in any way critical of the girl.

Three female spouses stated that the community did not criticize either the man or woman involved, and two indicated that they were unaware of the community's feelings. Two female spouses felt that the community talked about the girl only. Another stipulated that the man was talked about only if he was a married man. Still another female spouse indicated that the older generation would condemn the couple but that the younger generation would be more tolerant. She explained, "The younger crowd would more or less accept this thing because times are different and they don't look at the situation as deeply or in quite as degrading a manner as the older set. The younger set would say, this is more or less the procedure, if you want it that way."

Criticisms were related to the high rate of illegitimacy within the communities of Schlobohm and Mulford Gardens. One female spouse stated, "Nowadays you aren't in the 'in crowd' unless you're pregnant or you've been pregnant. It's nothing around here to see mothers of thirteen and fourteen."

Respondents' Own Estimates of Illegitimacy

One female head, a twenty-eight year old unwed mother of six children stated, "Well, you can't think the worst about someone else, when the same thing has happened to you."

Three other female heads also expressed understanding, indicating that unwed motherhood knows no class or status and that
each girl should be helped and not condemned. One of the three respondents also added, "If Negroes had better opportunities so that men could support their children, and women could stay home with their families, perhaps we could modify this problem."

One female head felt that if the girl only had one baby, she deserved another chance. Still another female head understood the girl's situation if the mistake happened out of love, but not if the girl was promiscuous.

There were two male heads who said a girl with one out of wedlock child should profit from her experience. Five respondents were sympathetic. One male head stated, "Everyone is human, and at times we can get carried away." Another male respondent indicated, "I wouldn't consider a girl who had a baby any worse than any other girl because so many girls have relationships and don't get in the family way."

Four female spouses also expressed compassion for the unwed mother. One commented, "If it's close to home, you want to help her. If it's not, you're sorry, but lots worse could happen. I wouldn't down her. I would think of her as being on an equal level as myself--she's going to be a mother, and I am a mother."

Four female spouses were also of the opinion that a girl with one out of wedlock child should profit from this experience. One female spouse expressed sympathy for those she considered "innocent girls," but not for promiscuous girls.

**Attitudes Toward Sons and Daughters**

In discussing their attitudes towards their sons and
daughters, there were two female heads who said that if their sons thought enough of a girl to become involved with her, he should marry her. Another female head indicated that unless her son wanted to finish school, she, too, felt that he should marry the girl. Still another female head indicated that unless her son was still in his teens, the decision of marriage would be left up to him. If marriage was not proposed, she felt he should support his baby. Another female head also contended that the decision to marry would be left to her son's own choosing, but that she felt he could support his child.

In expressing their sentiment about their daughters, one female head stated that she would send her daughter to a home for unwed mothers, and if her daughter was not mature enough to assume the responsibilities of motherhood, she would suggest that she give the baby up for adoption. One female head stated that unless the girl was teen-age, she would go by whatever her daughter decided to do. Another respondent only indicated that she hoped something would work out for her daughter.

One female head in expressing sentiments for children in trouble said this: "I feel if a young boy or girl, under working age, finds himself with this type of responsibility, his parents should help him out until he is old enough to assume his own responsibilities. A young boy and girl at least need a high school education and their minds need to be free in order to study. They don't need their parents yelling at them about supporting a baby or about getting pregnant and how ashamed they should be of themselves. These children need to be helped, not condemned. If parents
continuously condemn them, they'll never be able to accomplish any-
thing."

Of the seven males who responded to the hypothetical questions
about their sons and daughters, three indicated that they did not
know. As one respondent explained, "I really wouldn't know, unless
it happened, and I wouldn't want to tell you that I'd do one thing
and when it happened, turn around and do something different."

Two male heads felt: if their sons decided not to marry
the girl, they should support the girl. Two male respondents also
indicated that they would allow their sons to determine the course
of action they should follow. One of these respondents also added,
"I'd help him as much as I could financially, mentally—in all
respects."

About his daughter, one male head stated, "I'd be mad as
h---l! But I wouldn't put her out because she's my daughter. I'd
be as consoling as possible, give her support, and any other help
I possibly could." One other male head also expressed similar
feelings. The remaining two male respondents indicated that if
the man did not marry their daughter they would expect him to sup-
port the baby.

In talking about their sons, six female spouses stated that
they would try to let their sons use their better judgment in regard
to what should be done about the situation. Each of these respondents
felt that marriage should not be forced, and that as mothers, they
should be as supporting and consoling as possible. They each said
that if marriage was not the best answer to the problem, their sons
should offer some financial assistance. One of these respondents
also indicated that if her son was not able to support the baby, she would help him. Another suggested welfare assistance in the event that her son could not provide sufficient help.

The remaining four female spouses felt that their sons' school status would be the determining factor. One of the four stated, "I think he should marry her, unless he was in school. This being the case, he could support her until he was able to do otherwise." Still another maintained, "If she gets pregnant while my 16 year old is still in school, that's just too bad, because he's going right on to school."

Two female spouses indicated that they did not know how they would handle the situation if it should occur, but that they were taking precautions now, with the hopes that such a problem would not arise. One respondent indicated that she was very strict with her fifteen year old daughter. The other respondent stated that she and her daughter were able to talk about almost anything, and that in discussing the facts of life with her daughter, she had also discussed birth control.

Three female spouses maintained that they would want to know their daughter's feelings, as well as the boy involved, and what the couple felt was best for them. If marriage was not a wise course of action, they, as mothers, would help the girl to provide for the baby.

There were two female spouses who stated that their daughters could stay at home until they were able to care for the baby on their own. However, one female spouse specified, "I'd take care of the baby, but only for a while. I think this is one
reason why girls keep having children. They always feel they can bring the baby home to mama, then go on about their way."

One other female spouse stated, "No matter how well you try to bring up your children, you never know what life has in store for them."

**Best Plan for an Unmarried Girl Who Gets Pregnant**

In discussing the best plan for an unmarried girl who gets pregnant, one female head said that if the pregnancy was a mistake, the two should go their separate ways. In the event that the relationship continued, the two should get married. Another female head said that the girl should have the baby, and that the baby be put in foster care until the girl could decide what was best for both of them.

Four female heads maintained that there was no such thing as a best plan. Each plan is suited to the individual facing the situation.

Among the male respondents there were four who also felt that each plan should be suited to the individual situation. One male head felt that a girl should continue her education in order to give the child the best that life has to offer. Another male head indicated that if the two were in love, they could marry; otherwise she should keep the baby and support it. Still another male head said, "She should take care of the baby to the best of her ability. Do not put it in any foster home, or adoption agency, or sacrifice it in any way."

Of the nine female spouses, one stated that she would like
to see the two get married, unless they were teen age. Two indicated that the girl should plan to have the baby and keep it. Three stressed the point that the girl should be independent—get a job after the baby's birth and take care of it. Two others said that each plan must be suited to the individual's circumstances.

One spouse outlined the best plan by discussing what she considered preventive measures for reducing the number of future out of wedlock pregnancies. "I think all girls should be told that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. I feel that colored mothers should be more educated. White mothers are much more helpful to their daughters, and do you know why? Because we are always so quick to criticize instead of being helpful. We place too much emphasis on what is supposed to be right and wrong. Instead of being concerned about right and wrong, we ought to be concerned about being helpful."

**Effect on Families**

One female head felt that nothing happens to the family. Another indicated that since she grew up in a foster home and never had a real family, she did not know how to answer the question. Two female heads said that the family took it "hard." One of these specifically stated, "I think it's hard on the family, especially the mother. She feels guilty—that maybe she didn't do something right."

Two female heads stipulated that it would depend on the kind of family the girl came from. As one pointed out, "If it's a high status family with a lot of prestige, the neighbors will
talk. If it's a family where the mother was also promiscuous, the mother will probably take the attitude of 'oh well, it's just another mouth to feed.' Then you also have the family who is understanding and who will reach out to help the girl."

There were two male heads who said that no special attention would come to the family of the illegitimately pregnant girl. Two male respondents stated that the family took it hard and was embarrassed by the girl's situation. Another male head indicated that the girl's situation should not be a reflection on the family, if they had tried to give her proper guidance. The two remaining male heads said that the situation depended on the kind of parents with which you were dealing.

One of the female spouses answered the question of what happens to the family by saying that she didn't know. Two other female spouses felt that nothing happened to the family. Three respondents maintained that the family would take it hard and would be embarrassed. Still another female spouse stated that some friends would turn against the family, while others would become much closer. The remaining female respondent felt that the effects depended on the type of parents concerned. As she pointed out, "If they're parents who are mostly concerned about themselves, it will bother them. But if they're concerned about their children, their feelings would center around what's best for the child."

