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**INTERGENERATIONAL FAMILY PATTERNS OF TEEN MOTHERS
ASSOCIATED WITH SUCCESSFUL VERSUS NOT SO SUCCESSFUL
MOTHER-INFANT ATTACHMENT/INTERACTION**

By

Mary E. Mittelstaedt

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

INTERGENERATIONAL FAMILY PATTERNS OF TEEN MOTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH SUCCESSFUL VERSUS NOT SO SUCCESSFUL MOTHER-INFANT ATTACHMENT/INTERACTION

By

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The relationship between a parent and a child is crucial to the child's development. This study addresses two areas of adolescent parenting in which there exists a paucity of research: (a) teen mothers who are successful in developing a supportive relationship with their children versus those who are having difficulty and (b) the intergenerational family influences on the mother-child relationships of these teen mothers.

This qualitative descriptive study used a synthesis of styles and methodologies to explore the similarities and differences in the intergenerational families of teens who have a supportive relationship with their babies and those who do not. A standardized mother-child interactional instrument was used to score the quality of mother-child videotaped interactions between 106 mothers and children participating in a mid-Michigan adolescent parent program. Five participant families (a teen and one adult from each family) were then selected from each of the score distribution extremes to participate in an interview. In the interview, each family told their family story and

constructed a family genogram. A constant comparative analysis of the interview transcriptions and genograms identified three core categories: family frame, family characteristics, and family function. Differences between the two groups of family participants pointed out several persistent intergenerational stressors that appear to influence the ecological system of these families: family size, family spacing, generational compression, cultural origin and mobility, socioeconomics, housing, religion, relationships, perceptions of family status, role of the rule makers and breakers, and daily routines. These social stressors experienced by several generations seem indicative of intergenerational distress. The greater the amount of intergenerational distress expressed in the family stories of the informants, the more difficulty the teen appeared to have in forming a supportive relationship with her baby.

DEDICATION

In memory of my mother, Loretta Smith
and
my mother-in-law, Ethel Mittelstaedt.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Attachment between a child and his or her primary care person is a unique relationship that is believed to endure through time (Bowlby, 1969). It is recognized as a primary mechanism of survival for the young. It is a critical component for insuring eventual optimal development of the person.

Statement of the Problem

Experts in the area of attachment contend that interaction with and attachment to the caregiver is crucial to the child's eventual ability to learn in school (Sroufe, 1983). They also believe that early positive attachment helps insure the child's capability to form interpersonal relationships throughout life (Bowlby, 1969). Approximately a half million infants are born to teen parents every year in the United States (Armstrong & Waszak, 1990). According to these tabulations, this yearly birth rate indicates that almost 1.5 million American children live with 1.1 million teen mothers (Dryfoos, 1981). Studies consistently indicate that the teen mother offers her child far less stimulation than an adult mother (Darabi, Graham, Narerow, Philliber, & Varga, 1984; Garcia-Coll, Hoffman, & Oh, 1987; King & Fullard, 1982; Schilmoeller & Baranowski, 1985). Sandler (1980) and Field, Widmayer, Greenberg and Stoller, (1982)

found adolescents to be less vocal, less contingently responsive, and less likely to engage in playing and in face-to-face interaction with their infants than adult mothers. There is very little in the literature distinguishing characteristics between those adolescents who are able to develop a supportive relationship (interaction/attachment) with their infants and those who have difficulty in doing so. Even less is known about the relationships within the families from which these teen parents evolve and the connection between these family relationships and the subsequent mother-child attachment of the teen mother and her offspring.

This researcher is interested in knowing if there are intergenerational family patterns which appear to be associated with the relationship that a teen mother establishes with her infant. Therefore, this study addresses two areas of adolescent parenting in which there exists a paucity of research: (a) teen mothers who are successful in developing a supportive relationship with their children versus those who are having difficulty and (b) intergenerational family influences on the mother-child relationships of these teen mothers.

Significance of the Study

As noted earlier, most of the parenting research has tended to compare the parenting of teens with that of adults

(Luster & Mittelstaedt, 1993). Literature reviews conducted for this study have provided only a meager number of references regarding intergenerational studies related to teen parenting (Burton & Dilworth-Anderson, 1991; Hagestad & Burton, 1986; Wilson, 1984). Present literature suggests that parenting practices are multiply determined with differences among the teens due to characteristics of the teen mothers, characteristics of their children, and the contexts in which the teen and her child live (Belsky, 1984). This researcher believes that all of these characteristics are very much influenced by the transgenerational context within which the teen mother's family exists. Findings from this study will add to both nursing and family ecological knowledge about the intergenerational family patterns, e.g. patterns within the multigenerational family history, structure, function and development, of teens who are able to develop a successful attachment with their children versus those who are not quite so successful.

Knowing and understanding the factors that distinguish teens who provide relatively supportive parenting and those who give less supportive care is vital to clinicians working with teen parents. New knowledge in this area would greatly lend to the accuracy of their assessments and the effectiveness of their interventions. Finally, the findings

that emerged from this study can serve as a basis for future research and theory development.

Ecological Conceptual Model

The family ecological perspective proposes that human beings are interdependent creatures. Not only are they interdependent through interaction with each other but also interdependent with their environment. A person's environment is the sum total of the physical, biological, social, economic, aesthetic, and structural surroundings (Bubolz, Eicher, & Sontag, 1979; Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). A study of the family incorporating such a systematic model must identify these interdependencies. Bubolz, Eicher, and Sontag as well as Bubolz and Sontag identified three conceptually distinct interrelated environments with which the human is interdependent: the natural physical-biological environment, the social-cultural environment, and the human built environment.