The five male and female respondents who felt that nothing happened to the family of the unmarried girl with a baby, addressed themselves mainly to the high incidence of illegitimacy in their immediate communities. As one female spouse indicated, "I think
people are more sympathetic now because around here it happens so much."

**Effects on Children**

In discussing the effects of illegitimacy on children, five female heads said that the absence of the father would create problems for both the child and the mother. As one expressed it, "A woman cannot be a father." Another stated, "I think it makes it hard for the mother. The children take it out on her because there's no man in the house." Still another maintained, "A child brought up without both parents misses so much."

One female head maintained that the absence of one parent did not mean that the child would not be well adjusted.

One male head also indicated that the absence of a parent did not necessarily mean that a child would receive worse care. Another male respondent specified that where there was a strong mother in the home, the child would be fine. Still another male head stated that until a child was old enough to know that he was supposed to have a father, it would not make a difference. Then it would only be important if his family was "middle class" where having a father was emphasize more than it was in the "slum class."

There were two male heads who maintained that the absence of a father would make the greatest impression on a boy. One of these respondents stated, "A boy needs a father to pattern after just like a girl needs a mother to pattern after."

One male head also maintained, "Children will resent their fathers for not being in the home."
Three female spouses said that it would be better if both parents were in the home. One maintained, "Some kids are brought up without having either parents and are good children and make good husbands and wives when they grow up. Then some children with both parents and a home will become juvenile delinquents. There need not be a difference but I think it would be better if both parents are present."

Five female spouses said that the absentee father would have an effect on the home regardless. One of these respondents stated, "A child needs both parents to make him happy." Still another contended, "It definitely makes a difference. But I think if they have understanding relatives, this would help. If my son was without a father, I'd ask one of my male relatives to help him with the things a boy ought to know."

One female spouse maintained that the child had more to do with his own eventual outcome that either of his parents. "If you want to be bad, you'll be bad," she stated. "People are always blaming parents, but kids will do as they want. They have minds all their own."

Respondents were always free to express any comments they might have. The following paragraphs are the additional comments of two male heads of households:

One high school graduate, 40 years old, declared, "I think parents should train their children to beware of the pitfalls of life. You should give of your best to your children so that they can take their home training wherever they go. They should know when they go out that if marriage is not in the picture, they
should exercise certain limits on their behavior. The Negro has always been at the bottom of the ladder. There are classes of whites. But if you're a Negro—there's no class, you're just a Negro. Whites have more opportunities than Negroes. White girls can go north, south, or out of the country somewhere and have their babies; come back and start all over. But we don't have these opportunities; we can't do these things. They won't pay us what we should get, or equally what they pay themselves. They give us inferior educations so that we can't rise above them.

It's bad when you're a Negro."

A 60 year old janitor who has six children said, "Illegitimate children will be born as long as there's a world. They will always be born to the slum class. But there are thousands of illegitimate children who will never be on welfare or need help, because people will take care of them. We only hear about those on welfare, or who need help, because of the whites who complain about their taxes supporting welfare cases. White people want to have Negro women sterilized. But nobody has this right. It's your life and your children, even if you don't take care of them. Sterilization isn't going to stamp out poverty, and as long as there's a poor class Negro—as long as he's discriminated against, he will be poor, and there will be illegitimacy."
CHAPTER V

DATA, FAIRVIEW HOMES, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Even though the interviewer was met with a variety of attitudes at Fairview Homes, Charlotte, North Carolina, and despite the fact that some people were basically hostile to the interviewer's attempts to elicit their attitudes toward illegitimacy, all of the attitudes obtained reflect a general distaste for illegitimate pregnancies.

There were two outstanding responses: (1) the man should marry the girl he gets pregnant, regardless of the way he feels about her, and (2) he should marry the girl only if he loves her.

Of the ten female spouses interviewed, only one said that the man should marry the girl he gets pregnant, regardless of the way he feels about her. This 35 year old spouse summarized her feelings by saying, "He should marry her regardless of the way he feels about her, because the child needs to have a name." Nine of the spouses interviewed ruled out the possibility of marriage, but nine spouses placed certain stipulations for the man to marry the girl. These nine individuals agreed that the man should marry the girl he gets pregnant only if he loves her.

Of the eight female heads of households interviewed, one said that the man should marry the girl he gets pregnant regardless of the way he feels about her. She explained her position by saying, "He should marry her because he should not have sexual
intercourse with a girl unless he intended to make her his wife. Unmarried people shouldn't do things like that in the first place, but they just don't wait nowadays."

The other seven female heads of households suggested marriage, but stated that he should only marry her if he loves her. A twenty-six year old female head of household with a seventh grade education, described her position, "What he did after the girl got pregnant depended on their relationship before pregnancy. If they had planned to marry before the pregnancy, it is okay for them to get married after she became pregnant. If he does not love her, he would not marry her, because such a marriage probably would not work."

A fifty-seven year old blind interviewee with a seventh grade education, stated, "He should treat her nice if he does not want to marry her. He should want to marry her since he wanted to 'nurse' (have sexual intercourse) her. He shouldn't marry her though, just because she is pregnant."

None of the six male heads of households interviewed said that the man should marry the girl he gets pregnant, regardless of the way he feels about her. All six of the men agreed that the man should marry the girl, or they should work out some way to fulfill his responsibility to her and the child when it comes.

Of all the individuals interviewed, all twenty-four felt that the man had some degree of responsibility to the child of the unmarried girl he got pregnant. Nineteen of the individuals said that he should take care of all of the child's needs. One said that
he should take care of all of the child's needs if he does not have a family; three said that he should provide weekly payments for the child; and one said that he should provide most of the child's needs.

Of the female spouses interviewed, nine said that he should take care of all the child's needs. A thirty-one year old spouse admitted that she had had one child out of wedlock, and had the following to say about a man taking care of his child: "It is wholly the man's fault, because he know what his intentions are before he takes a girl out, and he rubs and feels all over her trying to get her ready. Because of this I think that he should pay the d--n bills and support the baby.

"If he fails to pay the bills, he should be carried to court and made to support. If he still refuses to pay the bills, he should be taken to jail and made to work on the chain gang."

One female spouse said that the man should provide all of the child's needs because the child did not ask to be born, but came as a result of the father's and mother's pleasure. Another said that the man should support the baby completely and come around and be with the child, because the child needs to know who his father is.

One female spouse who indicated that the man might be married said that the man should take care of part of the child's needs if he has a family, but should take care of the child's needs completely if he does not have a family.

Seven of the eight female heads of households interviewed said that the man should take care of all the child's needs. One female
head declared, "The man should provide the child with all of its needs. This is his responsibility. If he didn't take care of the child, the lady should take him to court. The woman goes through the pain of having the child, the least the man could do is get money for the child."

One of the female heads said that the man should leave support money for the child.

Three of the six men interviewed said that the man should take care of all of the child's needs. Two of the men said that the man should provide weekly payments for the child. According to one male head of household, "He should give weekly payments to care for the child, until the mother gets married. At this time, the girl's husband should assume all of the responsibilities which the lady has."

Another male head of household said that he should buy the child clothes, pay for its medical expenses and food. He should give the mother weekly money to buy these things for the child.

Only one man indicated that he did not feel like the man should provide everything for the child. This man said, "I don't think he should provide all of the child's things; he should provide most of them. It's the girl's fault too, and she should have some responsibility for providing for the child."

When the interviewer questioned the individuals about the man's responsibility to the unmarried girl he gets pregnant, all the respondents said that the man should provide for medical expenses. A large number of the individuals said that the man should provide all of the mother's needs while she was pregnant,
but stated that he should stop providing for her as soon as she was able to go to work.

One female spouse summed up the feelings of nine of the female spouses when she said, "He should take care of her during pregnancy. He shouldn't give the mother anything after she is able to go to work and take care of herself, nor should she want anything. If he provides for her, he'll think that he owns her."

Another said, "If she is sick, he should be willing to support her too. He should not feel obligated to support the girl because it's her fault too. She probably knew exactly what she was doing when she had sexual intercourse with him."

The one female spouse who said that the man should support the girl before and after her pregnancy, said that she felt this way because the man is responsible for her predicament.

Six of the eight female heads of households interviewed said that the man should just take care of medical expenses and provide for her while she is unable to work as a result of her pregnancy. Two of the female heads of households said that the man should give the woman anything he wanted to after the baby is born. One lady said, "He does not have to give her anything, but it wouldn't hurt to give her something. He certainly knows everything there is to know about her body, and it seems as if giving the mother something is a very small price to pay for the pleasure which her body has given him through nursing (sexual intercourse)." Another said that if he takes care of the child that's enough. It is okay if he provides for the mother, but if he doesn't want to give her anything, he should not be pressed.
All of the six men interviewed indicated that the man should pay for all of the medical expenses, but stated that he should not need to support the mother after she is able to go to work and support herself. The period of time they thought the man should help the girl after she had the baby ranged from a few weeks after she had the baby up to a year. One man answered the question by saying, "What he does depends on conditions. If the girl is unable to take care of herself, and the man still goes with her, it would be all right for him to take care of her. I don't see any point in the girl staying involved in a situation where she did not think there was a future." Another man said, "He should provide for the mother during her pregnancy, and shortly after she's had the child. He should provide medical and any other expenses which would help the mother fulfill her obligation as a mother."

Most of the people interviewed showed a general distaste for abortions. Twenty-one of the twenty-four individuals interviewed stated that they did not believe in abortions. Some of the reasons which they gave related to moral issues as well as health issues. One of the mothers summarized many responses when she said, "There should be no abortions, that's a sin. If she is pregnant, she should let the baby come. The mother might kill herself, trying to kill the baby, and she would never be forgiven for that."

Only one of the female spouses interviewed sanctioned abortion by saying, "It is up to the mother whether or not she wanted an abortion." Only one of the female spouses said that she did not know what she felt about the question of abortions.

All of the eight female heads of households, objected to
abortions. One female head said, "No abortions. That's against God's law and against nature. Abortion is murder. Therapeutic abortions are all right since that is for the safety of the mother." Another female head said, " Abortions are dangerous—something may go wrong and kill the mother or put her in a condition so she will be unable to have children later on." Still another female head said, "There should be no abortions, because there is no forgiveness for this. If the Lord puts a child in you, you have no right to destroy it."

Five of the six men interviewed rejected abortions outright, the sixth man said that abortion was a good way out if the mother did not want to have the child.

When the interviewees discussed their feelings about adoptions, they were not so decisive in what they felt should be done. Twelve of the interviewees said that there should be no adoptions. Four of the female spouses, three of the female heads of households, and five of the male heads of households shared this conviction. One of the female spouses said, "There should be no adoption, every mother should have her own child, and she must do the best she can for that child." A female head said that a lady should not give her child away, after she's given birth to it. One of the male heads of households said that the lady should keep her child, because a time might come when she wanted it. He pointed out that even though a mother may give her child away, she knows that she has it, and will always remember it.

Five of the female spouses interviewed, five of the female heads of households, and one male head of a household said that
adoptions were all right. The two conditions which the individuals set up for the mother giving the child away were: (1) she could not afford to keep it, and (2) she did not want the child. These people seemed to feel that if a child is not wanted or cannot be provided for adequately, it is better to let someone else take care of it, since it is the child's welfare which should be considered above all else.

Responsibilities of Unemployed Males

Twenty-one of the twenty-four individuals interviewed said that the man should find a job as soon as possible and fulfill his responsibilities as a father. By this, they meant that he should provide medical care and other provisions for the mother while she was pregnant, and provide for the child when it came. One female spouse said that the male should turn to his parents for help if he did not have a job. One female head of household said that there was nothing a man could do if he did not have a job. One male head of a household said that if he did not have a job he should give the girl moral support during the pregnancy to let her know he's trying, and is concerned about what happens to her.

Responses from female spouses included the following: "If he's a man, he can find a job. If he ever worked, he should be able to receive social security benefits while he is unemployed, and could use that money to take care of the child." "The girl should have him put up so that he can get a job." "He should hurry and get a job. He had no business messing with her if he would not be able to take care of her if he got her pregnant."
A female head of household who had two years of college education said, "He should get a job as soon as possible and provide all of the child's needs, and provide for the mother while she is pregnant. It does not matter whose idea it was to have the sexual intercourse, the man planted the seed for life, and he should accept responsibility for planting that seed." Another lady said, "He should get a job as soon as possible. I sometimes feel that the law should step in and make the man support the child."

The female heads of households seemed to be more punitive in their attitudes toward the man who did not have a job and gets a girl pregnant. Four out of the eight individuals interviewed stated that the court should step in if the man did not get a job and take care of his responsibilities.

One male head of household reacted to the question by saying, "If the man can get a job, he should do so, because he should always take care of his responsibility. Another said, "He should get a job, so he can at least take care of his financial obligation to the girl. It is especially hard on the girl to be pregnant, and the guy not have a job. He should try to make some arrangements for the girl, so she won't have to worry about finances while she is pregnant." Another man said that the girl should not bother with a man who did not have a job, but nevertheless, the man should try to find a job as soon as possible so that he could take care of his responsibilities.

None of the people interviewed excused the man from providing for the mother and child because he did not have a job.
Out of the ten female spouses interviewed, seven said that a man should not feel obligated to marry the girl he got pregnant. One female spouse said, "If there is no love, there should be no marriage, because the marriage probably would not work. Both individuals were wrong. He couldn't fuck her unless she let him." Another spouse said that such a marriage wouldn't work. "He'll probably keep throwing it up in her face about his having to marry her." Still another said, "If there is no love, there is little chance of the marriage working out."

Two of the female spouses interviewed said that the man should feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant. One said that he should marry her if she is "nice" (not promiscuous). Another said that he should feel obligated to marry her because he is responsible for her condition. If he thought enough of her to have sexual intercourse with her he should think enough of her to marry yer.

One female spouse said that she did not know whether or not a man should feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant.

Six of the eight female heads of households interviewed said that the man should not feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant: "If he does not love her, he should not marry her. It is crippling to the child to be born into a home where there is no love, as the child is subjected to the pain which they inflict on each other."

"No, he should not feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant. It is too easy to get pregnant to base a whole marriage on pregnancy."
"No. The girl is at fault too. If they love each other and want to get married fine, but if they don't love each other, they shouldn't get married."

"No. If they were supposed to get married, you wouldn't have to force them. A marriage is likely to not work if it's forced, and if there is no marriage the girl can start all over again after the baby comes."

Two of the eight female heads of households said that the man should feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant. One lady said that he should not be forced to marry the girl, but he should feel a moral obligation to marry her since she is going to have his child, and the child needs a name. The other female head said that if the man thinks the girl is good enough to "nurse" he should think that she is good enough for him to marry. "If a girl has a baby for him, she is his wife--she does everything a wife should do. So, he might as well take her to the courthouse and marry her legally."

Five of the six male heads interviewed said that man should not feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant. One man said, "No, I don't think a man should feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant, but most men feel obligated to marry the girl. Marriages don't work when a person marries just because he feels a sense of obligation." Another man said, "No, I don't think that he should feel obligated to marry the girl; people should marry to better their conditions, and if they don't think they're going to better their conditions, they shouldn't marry. Whether or not he marries the girl depends on what he thinks of her." Other said, "No,
it's her fault too," or, "No, if there is no love there should be no marriage."

One man said that the man should feel obligated to marry the girl he gets pregnant. "If he is weak enough to engage in sexual intercourse, he should be weak enough to get married."

**Earnings and Marriage**

The majority of the individuals interviewed said that a man should earn at least $50 per week before he decided to get married and have a family.

The lowest figure which a female spouse cited for the man to earn before he decided to get married and have a family was $50. Four women felt that this sum was enough. Two female spouses said that the man should earn at least $100 per week. The other female spouses ranged their figures between the two amounts cited. One female spouse said that she did not know how much a man should earn before he decided to get married and have a family.

Of the eight female heads of households interviewed, three said that a man should earn at least $50 per week before he decided to get married and have a family. One said that he should earn at least $100 per week. This lady had three children and lived on an annual income of $1918. The female head with two years of college education and an annual income of $2805 said that the man should earn $75 to $100 per week before he decided to get married and have a family. Two female heads said that the man should earn $75 per week. One female head of a household said that she could not say how much a man should earn before he decided to marry and have a
family, because that was something which depended on what he wanted out of life. "If he wants a lot, he should earn more money; if he does not want much, it is not important for him to earn a lot of money."

Two of the six men interviewed said that a man should earn $60 per week before he decides to get married and have a family. One said $75 per week. One man stated that he did not feel that there was any set price for the man to earn. "How much he earns is not important, as you don't need a lot of money. A large income could be something the family could work toward."