In the past, this researcher's focus of interest has been the maternal-child interaction/relationship within the dyad. This study expands on this area of interest by examining the mother-child interaction in the intergenerational family context in which the dyad exists. This perspective would seem to conform to the family theory discussed, primarily because of the space-time dimension discussed in family theory. In a space-time dimension,

there is interaction and interdependence between the three environments and simultaneously these environments are also interdependent and interacting with the past, through the present, and into the future.

Although the researcher was interested in hearing each family's story in relation to all three of the environments identified by Bubolz and Sontag (1993), the focus is on the interactions and interdependence within and between the intergenerational socio-cultural environments across multiple generations. The socio-cultural environment is the environment of human beings in which their biological, psychological, and social behaviors occur. This environment is vital to the human for meeting biological and physical needs as well as social and psychological needs for love relationships, communication, knowledge, and self-fulfillment. Having all of these needs met is necessary for existence beyond survival (Swenson, 1973).

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore: (a) the patterns of the intergenerational family structure, family development, and family function of a teen mother's kinship, as reported by her and one other member of her family and (b) the relation between these patterns and the mother-child interaction of these mothers and children.

Research Question

This study has two major aims: (a) to provide baseline qualitative data concerning the description of the intergenerational family histories of teen mothers and (b) to quantify the distribution of these patterns within two subgroups, i.e. those teens who are developing a successful relationship with their infants and those who are having difficulty. Thus the overriding research questions directing the study are:

1. What patterns or themes exist in the intergenerational family histories of teen-mothers, as told by these teens and one other family member?

2. What are the similarities and/or differences in the patterns or themes of teen mothers who have developed a successful mother-child relationship/interaction with their infants versus those who are having difficulty developing such relationships/interactions?

Definition of Terms

Most of the variables of this study were generated within the qualitative portion of the study as the study identified and described family patterns of the teen mother's intergenerational family context. These variables are identified as the concepts that emerged from the data. The mother-child interaction within each mother-child dyad, however, was measured and used to identify those teen

mothers who have been successful versus those who have not been so successful in developing an attached relationship.

Level of Mother-Child Interaction

Interaction is a mutual reciprocal action or influence. Maternal-child interaction is a mutual reciprocal giving and responding to verbal and/or nonverbal cues between a mother and her infant. Operationally, this variable was measured using Barnard and Eyres' (1979) standardized observational scale, Nursing Child Assessment Teaching Scale-NCATS, developed at the University of Washington-Seattle (Appendix A).

Based on filmed observation of the mother teaching her child a simple task, the researcher scored the dyad on the presence or absence of specific behaviors within the teaching period. The maternal measures of this scale consisted of four subscales: maternal sensitivity to child's cues, maternal response to the child's distress, maternal fostering of child's social-emotional growth, and maternal fostering of the child's cognitive growth. The child's participation was measured on the basis of two subscales: the child's clarity of cues and the child's responsiveness to the mother. A sum of the scores of the six subscales was used to give a total score of the variable of mother-child interaction. (See Appendix A for a sample of the NCATS instrument).

CHAPTER II. ATTACHMENT LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will discuss information obtained in a preliminary literature review related to adolescent parent-child relationships. In a qualitative study literature related to the findings is determined during data analysis. Literature related to the emerging themes of this study is discussed in Chapter VII.

Attachment theory as it is presently recognized is the result of the work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. John Bowlby used concepts from ethology, cybernetics, and psychoanalysis to form the basic outlines of the theory. He looked at not only the relationship between a mother and child, he also looked at the effects of a disruption of this relationship through separation and deprivation. Mary Ainsworth is noted for having translated the basic tenets of attachment theory into empirical findings. Her work helped to further expand the theory. She has contributed two major theoretical conceptualizations: the explanation of the individual differences in attachment relations and the concept of the caregiver as a secure base (Bretherton, 1987).

Attachment is accepted as being a bond related to affection and interaction that exists between most mothers and their children. It is a unique relationship that is believed to endure through time. It is a primary mechanism

of protection and survival for the young. Bowlby (1969) holds that children who have been able to form secure attachments grow to be adults that have strong egos, basic trust, and mature dependence. Conversely, he writes that disturbances in the formation of early attachment may explain many forms of emotional distress and personality disorders, including anxiety, anger, depression, and emotional detachment. He believes that the experience that a child has with parents has a causal relationship with the later capacity to make affectional bonds like marital and parent-child relationships.

Very early studies approached attachment as being unidirectional and noninteractional. Deutch (1945) and Winnicott (1960) viewed the infant as a passive agent having only visceral sensations. Ainsworth (1969) discussed the infant as an individual ready to be shaped by the environment. She believed that this shaping was the result of the mother's response/nonresponse to the infant's behaviors.

Bowlby (1969), a contemporary of Ainsworth, unlike the psychoanalytic theorists and behaviorists of the time, was the first to view the newborn as having a relatively organized, independent behavioral system that emerges developmentally as a result of different specific stimuli. He was the first to contend that these behaviors form the infant's input into a reciprocal relationship with the

mother. As a result of Bowlby's work, attachment theory has gradually grown to be recognized as a theory of interpersonal relationships (Bretherton, 1987).

These early parent-child relationships are believed to influence other affectional bonds that emerge across the life span of an individual. Erikson's (1950) work in conjunction with that of the attachment theorists provides possible insights for how this may occur. Erikson was a developmental stage theorist, who indicated that the human progressed through multiple stages of development as the individual progressed from infancy to adulthood. During each of these stages he believed the individual was faced with a developmental conflict. He believed a resolution of each conflict was necessary at each developmental stage. An unsuccessful resolution he believed impacts negatively on future developmental stages. Thus, in the early life experiences of infancy where the infant is faced with the developmental conflict of trust vs mistrust, primarily established within a relationship with a caregiver, the outcome of the resolution is likely to influence later life experiences of social relationships. These social relationships might include one's relationship with one's own parents, friendships, sexual/marital relationships and how one relates with one's own children. Kennell and Klaus (1976) seem to concur with these beliefs when they indicate that a mother's part in the interaction with her infant is

highly influenced by many of her own life experiences, for example, her relationship with her own parents, with the father of the child, and the circumstances of her pregnancy, labor, and delivery.

Other researchers have found parental perceptions to be an additional influence on the relationship that develops between a parent and a child. Moss and Robson (1968) related that a mother's acceptance of her nurturing role and the degree to which she positively perceives her infant are highly correlated with her responsiveness to the child. Broussard and Hartner (1970) found that maternal perceptions were important to the relationship that exists between a mother and child. In their studies, maternal perceptions were predictive of a child's psychological development. Helfer (1974) found negative parental perceptions of the child significantly associated with child abuse. Perceptions are often influenced by one's previous personal experiences in life.

Researchers like Greenspan (1981) and Sroufe (1983) have found that a compromised parent-child relationship directly affects the young child. Greenspan has seen inevitable deterioration of infant functioning among constitutionally healthy and robust newborns delivered to families where limited interaction with the infant occurs. Sroufe indicated that the quality of the relationship with the parent has no effect on the child's level of

intelligence, but has an exceptionally negative effect on the child's ability to learn and to relate with others.

In summary, the concept of attachment has moved slowly from being seen from a noninteractional perspective to being recognized as a reciprocal interactive process between mother and child. As this literature review indicates, attachment appears to be influenced by and to influence many parent and child life experiences. Most studies done in the area of parent-child attachment tend to be quantitative studies of the adult mother-child relationship.

Relationships Established Between Teen Mothers and Their Children

Research that has looked at mother-child interactional behaviors of teen mothers, more often than not, does so in relation to what is known about how adults interact with their children. When teens are compared with adult mothers, researchers have noted that teens provide less supportive environments for their infants, are less emotionally and verbally responsive, are more restrictive, more punitive and less involved with their infants than older mothers. Luster and Mittelstaedt (1993) reviewed a number of studies that report mature mothers exhibit more positive affect when interacting with their babies. On the basis of these comparisons, some might speculate that teen mothers and their infants are at risk for relationship difficulties.

However, comparisons of adolescent and adult mothers tend to mask the fact that there is great variability in the quality of parenting provided within each group. Factors which distinguish between adolescent mothers who are providing relatively supportive parenting for their children and those who give less supportive care need to be examined. There is significantly less research in this area. Most of these studies relate to the personal characteristics of the teen mother or her infant, to the immediate context of their relationship, or to the supports they receive from significant others (Luster & Mittelstaedt, 1993). A few studies from this review are related below.

Personality/Psychological Well-Being of the Teen Mother

Reis and Herz (1987) were interested in the influence of mental health on parenting behaviors of teens. They found, not surprisingly, that depressed teen mothers were less involved with their infants. Luster and Dubow (1990) found a positive correlation between self-esteem and the quality of home environment the teen mother offered her baby. They found that maternal intelligence was also correlated with the quality of the home environment, but the relationship was reduced to nonsignificance when other factors, e.g. financial resources, were controlled. Spieker (1989) also reported a positive correlation between IQ scores of teen mothers and scores on the HOME and Barnard's teaching scale. Unger and Wandersman (1985) found that

mothers who perceived themselves as having considerable control over events that affected their lives provided a more supportive environment to their children. Contrary to the results of the Unger and Wandersman study, however, Stevens (1988) found no relationship between maternal locus of control and quality of the home environment.

Maternal Age of the Adolescent Mother

The results of several studies suggest that there is a modest relationship between the maternal age of teen mothers and the parenting competence they demonstrate (Epstein, 1980; King & Fullard, 1982; Reis & Herz, 1987; Ruff, 1987; Spieker, 1989). In comparison to the younger teen mother, the older teens provide a more supportive home environment, engage in more verbal interchange, hold their babies in the en face position more frequently. These findings on maternal competence are congruent with a study done by Dubow and Luster (1990) who found that school-age children who were born to very young teen mothers are at somewhat greater risk for academic and behavioral problems than children who were born to the older adolescent mother.

Adolescent Maternal Attitudes, Beliefs, and Knowledge

Reis and Herz (1987) found that the younger teen mothers provided a less supportive home environment for their children and were more punitive in their discipline of the children than older teen mothers. Luster and Rhoades (1989) found that the teens who provided a more supportive

home environment for their children differed from their less supportive peers in terms of their childrearing beliefs.

The more supportive parents believed that it is important to talk to infants and they believed in giving their babies the freedom and opportunity to explore their surroundings. They also found that the supportive teen parents believed that a parent has considerable influence on a child's development.