Community Comments

When the interviewees were asked about the attitudes of their neighbors toward illegitimacy, two female spouses said that their neighbors did not talk about the man. One female spouse said that the people think so little about the man getting the girl pregnant, that they don't even bother to talk about him. One individual said, "They say very little about him, if they say anything." Still another female spouse said that the people don't think anything about the man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant. Three female spouses said that the neighbors think that the man is "bad." They said that if the neighbors know the man, they talk about him "very badly." The other three female spouses said that they did not know how their neighbors felt about the man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant. One spouse said, "I don't know how my neighbors feel, but I doubt the motives of a man, and see them as just being to satisfy himself. Some men are good, but it pays to proceed
Out of the eight female heads of households interviewed, six said that the people think very little, if anything, about the man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant. The female head with two years of college education said, "They accept pregnancies as a way of life. This attitude is due to the widespread pregnancies in the neighborhood. If the people were to get indignant about a girl getting pregnant, they would stay indignant. They just say, 'That's the way it goes.'"

"Because of this, the people have a nonchalant attitude toward the man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant. You'd better not say anything to the people involved."

Another female head said, "They don't say too much about the man. I think that if he is married, he should be punished, because he took advantage of the girl."

Still another female head said, "They don't say anything about him. They see his action as being natural. Girls often go with guys who they know have girls pregnant."

Two of the female heads of households said that they did not know what their neighbors thought. One female head who was blind, attributed her lack of knowledge to the individuals always getting out of her listening range to discuss such things.

Out of the six men interviewed, four said that the neighbors did not think that the man was bad because he got an unmarried girl pregnant. One man said, "They don't down the man because they feel it's the girl's fault. They say she should have known better."

Only one man said that the neighbors thought the man was bad because
he got an unmarried girl pregnant. "They talk about him. They say that both the man and girl are no good. I know because I see them going from door-to-door discussing it. These people always like to believe bad about others."

One other man said that because he was seldom home, he did not know what the neighbors felt about an unmarried man who got an unmarried girl pregnant.

When the interviewer asked the question of how the neighbors felt if an unmarried girl got pregnant, a variety of responses were given. Four of the ten female spouses interviewed said outright that the neighbors thought the girl was bad. One female spouse said, "They really run their mouth about the girl. They talk about how no good she is. I know this because I see them running from house to house just gossiping about the girl." Another said, "They think she's awful, because they think she should be married before she does anything like that."

Two said that the people gossip about the girl, but pointed out that this gossip is not always bad; they just discuss her condition sometimes. One female spouse said, "They feel sorry for the girl because she is stuck with a devil of a load, but they still gossip about her." Two other female spouses said that they did not know what the neighbors felt about an unmarried girl who got pregnant.

None of the eight female heads interviewed said that the neighbors thought the girl was bad who got pregnant without being married.

Two of the female heads of households said that neighbors discuss the girl's condition. One female head said, "They talk
about the girl. I don't think they talk about the girl with malice, but just discuss the situation to have something to talk about."

Another said, "They talk about the girl. They don't talk badly about her. They just discuss her condition."

Three of the female heads of households said that the neighbors don't think much about an unmarried girl getting pregnant. One lady said, "They just say there is one more pregnant girl in the neighborhood."

Three of the female heads interviewed said that they did not know what the neighbors felt about the girl's pregnancy.

Three of the male heads of households said that the people in the community think that the unmarried girl is bad if she gets pregnant. One man said, "They down the girl, especially if she gets pregnant by a married man. They think she should think more of herself than go with a married man." Another man said that the neighbors say the girl is "no good."

One man said that the neighbors did not think much about an unmarried girl who got pregnant. He said, "Often the girl is condemned when she does not engage in sexual intercourse. I don't think the people are alarmed when the girl gets pregnant, because every one is doing the same thing. The people are exposed to sex, and it is a mighty strong person who does not engage in it."

Two of the six men interviewed said that they did not know what the neighbors felt, but stated, "They probably say she's lucky it didn't happen any sooner, because everyone engages in it."

Respondents' Own Estimates of Illegitimacy

The interviewer found a common thread in all the interviews,
"We can accept one mistake, but not the same mistake twice."

Six of the ten female spouses interviewed said that they saw a girl's first pregnancy as just being a mistake. According to one lady, "I don't think bad about the girl, because anyone can make a mistake. I don't think she should make the same mistake twice. She must be stupid or crazy to do that." Another lady expressed herself by saying, "Anyone is entitled to make one mistake, but there is no excuse for a second illegitimate child. Not all girls who have children out of wedlock are bad; sometimes it is just one of those things."

Three of the female spouses said that they would feel sorry for the girl. One female spouse simply said, "I would feel sorry for her. She's not bad, just one of those things." An 18 year old mother of three children, who admitted that she got married at 15 years of age because she was pregnant, had the following to say about the girl who got pregnant out of wedlock: "I would feel sorry for her, but a girl should know how to carry herself, and should have sense enough to protect herself from pregnancy. The biggest problem comes from their not knowing how to protect themselves. When my children begin to grow up, I am going to tell them about their bodies so that they will be able to protect themselves."

One female spouse said, "The girl is not necessarily bad because she gets pregnant; anyone is subject to making a mistake. The girl is bad if she keeps getting pregnant, because this means that she doesn't have any respect for herself."

The female heads appeared to be more sympathetic toward the unmarried mother inasmuch as five of the eight female heads interviewed
said that they would feel sorry for the girl. One female head said, "I feel sorry for her. I don't think she's bad because boys often take advantage of girls, either by physically forcing them to have sexual intercourse, or by fooling them with pretty words." Another lady said, "I pity the girl. The Bible says that it is better to marry than burn. If you think you are going to nurse (have sexual intercourse) you should get married."

Still another lady said, "I feel sorry for her, and for her parents too. People have a tendency to blame parents by saying that they usually have not taught the children the things which they need to know in order to protect themselves."

The other female heads of households said that the pregnancy of an unmarried girl was an unfortunate situation. One mother who had been married, but separated from her husband said, "It's just one of those unfortunate things which happens. I know many nice girls who have had children out of wedlock. They are my friends too, and I wouldn't stop being their friends just because they made a mistake."

Of the six men interviewed, four said that an unmarried girl's pregnancy was an unfortunate situation. One man said, "I think the situation is bad. The girl should try to understand the guy and his motives." Another man said, "I think it is a bad situation, but this does not mean the end of the world for the girl. She can still make something of herself. It is true that she has more to prove than the average girl, but she should set out to prove that she can be something in life, and should work hard trying to make something of herself."
One of the six men said, "The two people should know better. They should know how to protect themselves since pregnancy is something which could easily be avoided. I wouldn't look down on her, but she still should know better."

Another man said, "It is very unfortunate. It is wrong to condemn a girl because she made a mistake. She should be counseled so she won't make the same mistake again." One said that some girls who got pregnant were bad, and some who got pregnant, were not bad.

**Attitudes Towards Sons and Daughters**

When the interviewer asked the interviewees to tell how they would feel if their unmarried son came and told them that they had gotten an unmarried girl pregnant, nine of the twenty-four respondents used "hurt" to describe their reaction, one used "sorry," eleven used "badly," and one said that she would not like it, and two said that they did not know how they would feel.

Of the nine who said that they would be hurt, three were female spouses. One of the female spouses who used the word "hurt" to describe her feelings said, "I would be terribly hurt. I would make him pay the medical expenses of the girl and provide money to support the baby."

One female spouse used the word "sorry" to describe her feelings, in relation to her unmarried son getting a girl pregnant.

Of the eleven who said that they would feel badly, five were female spouses. Among some of the expressions used by them to describe their feelings, are the following:

"I would feel very badly. Marriage would be okay with me,
if that's what they wanted. If they didn't marry, he should provide for the child. If the girl her son got pregnant did not want the baby, she would take it and help her son with it." This respondent stated that she had gotten married because she was pregnant.

Or, "I would feel badly. I would discuss the matter with him in order to find out what he intends to do about the situation. I would try to get him to marry her."

Or, "I would feel badly. I hope that he would marry the girl, but if he didn't marry the girl, I would want him to support the baby. I would talk to him to try to help him realize his responsibility.

One of the ten female spouses said that she did not know how she would feel if her unmarried son told her that he had gotten a girl pregnant.

Six of the eight female heads of households interviewed, used "hurt" to describe how they would feel if their unmarried son came home and said he had gotten an unmarried girl pregnant.

Some of their comments were: "I would be hurt, but I would talk to him. He shouldn't bother with a girl who isn't good enough for him to marry. Therefore, if he bothers her, I'll do everything to make him marry the girl." "My son did just this. I was hurt for him to have to tell me this, but I pointed out to him that if she was a good girl, he should marry her, and bring her home, and we could all live together. This is what he did." "I would feel very hurt. I would talk to him. I would want him to get a job so that he could take care of the child. I wouldn't suggest marriage unless he was able to take care of a family and loved the girl."
One female head of household said that she would not like it if her unmarried son came home and told her that he got an unmarried girl pregnant. Another said that she did not know how she would feel.