The extent of a parent's knowledge about child development was also found to be related to the home environment provided by a teen parent (Johnson, 1990). Ward et al. (1988) found that the more knowledgeable teen mothers were more sensitive and responsive to their 4 month olds than the less knowledgeable mothers. However, knowledge was unrelated to the same parenting measures when the infant was 8 months.

Characteristics of the Baby

There are very few studies related to infant temperament in the adolescent parent literature. Several studies failed to find a relationship between infant temperament and the parenting behaviors of teen mothers (Crockenberg, 1987a, 1987b; Luster & Rhoades, 1989; Ward et al., 1988). In one study, infant irritability was associated with more positive interaction between the mother and baby during feeding (Wise & Grossman, 1980). Luster, Boger, and Hannan (1990) did report that they found infants born to older adolescent mothers who demonstrate a more

cheerful affect tended to come from a more supportive home environment.

There are even fewer studies examining the effect of having a biologically at-risk infant on the parenting behaviors of teen parents. The studies that have been conducted point to the adolescent having a great deal of difficulty dealing with such conditions. Field (1980) found that teens from low socioeconomic status (SES) with preterm babies demonstrate a number of inadequacies in their parenting behaviors. They were less vocal and less involved with their newborns than other teens or adult mothers of preterm infants. Studies by Wise and Grossman (1980) and Bolton and Belsky (1986) concurred when they found that teen mothers interacted more positively with infants that were heavier and healthier at birth.

Context of Social Support

The effect of social support on parenting has been extensively studied among both adult and adolescent parents. Most of these studies give evidence that social support is positively related to the quality of care the mother provides her infant. Crockenberg (1988) found that mothers with a high level of emotional and instrumental support from their families responded to their babies' cries more quickly than mothers without such support. Frodi et al. (1984) found that the mother-infant attachment was more secure when the mother had a support network and if her own

mother helped with the child care. Teens with inadequate support systems were found to reject their infants more often than teens who were well supported (Colletta, 1981).

Crockenberg (1988) cautions that it is possible that some of the studies relating social support and parental behavior could possibly be spurious. She points out that women who have had childhoods characterized as rejecting continue to lack family support. Their poor parenting behaviors in these cases are more likely to be a result of their developmental history rather than their current level of support.

Young mothers seem to benefit from living in the same household with their own mothers. Furstenberg and Crawford (1978) found that teens who lived at home with their parents for the first 5 years of their children's lives were more likely to complete their high school education. They also found that this living arrangement seemed to have a positive influence on the cognitive development of the children. At a 17 year follow-up, however, Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, and Morgan (1987) found that the children of teens who continue to live with their grandparents showed a poorer attainment and adjustment than their peers. Furstenberg believed that the difference between his 5 year and 17 year follow-up studies is possibly due to the fact that the least capable teen mothers may be the ones who remain in a dependent relationship with their own parents for extensive periods.

The benefit for a teen mother of living with her parent is probably that she is less likely to have to shoulder the entire care of her infant alone. Epstein (1980) found that teen mothers who provided the most favorable parenting care, i.e. authoritative style of rearing, toward their infants tended to be teens who were able to share childrearing responsibilities with their own mothers or the baby's father.

Epstein (1980) and Field, Widmayer, Stringer, and Ingatoff (1990) question, however, whether this kind of role sharing is as beneficial to the infant as it is to the teen mother. The studies of both have found that teens who have access to a situation where they are able to share their parenting role with someone else are less responsive to their infants than their peers who assume full care responsibilities for their babies.

Socioeconomic Status of the Teen Mother

Although, measuring the SES level of teen parents presents a myriad of methodological problems, several studies have effectively linked both the SES of the teen's family of origin as well as her current SES level to the quality of care she provides her infant. Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), Luster and Dubow (1990) found that early childbearers living in a state of poverty where only the minimum of resources are available, provide relatively nonsupportive environments for

their school-age children. When the SES level of the family of origin was used to determine the influence of socioeconomics on adolescent parenting, a relationship was found between the educational level of the adolescent's father and the quality of care she provided her child (King & Fullard, 1982; Luster & Dubow, 1990).

Number of Children Born to the Teen Mother

Very little is known about the effect of family size on the child-care practices of teen mothers. Luster and Dubow (1990) indicated an inverse relationship between the number of children the mother has and the quality of the home environment. Several studies have linked large family size to poor developmental outcomes for the children of teen mothers (Dubow & Luster, 1990; Furstenberg et al., 1987). Polit and Kahn (1986) believe that rapid repeat pregnancies limit the life options of the teen mother and the time they can devote to a given child.

Sociocultural Heritage of the Teen Mother

There are very few studies examining the influence of sociocultural background on adolescent parent behavior. It is likely that there are differing beliefs about appropriate child care among various cultures and ethnic groups. These differences possibly contribute to differing approaches to childrearing (Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1986; Ogbu, 1981). Field, Widmayer, Adler, and DeCubas (1990) did compare

Cuban-American and African-American teen mothers from a similar SES level. They found that the Cuban-American teens were more likely to talk to, read to, look at, touch, and smile at their babies during play. Field's team pointed out that they believe these differences are due to the basic differences between the ethnic groups in their childrearing beliefs and expectations. Cuban-Americans appear to have a more indulgent view of childrearing while African-Americans appear to have a more restrictive and punitive style of parenting. Field's team also believed that this is true of the African-American parent because of their fear of spoiling their children and the fact that they are more likely to expect early autonomy of their offspring.

This researcher has been unable to identify any qualitative studies related specifically to how the adolescent mother perceives herself relating with her intergenerational family nor any ecological perspectives that look beyond the immediate family context as anything other than a means of emotional and tangible support.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Dissatisfaction with positivistic philosophies of science has produced an explosion of interest in other methodologies (Guba, 1990). This has resulted in qualitative methodologies gaining recognition as a valid scientific approach for the study of the human experience from a holistic perspective. Major academic disciplines such as education, family studies, nursing, psychology, social work, and sociology have begun to show greater interest in qualitative methods. Those who study the family acknowledge that positivistic methodology is often inadequately responsive to the complexity of family phenomena. Researchers in these fields are realizing that qualitative data collection methods such as unstructured interviews, observations, diaries, and letters allow participants to tell their experiences in their own language, in their own environments, and according to their own comfort in disclosing.

Family research is defined by Gilgun, Daly, and Handel (1992) as research with a focus on experiences within families as well as between families and outside systems. They see the data for such studies as words or pictures that are best conceptualized, collected, analyzed, and interpreted qualitatively. They describe the participants as persons who mutually describe themselves as family, in

committed relationships, having a shared sense of personal history, usually but not always having a legal or biological bond. Since this study was designed to explore and identify intergenerational family patterns of teen mothers' kinship and to determine if the patterns identified relate to the level of interaction/attachment that a teen mother develops with her infant, qualitative methods were chosen for this study.

Obtaining Informants

The family ecosystem conceptual framework was considered as informants were selected for this study. A family ecosystem is described as being comprised of a given family system interacting and interdependent with the environment in which it exists. The concepts of the theory were applied in examining the interrelationship of families headed by adolescent parents and the context within which they exist. The study explored not only the immediate context of the teen family, but it also explored what these teens and their families perceive as their intergenerational family context. The environment in family ecological theory has been conceptualized by Bubolz and Sontag (1993) as having three interrelated components: natural, human built, and social-cultural. The natural environment is conceived as the unaltered physical and biological components as they exist in nature. The social-cultural environment is

described as an environment which includes other human beings and abstract cultural constructions like rules, beliefs, cultural ideologies, neighbors, and friends. The human built environment is one in which there are alterations of the natural-physical environment to meet specific needs or ends of the families involved. These could include the houses in which they live, their churches, and transportation. Through a transformation of matter, energy, and information within the environment, families satisfy their needs to sustain the family and the environment in which they exist.

Ecological Setting From Which Informants Were Selected

This study was conducted with teenagers and their families who live in a mid-Michigan city and participate in a local adolescent parent program. The following information about the community and the agency provide a description of the general context of the area.

Community. The community is a mid-Michigan city of approximately 149,000 people that grew out of what the Convention and Visitors Bureau (1993) describes as a rather dramatic past history. Most know it as a factory town. It was originally a river crossing along one of a network of Indian routes that criss-crossed the Michigan wilderness. The first recorded name for the area was Muscatawanogh, a Native American word, meaning an open burned-over plain.

The Seneca tribe called the area surrounding the city "beautiful valley".

The earliest settlers to the area were farmers, for the most part from New York State. In 1855, the economic activity shifted from farming to lumbering. The logging boom created a need for two-wheeled log-hauling contrivances called katydids, road carts, and wagons. The area like many areas of Michigan became a center for motorless carriages and wagons. This reputation later led to its involvement with the manufacturing of carriages of the horseless variety.

The grandson of a lumber baron, after hitching his first ride on a two-wheeled horse-drawn road cart, became so impressed with the vehicle that he bought all rights for manufacturing the cart. He contracted with the best carriage builder in the area and in 1900 built the largest company of its kind in the United States at that time.

In 1903, this young entrepreneur interested in horseless carriages began manufacturing engines for farm use. Within a year, his company was building the first automobiles. Rapidly, many other companies producing related auto supplies and products developed as well in the area.

Late in 1936, sit down strikes began in the auto plants throughout Michigan. In February, 1937, after long battles of will between union organizers and the auto companies, one

of the large auto companies agreed to recognize the UAW as bargaining agent for hourly employees (Foner & Lewis, 1989). These early moves made many Michigan cities the leaders in unionized labor.

During World War II, auto companies turned to military production. Women were hired and worked most of the factories taking the place of men who had gone to war. As soon as the war ended, women were released from their positions in favor of the returning soldiers. The auto companies were expanding so rapidly that they were soliciting workers from all over the United States. Many of the African American workers who came to the area from the late 1930s through the early 1950s were enticed by auto companies in the North to leave the South. They quickly became involved in the unions (Foner & Lewis, 1989).

For almost a century, this city has maintained its financial dependence on its original early auto industry relationships. Through the years the auto companies have brought the area a roller coaster economy. In good times, the city has had the highest per capita income in the country. However, in bad times, as in the 1990s, the city has suffered more than most. Auto companies in the United States in the 1990s are experiencing the most difficult competition of their history.

The following demographics for the city and the surrounding county were provided by a regional planning

program out of the University of Michigan (Chapleski, Marston, & Molseed, 1992) and the marketing services of the local newspaper (1994). From 1940 through 1960 both the Black and White populations of the area continued to increase. Then in 1960, not unlike other metropolitan areas of the country, the city in which this study was conducted began to experience changes in racial composition and socioeconomic status. The White population dropped from approximately 95% in 1940 to less than 50% in 1990. In the same period the Black population had gone from 4% to almost 50%. By comparison, the surrounding county area looks very different in its racial composition. In fact about 80% of the total White population of the county lives in the surrounding suburbs while 80% of the Black population resides in the city. As the 1960s and 1970s encouraged racial integration of schools and neighborhoods, racial discrimination on the part of Whites and their economic advantages are believed by regional planners to be the reason for their fleeing to the suburbs. As the middle class White population left the city, there was a resulting overall decline in the population and the economic conditions of the city were badly affected.