Most of the fathers used the term "badly" to describe how they would feel if their unmarried son came home and told them that he had gotten an unmarried girl pregnant.

One father said, "I would feel badly. I would like to know from what kind of family the girl comes. They shouldn't get married until they want to. If he decided against marrying the girl, he should help the mother and child until the mother is able to get on her feet."

Another said, "I don't know what I'd do. I suppose I would talk to him, in order to help him get the girl the things she needed during her pregnancy. If he is in school, I would help him provide for the pregnant girl. If he is not in school, he will have to work and pay bills."

Still another said, "I would feel badly. I would not condemn him because the damage is done. I would counsel him, so it wouldn't happen again. I would see what I could do to help him fulfill his obligation as a parent."

All the interviewees indicated that even though they would be disturbed by their son getting an unmarried girl pregnant, they would try to see that he assumed his responsibility for the mother and child. They also indicated that they would like for him to marry the girl if he loved her.
When the interviewer asked the people how they would feel if their unmarried daughter got pregnant, they all agreed that they would be hurt.

One female spouse said, "I'd be hurt, but what can I do? I wouldn't make her marry, because she wouldn't be happy, but I wouldn't kill her. I'd talk with the boy, and find out how much he was willing to do.

"I'd let my daughter and her child live with me. I'd keep the baby on occasions, but I wouldn't keep it all of the time, and let her forget her responsibility as a mother. If she forgot this responsibility, she could feel that she could go out and get another child anytime."

Another mother said, "I'd feel the same sympathy that I would for a son who got a girl pregnant. It would be a bad situation. I'd try to put myself in my daughter's situation; it must be a very unhappy situation for her too."

Still another female spouse said, "I would feel sorry for her. I would not make her marry unless she wanted to, and the man was willing to marry her."

The female spouse who said that she got married at fifteen because she was pregnant, blushed when the interviewer asked her the question. She smiled at her older daughter and said, "Girl, you'd better not grow up and get pregnant. I would feel terrible. I really wish that she wouldn't engage in such things as sexual intercourse, but it is quite probable that she will, as people just naturally do these type of things when they reach a certain age." She then pointed out that she was going to tell her daughter about the way
to protect herself so that she won't get hurt.

Two female spouses said that they would feel the same way about their daughters getting pregnant as they would if their sons came home and told them that they had gotten an unmarried girl pregnant.

To the question about their daughters, all the mothers gave answers indicating that they would be terribly hurt. One mother said, "I would be terribly distressed. I would take care of her, and try to get help from the father, but if the father didn't give this help, I would help her take care of the child as best I could."

Another mother who related that her daughter got pregnant out of wedlock said, "I would feel badly. You don't make her get married because it takes two people to get married. I would let her have the baby. There is nothing I could do but accept and help the child. The girl would already be miserable so why should I make her more miserable?

"My daughter had an illegitimate daughter, who is now fourteen years old, and stays with me. The boy wanted to marry her, but his people were against it. After he left Charlotte, he sent for her so that they could get married, but I didn't let her go, because if his intentions were good, he would have married her before he left.

"My daughter is now married to a very nice man, and they have a child. They let the girl staying with me visit them every summer. He treats her nice, just like she is his child. My daughter's pregnancy was not the end of the world, and there is no point in com-
pounding one mistake with another."

Another female head of a household said, "I would feel badly. I would feel worse about my daughter getting pregnant because it would bring the problem home, and it would mean a greater responsibility for me and the other members of the family. I would not try to make her get married, but would try to get the boy to support the child."

Still another female head said, "I would have a fit. I would die. I would feel worse because people talk more about the pregnant girl and there is a greater stigma attached to the girl's pregnancy. A boy can get a girl pregnant and go about his business while the girl has to carry the results with her."

Three of the male heads of households said that they would feel worse if their unmarried daughters got pregnant. One man said, "Oh my God, I would have a fit. I would feel worse about the girl, because there is a greater stigma attached to the girl's pregnancy."

Another man said, "I would feel worse about a daughter. Her future would be limited, and her education would be interrupted. If the man did not marry her, her chances of finding a happy marriage are greatly reduced. I would go to the boy and see what arrangements could be made."

Two of the men said that they would be awfully hurt, but did not indicate that they would be more hurt if the girl got pregnant than if the son came home and told him that he had gotten an unmarried girl pregnant.

One man said, "I would feel the same way about my daughter getting pregnant, as I would if my unmarried son got a girl pregnant."
I would not put her out, but would talk to her. By putting her out, or treating her mean, I may drive her to do other things. I would feel no worse if my daughter told me she was pregnant, because if my son got an unmarried girl pregnant, that means that someone else's daughter is involved."

Best Plan for an Unmarried Girl Who Gets Pregnant

All of the twenty-four interviewees at Fairview Homes stated that the best plan was to have the baby. As indicated in the first part of the presentation, there was quite a variation in what the girl should do after having the child. One female spouse said, "The girl should talk with her mother and the father, to discover what conclusions they could reach." She said that the mother should keep the child. She then added, "I wouldn't carry anything in me, not even s---t for nine months, and give it away."

Another female spouse said, "She should have the baby and go back to school--finish high school and go to college if it is at all possible. The world doesn't end with pregnancy."

A female head of household said that the girl, after she has the baby, should chart her own course and make her own decision.

One of these six male heads said that having the baby was the best plan if she had no other choice. The other five men said that above all, she should have the baby.

One man said, "She should have the baby, even if she decides to go away and have it. She must better her life. Pregnancy without a husband is just one mistake. The man can ignore the fact that it's his child, but a girl must accept it."
Effects of Girl's Pregnancy on Family

All twenty-four respondents said that the family is upset by the girl's pregnancy. Some described this feeling of being upset in the words of "hurt," "mad," "upset," "disturbed," and "dislike." All the interviewees said that the family usually helps the girl after getting over the initial shock.

One female spouse said she had one child by her husband before they got married. She pointed out that shortly after her first child was born, she and her husband got married. Now they have seven children. She had this to say on the subject, "I don't know what happens in other families, but when I got pregnant, my family was temporarily disrupted, but they did not raise h--l. My aunt and uncle, who kept me, were unhappy but they treated me nice and tried to make me happy during my pregnancy."

Another spouse simply said, "Sometimes the family mistreats the girl, and sometimes they treat her nice. The family is always unhappy about her pregnancy."

Still another spouse said, "They may mistreat her at first, but as soon as the shock wears off, the family will be willing to accept the pregnant girl and her offspring."

One spouse said, "They get mad at her at first, but try to help her in the end."

A female head of household described her feelings in a different way. She said, "The family may not be happy about the situation, but it manages to go along. Once they see the new baby, they fall in love with it and all is forgiven. Next, they'll be seeing another baby."
Still another female head of a household said, "Sometimes they treat her cruelly, but they shouldn't. They have to realize that somewhere they might have failed the girl—mother may not have told the girl about the facts of life. The family will naturally feel badly because the girl has done wrong, but they must ask themselves, 'why.'"

One of the six male heads said "The family is usually hurt, and it has a sense of failure over the pregnant girl. The family usually goes along with the program of no marriage for the girl, because this can only add to the misfortune." He said that they try to help the girl.

Another man said, "Sometimes the family harrasses the girl, and make her feel unwanted, because they feel that she has embarrassed the family name. The family should not do this because it causes the girl to suffer more. Some families do all they can to try to help the girl because her life isn't lost. They sometimes help her to live a fruitful life."

Still another male head of household said, "The family is usually let down over an unmarried member's pregnancy. The family is usually at the bottom when they are first told about the pregnancy, but if they really love the girl, they won't let this floor them forever, and they will try to help her."

**Effects on Children**

Of the twenty-four people interviewed, thirteen said that the child without a father gets the same care as does a child with a father. One said that such a child gets the same care and some-
times gets better care. Four said that the child gets the same care, but needs a father. Five said that the child without a father gets less care than a child with a father. One respondent said that she did not know.

Of the ten female spouses, five said that the child without a father gets the same care as does a child with a father.

One female spouse said, "The child without a father gets the same care as does a child with a father because the mother can give enough love to make up for the missing love of the other parent. The neighbors also accept the child and try to make it happy."

Another female spouse said, "Such a child does not fare any worse than a child who has both parents who do not get along. When the parents are not happy with each other and continually fuss and fight, it is better for the child to have one parent."

Four of the female spouses said that the child without a father does not get the same care as does a child with a father. One female spouse said, "No, a child without a father does not get the same care as does a child with a father because a child needs a father to help rear it."

Still another spouse said, "A child without a father does not get the same care as does a child with a father because the child needs father, if he's really a father. It is no good if the man is just in the home and accepting the title of father. He must be a father. As far as the neighbors are concerned, they accept the child without a father."

One female spouse said that the child without a father gets the same care as does a child with a father, but the child still
needed a father. She said, "In some instances, he gets the same care, in other instances, he gets better care. Fathers sometimes cause animosity in the home. There are situations when a child needs a father, especially in disciplinary cases."

Of the eight female heads of households interviewed, four said that the child without a father gets the same care as does a child with a father.

One female head of household said, "It gets the same care as does a child with a father, but there are times when a child needs a father because a father's image is necessary."

Another female head said, "The child gets the same care as children with fathers. The most important thing for the child is love, and if he gets this love without the father, the child doesn't suffer."

Three of the female heads of households said that the child gets the same care as does a child with a father, but pointed out that a child without a father needed the paternal influence.

One female head began by saying that the child did not need the father. "It is not necessary for the child to have a father. On second thought, the child will always miss the other parent. The male influence is always needed, even if it is a bad influence, for the father completes the family unit. The child needs the influence of the father so that he can either accept it or reject it, but the influence should be there."

One female head said that she did not know how the welfare of the children without a father compared to the welfare of the children who had fathers.
The seven female heads who commented stressed that the child would always need a father to complete his feelings of belonging.

Of the six male heads of households interviewed, four said that a child without a father received just as much care as does a child with a father. One man who pointed out that his father was not married to his mother said, "They get the same care as does a child with a father. I feel this way because I grew up without a father and received more love and affection than many children with fathers. This is not always the case, however, because the mother is sometimes unable to give the child the love, attention, and affection which it needs because she is too busy earning a living."

Another man said, "Yes, he gets the same care if there is love in the family, and a grandfather to meet the father role. A child in a home without love does not do too well."

One of the six men said that a child without a father often got more care than a child with a father because the girl and her parents often shower the child with love and attention. One man said that he did not know about the general welfare of a child who did not have a father.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS

Hypothesis 1. Current conceptions of lower class Negroes' attitudes toward illegitimacy are stereotypes.

Sub-Hypothesis (a): Lower class Negroes do not expect lower class Negro men to be responsible for their illegitimate children.

The men and women interviewed in Atlanta, Georgia, Charlotte, N. C. and Yonkers, N. Y. expected Negro men to be responsible for their illegitimate children. When an illegitimate pregnancy occurred, they held the man responsible to support his child if he did not marry its mother. Approximately 25% of the women felt that the man should marry the mother regardless of their feeling for each other in order to give the child legitimacy. Approximately 75% of the women felt that it was better not to marry unless there was love or regard for one another. Nearly all women, however, felt that the man was responsible to support his child to the best of his ability, either contributing established amounts or helping to share with the woman the costs of raising the child. None of the men felt that a man should marry a woman he did not care for, but all felt that the man was responsible for the support of his child.

Both men and women felt that a man who has a job should provide "everything the baby needs," "help as much as he can," "share the expenses of the child," and "help the woman out."
Even where the man was unemployed, nearly 75% of the women and men felt that the man could do something, get some kind of job, part-time or irregular, share whatever he did have, and do the best he could. Even those who felt that if a man did not have a job there was not much he could do, did not absolve the man from the responsibility of trying.

There was a clear recognition of the fact that the jobs open to Negro men might be undesirable and poorly paid—not the kind of job a man would want. One woman painted a sharp portrait of the kind of job calculated to drive a man out of his home or to prevent him from creating one: "When the father isn't with them, they get money from welfare, sometimes more than some fathers can make. Some fathers give less home than welfare—they can't make as much." Her own husband supports seven people on $47.00 a week.

One woman, trying to explain to herself why men didn't stick it out with their families while women had to do so, said sadly, "Men can't stand too much pressure. They get out and leave... A man will get disgusted and he'll take off."

Thirty-five per cent of the women and 90% of the men felt that the fathers of illegitimate children should visit their children, take them out, and "be fathers" to them so that the children would know both of their parents. Those who couldn't endorse visits were afraid of bitterness, entanglements and further illegitimacy. Even they regretted the loss for the child, "who needs to know his father."

A number of the women pointed out that there wasn't much difference between an illegitimate child and a legitimate child whose daddy had separated from the family. It was the "same lonely"
for the child and for the mother.

Whatever the strains and stresses of joblessness and dead-end jobs, however, both men and women felt the Negro man was responsible for helping to support his child, for "trying," at the very least. "It's a poor man who don't want to do anything," said one woman. "If he doesn't support the child, he is a rattlesnake," said one man.

Sub-Hypothesis (b): Lower class Negroes expect lower class Negro women to be responsible for their illegitimate children.

The men and women interviewed in this study expected the woman who had an illegitimate child to work to support her child or to get help from her family in supporting it, but they also expected the man to help. Women did not expect support in the middle class sense of being able to stay home and be supported while rearing a child, but they did expect help "just for the baby" and the men affirmed that the child's father, while not responsible for the mother unless he married her, was responsible for helping to support the baby.

A number of men and women felt that when illegitimate pregnancies occurred the parents of both families between them should try to work it out "so it's not pushing too much on one family."

No man and only one woman interviewed in this study said it was the woman's responsibility alone. Situations in which this responsibility did devolve on the woman were not accepted as normal; they were experienced as and consciously defined as "a misery."

Although both men and women expected that the girl's family
would make the preponderant contribution, there were many instances reported by the respondents in which the boy's family took the baby or offered to take the baby and raise it. In other instances, men "later" returned and offered to help with their children. One respondent suggested that because of the burdens and problems men take boys and women take girl babies to raise. Almost all respondents felt that even if the father were a young boy in high school, he should get a part-time or evening job and contribute toward his child. Later, it was felt, he could help more. Women accepted their share, even their paramount share, of the responsibility for raising their illegitimate children as well as their legitimate children—but they felt forcing a woman to take total responsibility for a child was contemptible in a man, unfair to the woman and hard on the child.

Sub-Hypothesis (c): Illegitimacy is accepted as a way of life by lower class Negroes.

When the men and women were asked how neighbors and others viewed illegitimacy, answers varied: "Hard words," "disgrace," "nothing much said," "the average colored person don't scorn it," etc.

When these men and women talked about themselves, their own experiences, or how they would view an illegitimate pregnancy possibly involving their own son or daughter, the picture changed. It then became a deep, personal blow or a family hardship of intense dimension.

There was acceptance in the sense of dealing with a life situation. Once a baby is born, you have to take care of it, the respondents said. You couldn't neglect or abandon a human life. But it was a "hard way to come up," lonely and rough. The words
"hurt," "hurting," "hurted," appeared and reappeared throughout the interviews. You do what you have to do and hope for something better later. The "something better" was marriage. One woman expressed the total complex when she said, "When I heard from my girl she was pregnant, it like to killed me. I cried over it. It tore me all to pieces. Then there was the other daughter too. But I boosted them up and helped them along. And now they are both married."

The desire to curtail illegitimacy was reflected in the numerous references to "protection," "precaution," the "coil," and "birth control." It was reflected in the emphasis on not making "more than one mistake." It was reflected in the decision of mothers to tell their daughters what they needed to know about sex and life at 10 or 11 years of age.

Illegitimacy was "no crime" and it was not "the worst problem." There were blows in life worse than illegitimacy, but it was "a misery"--the opposite of what the men and women wanted. What they wanted was a marriage in which the men and women cared for each other and where the children had both parents.

Not too many wanted "marriage regardless"--regardless of love, that is. When "love was in it," they wanted marriage. Marriage merely for support, wasn't even in the picture; it didn't enter as a possibility. It took both men and women working to pull together an income still substantially below the poverty line. (There were families of nine people living on $1608 a year in our study; the highest affluence represented in the Atlanta sample, for example, was $3000 for a family of eight.)

A number of respondents pointed out that "plenty of people
do the same thing and nothing happens." But once conception takes place, what are the alternatives to illegitimacy? Forced marriage? This was almost universally rejected. In the first place forced marriages didn't work; Negro men couldn't give the woman financial security or physical comfort—they just did not earn enough. If they didn't care for one another, then they could not give each other the "love," or "caring" or "feeling" that dissipated loneliness and created a sharing or mutuality. If you didn't settle for "name only" illusions, you could at least hope that "later" you could find "somebody who cared for you" and you could "settle down and make a life." This was not unrealizable idealism. It had happened to many of the respondents, who had handled illegitimacy and had achieved what they felt was a "good outcome" to their lives. There were, however, a few who felt that illegitimacy was so searing an experience, that even a marriage that provided nothing but a name for the baby was worth contracting, even if it later broke up and the woman was left with all of the problems of raising children alone. For men and women both pointed out that separation, desertion, divorce—anything that left the woman alone with her children, "ended up in the same thing" as illegitimacy.