Data kept since 1980 indicate that the city has also experienced an increase in the percentages of the "never married" and the divorced as well as a decrease in its married population. The result has been an increase in

nonfamily households. There has also been an increase in the number and proportion of female-headed households with a concurrent increase in single parent households.

Approximately 75% of the single mothers are living in poverty while 57% is the national average. These changing family and household statuses and changing economic conditions have led a trend toward a greater number of rental homes and fewer owned properties.

The median income of the surrounding county, \$31,000, is about the same or slightly better than the U.S. as a whole, \$30,000. However, the lower income segment of the population is overrepresented in the city. Over 35% of the city dwelling families make less than \$15,000, meaning that over 33% of all families with children in the city are living in poverty, compared with 13% of the suburban families.

The future appears bleak for this city. The economy continues to be based on automobile production. Employment in this area continues to decline as the companies downsize and move to new technology. The only way out of the economic decline would seem to be education and retraining of the population of the city. However, educational attainment over the last decade has been problematic. Almost a third of the population 25 years old or older do not have a high school diploma.

As dismal as the future appears, the community seems to realize both its strengths and limitations. It is recognized that the dramatic social, demographic, and economic changes of the last few decades have profoundly influenced the lives of the families of the area -- especially the lives of the children. This acknowledgment has resulted in the community developing a constructive response by establishing a variety of community-based collaborative efforts for problem solving. A more ecological perspective of the needs of the community and its families is being considered. There is a growing perspective that communities must help families grow stronger for the sake of the children and the future of the community. One of the collaborative ventures is an adolescent parenting program, developed by a social service and health care agency and Michigan State University.

Program. This adolescent pregnancy and parenting program was developed as a result of the recognition that the community has a major problem with early childbearing. Approximately 17% of all births in the county are to adolescent mothers. In 1988, 3.76% of all births was to a teen mother between 15-17 years old (Saunders & Associates, 1990). This is considerably above the birth rate of 2.86% for the State of Michigan for the same age group.

The center which houses the teen parent program is easily accessible to most of the community. It is nestled within one of the community's neighborhoods. The building is a large four story brick structure which sits on the corner of two quiet tree lined streets. Although the facility is institutional in its external appearance, the architects and interior designers have used bright primary colors throughout the interior decor providing an inviting environment, especially for children.

The center houses a number of community physical, social, and mental health services. The adolescent parent program is on one of the upper levels of the building; administrative offices are on one side of the building, and activity and program rooms are on the other side. Although most visits with teens and their families are conducted in the family home, the activity rooms are the most likely area for the teens and their children to meet with staff or to participate in one of the various group activities offered. These rooms are comfortably decorated with a homelike decor, couches, tables, chairs, cupboards, refrigerator, and kitchen sink. The rooms are also filled with toys and books appropriate for babies under the age of 2 years old.

This teen parent program has served parenting teens and their families since June 1991 when 142 first time mothers between the ages of 13 and 19 years old ($x = 16y/o$) who had not completed high school were selected from 12 area school

districts and were randomly assigned to one of two sections of the program, the treatment or the control group. Both groups are eligible for the services of the agency in which the program is housed, however, the treatment group receives regular social support of seven agency advocates; a description of the advocate role will be given later in this chapter. The ethnic make up of the teens admitted to the program reflects the ethnic background of the same age group in the city -- approximately 60% African-American, 30% Caucasian and 10% other (Chapleski, Marston, & Molseed, 1992). All of the teens are at 150% of poverty level. They are referred to the program by various county agencies. Approximately 18 to 20% of the total group are not in school and have no interest in returning. The original treatment group consisted of 72 teens and the control group numbered 70. At the time of this study, approximately 63 (88%) of the original treatment group and 64 (91%) of the original control group remain in the program. Attrition is believed to have been a result of families moving from the area, a lack of response by the teens, or the program's inability to locate the teen after multiple attempts (Luster, Perlstadt & Sims, 1991).

Michigan State University in collaboration with the adolescent parent program has initiated a longitudinal study to determine the interventions and experiences that most effectively meet the needs of these teens and their

families, and also to identify factors other than intervention that influence the life-course of these teens and their babies. The initial data presented by Luster, Perlstadt, and Sims (1991) have recognized the teens as being an at-risk population of adolescents. In response to an initial questionnaire, 42% indicated they had experienced either sexual or physical abuse. Although 80% indicated they were likely to finish high school, 56% were at least one grade level behind because of having repeated a grade at some point. Almost two-thirds of the teens had mothers who were single parents and many of these mothers had been teen mothers themselves.

The research teams identified two encouraging facts. A large number, 68%, of the teens had received prenatal care in the first trimester. The group also seemed to have high educational aspirations, since 57% indicated that they expected to achieve some schooling beyond high school.

Through a collaboration of services with other programs at the agency housing the adolescent parent program, teens and their children receive health care from medical and nursing staff, new baby care education from maternal-child nurses, dental education from dentistry staff, behavioral counseling from behavioral psychologists, and child development guidance by early childhood specialists. A major teen health center in the school district provides the teens with health education on human sexuality,

contraception, sexually transmitted diseases, nutrition, and self-esteem.

The adolescent parent program provides social supports to the teens and their families in the treatment group through seven staff members called "family advocates". The advocates are women from the community who were hired by the program to work specifically with the teens, their infants, and their families. The advocates receive ongoing training in parenting, parent-child relationships, and child development within the program. They meet regularly for supervision with one of the two social workers in the program. The goal of the advocates is to establish a strong and supportive relationship with the young mothers and their families. Once this has been established, they are able to help the teens to identify and utilize services available to young families in the community. The six advocates working with the treatment group have approximately 10 - 12 families on each of their caseloads. There is only one advocate assigned to the control group as they receive a less intensive program.

The teen program has set four objectives for treatment. These include: (a) helping young mothers adjust to their new role during the transition to parenthood, (b) supporting the teens in offering high quality care to their children, (c) assisting the young mothers in their efforts to complete school and get a job, and (d) helping the children to

accomplish appropriate developmental tasks during the first 5 years of life.

The teens in the control group receive a wide array of services offered by the associated health care agency. Although they are likely to receive more services than other teens in the community not involved with the program, they receive fewer services and supports from the family advocate than do the teens in the treatment group. The teens in the treatment group visit with an advocate several times per month to discuss family issues, relationships, child development, and parenting. The teens in the control group do not receive these regular planned contacts. They are sent reminders of services and given referrals through the one advocate assigned to their group of approximately 60 - 70 clients.

Data at the time of delivery of the infants did not identify significant differences between the infants born to the two groups of teens (Luster & Perlstadt, 1993b). However, an agency record giving a 6 month outcome report indicated that 93% of the treatment group of children were within normal limits on their Denver II, while 86% of the control group were assessed as being within the normal range for the same test. Physical assessments of the children indicate that the children of both groups were at the 35th percentile of height for their age, between the 44th and 49th percentile in weight for height, and had head

circumferences between the 51st and 56th percentile. Known protective service referrals seemed to differentiate the two groups: 10% of the treatment group had been referred while only 2% of the control group had been (Luster & Perlstadt, 1993a). This may reflect a detection bias, the treatment group has more frequent contacts with the advocates which allows them to more readily determine a need for a referral to Protective Services.

One other test for the blood lead levels gives some indication of potential environmental problems for the children in both groups of this study. Laboratory blood screens found that 10 - 11% of the children in both groups had elevated blood lead levels. Such results have traditionally been associated with children living in older homes and ingesting old flaking paint from their hands as they crawl around the floors of the houses. Michigan Department of Public Health has recently begun to question the water source for children living in older sections of cities (D. Dooling, Oakland County Health Department, personal communication, September, 1993). It is now suspected that very old, never replaced water and sewerage infrastructures of cities and old plumbing in older homes might present as high a risk as flaking lead based paints in older homes. Much of the very old plumbing was constructed with lead pipe and lead solder to secure pipe joints. These pipes and solder are now believed to be leaching lead into

the drinking water of the families living in these old sections of towns.

The research team also found that the teen mothers of both the treatment and the control group had comparable levels of depression when tested with the CES-D (Luster & Perlstadt, 1993a). The teens who recalled a poor relationship with their own mother or a troubled emotional climate in the home while growing up did measure higher levels of depression at 6 months post delivery. Their relationship with their own fathers seemed unrelated to their psychological well-being. However, emotional and financial support rather than instrumental support from the father of the baby and the support of other friends did seem to result in lowering the level of depression. Level of depression is important as it was found to be related to the appropriateness of the mother's response to her baby. Anecdotal information provided by advocates indicated that, in addition to measurements of depression, they noted that teens who lived in supportive neighborhoods had what they evaluated as high level of self-esteem, were able to problem solve well, had fewer crises, and provided their child with the most supportive care.

Participant Selection

Participants for this study were chosen from this mid-Michigan health care agency's adolescent parent support and research program. The disadvantaged teen mothers of this

program live in school districts surrounding the agency. The program services 142 teen mothers who were between the ages of 13 and 19 years old at the time of admission and their children. The agency had videotapes of 106 of the teens performing the specific teaching interaction task of teaching the 12-month old babies to turn the pages of a book. The individual filming of the teens and babies in this program was originally set up and conducted by the health care agency and a Michigan State University research team in anticipation of using the Nursing Child Assessment Teaching Scale-NCATS (Barnard and Eyres, 1979) to score the quality of interaction that exists between the mothers and babies in both their control and treatment groups. This researcher, certified in the use of the scale, observed and blind scored all of the films that the agency had conducted.

Nursing Child Assessment Teaching Scale-NCATS. The NCATS is a highly respected quantitative interactional scale. It is a binary, i.e. yes-no, observational scale consisting of 73 empirical behaviors divided into six subscales. Possible score range for this tool is 0-73, higher scores indicating a more supportive parent-child interaction. The instrument was chosen as it is an interactional scale that can be administered easily and unobtrusively during the observation of mother-baby interaction. The NCATS was first tested among 922 mother-infant pairs. The majority of the maternal subjects in

these studies were Caucasian and their average age was 25.44 years old. The mean maternal score among the 922 mother-infant pairs tested with the NCATS was 41.0 (range = 7-50) and SD = 5.8. The children's mean score was 15.3 (range = 3-23) and SD = 4.0.

The original longitudinal studies related to the instrument found that the scores were related to the developmental outcomes of the children studied. A cohort made up of every seventh subject admitted to the study was used to test the reliability of the instrument. The data revealed that items in each category were positively correlated.