The responses to the question "What do you think a man needs to earn before he decides to get married and have a family," revealed most clearly the quicksands sucking at low income marriages.

Nearly half of the women and 80% of the men who stated specific amounts of money gave answers substantially larger than their own reported incomes. On what they earned, it was really not possible for a family "to make it." (Evidence to support their
estimates is seen in the situation at Perry, for example, where 47% of the households, are headed by females.) Those who named amounts close to their own incomes, were below the poverty line.

How much pressure that kind of existence put on the men was realized by some of the women. They could understand the pressures on a man even if that understanding alleviated nothing of the misery encountered. One woman said, "I guess it was a lot of pressure on him, cause I did want things." And another, "If he is forced to marry, he feels he is being neglected—his own opportunities in life—and that everything is against him." The woman who mentioned the lowest figure of all—$30 a week—as what her husband had when they started out, is alone now; her husband left her after the third child was born.

The other alternatives, adoption and abortion, were not open to the Negro low-income women in even the limited way they might be available to white women. The only kind of "adoption" available to the low-income Negro girl was an intra-family adoption. The mother of either the girl or the boy might take the child, or a sister, a grandmother, an aunt. There were no agencies available to organize adoption for the Negro girl. One of the respondents remarked on the difference as she saw it, of what was available to a Negro mother at Grady Hospital and a white mother at Georgia Baptist Hospital.

The respondents interviewed at Perry, for example, had had so little experience with adoption that they found it hard to imagine it could be a solution because they tended to relate it to their own existing children. It was, very humanly, impossible
to imagine having "given them away." As one man said, "If I couldn't feed them, they would have to perish along with me."

Abortion was rejected by the largest number mainly because of the danger to the mother, although other feelings—emotional, ethical, and religious—were involved.

Here, experience was not lacking. Everyone knew stories of home-made abortions of the rubber tube variety, and of incidents with quacks, of girl friends who had died or "nearly died." Those who were willing to consider abortion stipulated, "a real doctor—no quack." Since abortions are illegal, the amount of money involved in paying a doctor put medical abortions outside the reach of low-income men and women.

Consequently, since life opportunities did not open up alternatives to illegitimacy, the baby had to be carried to term, delivered and raised. It was not that illegitimacy was "acceptable," it was rather that it was inescapable. "In my grandmother's time," said one woman, "they would look down, but now it happens so much, people sympathize more and see the problems and don't feel people should suffer for these mistakes." They were still seen as "mistakes," but mistakes which "happen in life," and life couldn't be denied. There was still "life to go ahead with."

Sub-Hypothesis (d): Lower class Negroes look upon sex as immediate gratification without concern for outcome.

Throughout the interviews men and women made judgments about the seriousness of the sexual encounter. "She should have used protection," "it could have been avoided," "they should have been more careful."
One woman said about her son, "I would like him to use protection so they could avoid it." Another said, more strictly, "If he cared enough to go to bed with her, he should care enough to have her share his name."

The teenagers' hotheadedness, and vulnerability, and ignorance not only about sex but about life, what they were "getting into," were sources of anxiety to men and women who may have "started" themselves at fourteen or fifteen and were upset that children were starting "at twelve and thirteen now." They did not condemn the teenagers for "getting into trouble"—what else was there to get into? One mother spoke poignantly about her fifteen-year-old ninth-month pregnant daughter who had only been to a show twice in her whole life. What she wanted for her was the chance to go back to school.

Everyone is entitled "to one mistake," men and women declared. "But after that, some precaution should be taken to stop it one way or the other."

An older woman who had had an illegitimate child only recently, was "disgusted" with herself not because of the relationship, for the man was an important part of her life, but because she had not used birth control methodically, and had been "caught."

Hypothesis 2. Lower class Negroes have conflicting values about illegitimacy based on the real situations they face.

Sub-Hypothesis (a): The preferred value among lower class Negroes is marriage with children in wedlock. It is future oriented toward desired goals.

"Later she can get married," ran through the interviews.
Or, "I wouldn't think too hard of her. She'll make it all right. She might wind up and find her a nice man and settle down."

A small group of respondents stressed immediate marriage to give the child a name and the woman protection. Others warned against shotgun marriage without love or regard between man and woman and stressed that "later" one could find a better marriage. But that marriage was valued as the preferred goal in life was universal.

Women pointed to their own experiences and the experiences of their daughters. They had experienced an illegitimacy—sometimes more than one—and later married. Many had married happily and valued their husbands for their acceptance of their illegitimate children as their own. Men also reported that they had later married the women who bore their children.

One woman in formulating a plan for an unmarried girl who became pregnant caught the sense of what many men and women described as "best": "Best plan is to have the baby and try to hold up her end. Don't get any more and later on, maybe she could get married and he might give it his name. Later in life the child might not be any different off."

Some parents proposed to help their sons and daughters "as much as they could" so that the young people could go back to school. "Later they could get married if they wanted to."

Many men and women warned that teenagers at sixteen or seventeen were too young to get married; that later, when they "understood more," they would make "a better marriage." As one mother said, "It may be nothing but puppy love most times, and maybe she learns a lesson and might be able to get her a nice husband later."
A father warned that the "average high school kid is not ready to get married. It is better to get the parents to help and later they can get married if they want to."

Parents said, "Go back to school, finish your education, later you can marry."

A parent living far below the poverty line could say, "I would take the child myself. I wouldn't want her to marry too young, at sixteen or eighteen. Later, if I took the child, and helped her out, she could marry and take the child if both she and her husband wanted it."

Illegitimacy could be handled, but it hurt. Life was life and it had to be dealt with. An existing situation had to be met. In the limited sense of acknowledgement of a reality to be dealt with, illegitimacy was accepted by these and other respondents. But it was not accepted as a preferred way of life. Marriage with children in wedlock was the preferred way of life.

Sub-Hypothesis (b): The survival value among lower class Negroes is acceptance of unwed mothers and their illegitimate children. It is present adapted to meet reality situations.

"If it can't be helped, it can't be helped, and you have to raise it the best way you can."

Life itself was the top priority. ... "a baby has got to live."

A fifty-three year old mother of eight put it this way, "If a girl has a child, she should try to do the very best she can and give it all the love a child should have. She could try to get someone to help her with the baby, usually someone in the
family would be the best."

There was no sense to pressuring for immediate marriage, especially among teenagers, since the young men could not support a family. Even the older Negro man could not sustain the "pressure" of low-paying jobs which were totally inadequate to meet the needs of a family. One mother said that if a teenage daughter got pregnant "she would be too young to marry. . . . I wouldn't want her to marry because he would be in school too and couldn't support a wife."

One twenty-seven year old father of five children, who was attempting to support a family of seven on $1527 a year, said that if a daughter of his became pregnant, "she would have to take care of the baby. I would help her all I could."

To have an illegitimate child was neither a crime nor the end of the world. It was a blow, a hardship for the girl and for the families involved. If you buckled under blows, you were finished. If you struggled, you could make it, you could survive. "You got some more life to go ahead with. Having one baby like that--well, that's not the end. Like I say, there's still life to go ahead with."
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Differences of age and education did not seem to influence the responses of the interviewees. Women of twenty-three and women of fifty-nine shared similar attitudes. People with 8th grade educations and high school graduates expressed similar viewpoints.

There were, however, some minor regional differences.

Basic attitudes, however, were shared in Atlanta, Georgia, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Yonkers, New York. Those attitudes were: That the man is responsible to support his child if he does not marry the mother; that a pregnancy, once begun, must be brought to term, and the child raised and cared for; that it was better to achieve this in wedlock if the man and woman cared for each other and were able to marry; but that if marriage was not possible, the man and the woman should share the responsibility of raising the child.

There were some minor regional differences of emphasis. In Atlanta and Charlotte, emphasis was laid on the unemployed man's finding a job in order to meet his obligations. In Yonkers half the interviewees felt that there was nothing a man without a job could do.

Abortions were in the main rejected in all three areas. In Atlanta and Yonkers fear for the mother's health and emotional and
ethical objections were stressed. In Charlotte abortions were rejected mainly on ethical and moral grounds.

An appreciable number of respondents were willing to consider adoptions under certain circumstances, but found opportunities for adoption, except for intra-family adoptions, limited for Negroes. Mothers, aunts, sisters and grandmothers were the "adopters" mentioned.

Another regional difference was revealed in an examination of "best plans." Atlanta respondents seemed to put the largest stress on finishing school when the pregnancies involved teenagers.

Another regional difference was revealed in the amounts named for what a man needed to earn before he could marry and support a family. In Yonkers the lowest amount named was $70 a week and it ranged to $125. In Charlotte the lowest amount named was $40 a week and it ranged to $125.00. In Atlanta the lowest amount named was $30 and it ranged to $190. When amounts named were checked against the amounts on which the responding family lived, it was found that approximately half reflected the current situation of the family and the other half far exceeded what the family had and paralleled government estimates of the amount needed for health and decency. Younger men tended to name the highest amounts.

Respondents, when asked what people in the community thought about illegitimacy, frequently answered there was "so much of it," people did not "pay it any mind." The same respondents when they spoke of themselves, or their sons and daughters, indicated anguish and "hurt" over illegitimacy. It was easy to impute "acceptance" to others, but it was not easy to "accept" a blow to oneself or
someone that was loved.

There was a large realization that a father was important to every child—that a child was "hurt and lonely" without a father in his life. Neighbors discriminated very little against children, but other children who had fathers often teased and questioned the children whose fathers were missing.

The penetrating quality of the stereotypes we are immersed in in our world came home to the interviewers as they read each others' interviews. The question arose time and time again over certain kinds of language and formulations—did he or she really say that, just in those words? The interviewers had the stereotypes of their world about low-income people—that they might understand as clearly as did educated experts, but could not express that understanding in well-formulated words and positions. One interviewer did not doubt her own recording, but often questioned whether another interviewer might not have interposed her own words instead of the respondents'.

Since we did not use tape recorders, but recorded manually during the interviews, it is possible that errors of recording took place. An examination of each others' notes, weighed together with the common experience of finding people whose clarity and insight challenged stereotypes of the cultural impoverishment of the poor, convinced the interviewers that if they had made errors of transcription, they were minor.

"If Negroes had better opportunities, so that men could support their children, and women could stay home with their families, perhaps we could modify this problem," said a thirty-four
year old female head of household, separated from her husband and supporting four children on $2400 a year in Mulford Gardens, Yonkers, New York.

The impact of the interviews raised the question whether there is any meaning at all in treating illegitimacy as the problem. The problem was poverty. Where there was early marriage instead of illegitimacy, but the marriage broke up, the residue was the same—women struggling to raise children without enough to raise them on. One of the women pointed out that if a woman could get a "good job," it wouldn't matter if the man took off; she could still raise her children. Others pointed out that if the men could get good jobs, the women wouldn't "pressure them," and maybe they could remain.

Although all the interviews made clear that men and women preferred marriage and children in wedlock, they also stressed that they wanted a marriage of quality, where "love was in it," or the man "cared" about the woman, and where "loneliness" ended. Yearning was expressed for a human existence, not merely escape from social criticism, although this was important too.

The tenderness and compassion of the men and women for their children, their stake in an education for their teenagers which might open up better possibilities for them than their parents had enjoyed, their willingness to assume at least part of the burden of their grandchildren, depicted a hunger after a future less mangled for their children than their own lives had been. Another stereotype about the poor, their "apathy" and "hopelessness" was shaken by the interviews. To talk about the kind of struggle to survive these men
and women were able to mount, as "apathy" or "hopelessness" seemed incredible in the face of the determination of the men and women to sustain "hurt," "help" their children, and "later" do "better."

There's "more life to go on with," as one woman said. The direction of the struggle was to support and to sweeten life.

Many areas of other research were suggested by our study, but they were not directly related to illegitimacy. One of the most profound impressions left by the interviews was that it was difficult to tease apart legitimacy from illegitimacy. Mothers of illegitimate babies often married or married later; mothers of legitimate children were often abandoned and raised their children alone. More decisive than either definition was the fact that all of the parents we interviewed were battling to raise their children without enough money to provide the food, clothes, medical attention, books, trips, and opportunities a child needs "to come up," and that they were trying to raise them in a world which segregates and discriminates against minorities.

A further area of research might be to establish what jobs or careers teenagers in low-income housing projects are planning to enter and what they estimate their chances are of completing their goals. Another research study might seek to establish what kind of center or clinic or program of sex education, information, and birth control teenagers would want made available to them in their schools or communities--drafting a blueprint conceived by the teenagers, in which they could be involved.

The study suggested that perhaps the most exciting and excavating research might be an action-research program in which
changes in the quality of life were measured against basic changes in societal structures of segregation and discrimination in our economy, education, and housing.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX--SCHEDULE 1

Approach for Interviewing

Good Afternoon,

I'm __________. I'm a student at the Atlanta University School of Social Work. I'm working with three other students on a research project. We're interested in learning how people feel about illegitimacy. There's only one way to find out; that's to ask.

There are lots of ideas around about what people think about illegitimacy, but we don't really know what they think. That's why we need your help and other people's help. We want to ask and find out what you think about illegitimacy. Would you be willing to help in this research problem? Would you be willing to sit down and talk with me about your ideas on illegitimacy?

I'm interested in your ideas. I'll use your ideas in the research, but not your name. The thing that is important are your ideas and how you feel about them.

I realize this will take some of your time and I'm grateful to you if you can give it. I would be more than willing to come at any time that is convenient for you. Would you be willing to help us?

If he says no, ask: Do you mind explaining why?

If he says yes, indicate: I'm going to be taking notes, for this will give me a better record of your ideas. I don't want to
forget what you tell me.

I'll ask you some questions about illegitimacy and you answer whatever it is that you think. Just think out loud.
APPENDIX--SCHEDULE 2

Interview Schedule

Instructions:

Numbered questions are open-ended. They are to be asked and the respondent left free to answer in any way, at any length.

Lettered questions are for the background use of the interviewer--guidelines for further probing.

Age ________________________ Male ________________________
                      Female ________________________

Education (last grade completed) ________________________

Number in household (Who lives here) ________________________

Female employment ________________________

Male employment ________________________

Length of time in city (Atlanta, Yonkers, Charlotte) ________________________

Where are you from? ________________________

1. What do you think a man should do who has a job, if he gets an unmarried girl pregnant?

   A. Should he abandon the girl?

   B. Should he marry the girl? If so, under what circumstances?

      (a) Should he marry her if he loves her?

      (b) Should he marry her regardless of the way he feels about her?

   C. Should he give her money for an abortion?
D. Should he give her money for medical expenses, while she is pregnant?
E. Should he tell the girl to give the baby up for adoption?

2. If the father who has a job does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for the child?
A. Should he leave the responsibility for the child up to the mother?
B. Should he provide for the child?
C. Does he have any other kind of responsibility to the child? (visiting the child, taking the baby out for rides, etc.)?

3. If the father who has a job does not marry the mother what do you think he should do to provide for her?

4. What do you think a man who does not have a job should do if he gets an unmarried girl pregnant?
A. Should he abandon the girl?
B. Should he marry her? If so, under what conditions?
   (a) Should he marry her if he loves her?
   (b) Should he marry her regardless of the way he feels about her?
C. Should he give her money for an abortion?
D. Should he give her money for medical expenses while she is pregnant?
E. Should he tell the girl to give the baby up for adoption?

5. If the father does not have a job, and does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for the child?
A. Should he leave responsibility for the child up to the mother?
B. Should he provide for the child?
C. Does he have any other kind of responsibility to the child?

6. If the father who does not have a job, does not marry the mother, what do you think he should do to provide for her?

7. Do you think a man should be obligated to marry a girl he gets pregnant? Why? (for either "yes" or "no").

8. What do you think a man needs to earn before he decides to get married and have a family?

9. What do people around here think about a man who gets an unmarried girl pregnant?
   A. How do you know?
   B. What makes you think so?

10. What do people here in the community think about an unmarried girl who has a baby?
    A. How do you know?
    B. What makes you think so?

11. What do you think about an unmarried girl who has a child?

12. How would you feel if your unmarried son told you he got a girl pregnant?
    A. What would you do?

13. How would you feel if your unmarried daughter told you she was pregnant?
    A. What would you do?

14. What do you think is the best plan for an unmarried girl who gets pregnant?
    A. Should she marry the boy?
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B. Should she get an abortion?
C. Should she leave town?
D. Should she put the baby up for adoption?
E. Should she keep and support the baby by getting a job?
F. Should she keep and support the baby by getting welfare assistance?
G. Should she get support from the father of the child?
H. Should she bring the baby home to her parents?

15. What happens to the family of the unmarried girl who has a baby?
   A. How do they take it?
   B. How do they handle it?
   C. How do the neighbors and friends react?
   D. What do they say?
   E. What do they do?

16. What do you think happens to children who grow up without a father in the house?
   A. What do you think your neighbors feel about a child without a father?
   B. Do children without a father get the same care in this neighborhood as do children with fathers?
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