Original test-retest reliability on this tool was reported as being positively correlated but not statistically significant. Barnard and Eyres (1979) said that they believe that this reflects the developmental changes of the child rather than unreliable measures. They point out that while the infant scores were not consistent over time, the mothers' scores were consistent from one period to the next. Original interrater reliability coefficients were determined by correlating observer responses of nurses making dual home visits ($r = .745$). After conducting the specified number of assessments and establishing the level of rater reliability set by the Nursing Child Assessment Satellite Training Project (NCAST)

from the University of Washington, this researcher has been certified to conduct the NCATS.

An interrater reliability percentage score was also obtained for this study using the calculations suggested by the Barnard and Eyres' NCAST Project (1979). Five randomly selected films from the total group of agency films were concurrently observed and independently scored with one of the agency staff who has also been trained in the use of the tool. The scoring of all five instruments by both researchers was compared item by item. Items on which the raters disagreed were counted and subtracted from the total number of 73 items. These results were then divided by the total number of items to achieve an interrater reliability percentage score. These scores ranged between 93% and 99%, averaging 96.4% for the five films scored.

As a means for validating the NCAT scales, Barnard and Eyres (1979) used outcome scores of the Bayley Scale of Infant Development, including the MDI and the PDI (Bayley, 1977), the HOME Observation for Measurement of the Environment (Caldwell, 1978), the Sequenced Inventory of Communication Development-SICD (Hendrick, Prather, & Tobin, 1975), McCarthy Scales of Children's Ability (McCarthy, 1972), and the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test (Terman & Merrill, 1960). Using multiple regression, the NCATS at 1 month old was found to correlate highly with expressive language at 36 months ($r=.71$). At 4 months old the teaching

scale correlated positively ($r=.76$) with expressive language at 36 months. At 8 months old the NCATS correlated with the Bayley MDI and PDI at 12 months old ($r=.66$). At 12 months old the scores correlated with the Bayley MDI ($r=.67$). Maternal scores were found to be higher among married mothers. However, there was no significant difference in the scores between the children of married and unmarried mothers.

Recognizing the score range for this instrument is 0 - 73, the dyads' scores of the 106 participants in this agency's catalog of films ranged from 29 to 62 ($x = 47.32$). The treatment group's scores ranged from 32 to 62 ($x = 48.21$); while the control group's range was 29 to 62 ($x = 46.58$).

Selection procedure. Ten participants were chosen from the treatment group of the already established program of research at the agency by the following procedure. The NCATS scores of the treatment group were placed on a frequency distribution curve. Five mother-infant dyads from each of the distribution extremes were then purposefully selected starting with the highest score in the right extreme and selecting five dyads and then selecting the lowest score and choosing five dyads from the left extreme. The five high scorers had scores ranging from 57 to 62. The scores of the five low scorers ranged between 32 and 38. All five low score dyads selected for this study scored

below what the Nursing Child Assessment Satellite Training Programs (1994) at the University of Washington, Seattle, now considers as the 10th percentile cutoff point for this teaching interaction instrument (Caucasian = 47, Hispanic = 44, and African-American = 42).

In addition the mother-infant dyads selected to participate also had to meet the following criteria:

1. The teen mother had to be a first time parent.
2. The teen was to be between the ages of 15 and 19 years old at the time of the baby's birth.
3. Only mothers of a full term healthy newborn could participate.
4. At the time of the filming, the baby was to be no younger than 12 months and no older than 15 months plus 30 days.
5. The teen mother was expected to give her own informed consent to participate in the study with her infant.
6. For teens not of age, the teen's parent/guardian was requested to give consent for the teen's participation. Emancipated minors signed consent for themselves.

The selected teens were then asked during one of the initial contacts to invite one of their family members to participate in the study with them. This researcher originally planned to offer each interview participant a token gift (key chain, stationery) for their participation.

However, the health care agency from which the participants were selected chose to change their incentive for teen participation in their programs. Their incentives significantly outweighed my original intent of a token gift, making it necessary for me to offer a \$25 gift certificate at a local mall to each family member who participated in the interviews. Eight of the 10 young mothers were able to find a family member willing to take part in the study.

Only 1 dyad of the original 10 selected from the distribution extremes did not meet all of the criteria established for this study. The teen and infant had scored high on the NCAT, but the baby had been born prematurely after a complicated labor and delivery. This one dyad was substituted by moving to the sixth dyad from the right in the right extreme of the distribution curve. The sixth dyad did meet the criteria indicated.

Description of selected participants. All 10 teen mothers identified were initially approached through their assigned health care agency advocates to request their willingness to participate in this study. All five of the teens in the low score group required multiple attempts such as phone calls, home visits, and planned agency appointments to make these first introductory contacts. In contrast, the five teens in the high score group required only one attempt to arrange for a first time meeting. Once the study was described to the teens, all consented to participate.

During the first contacts, the teens began to discuss which family member they would ask to be with them. A letter of introduction to the study (Appendix B) was sent home with the teens to be given to the person they indicated they wanted to be with them during the family interviews. All in the low end of the score distribution voiced a reticence to ask their mothers to be with them. However, all five of the teens in the upper score end of the distributions talked about how nice it would be to have their maternal figure with them; ultimately, seven of the teens chose their mothers to participate. Among the low score group, four chose their mother and one chose an older adult sister. In the high score group, three chose their mother and two were unable to find any adult in the family willing to take part in the study. The two without an adult participant were both orphaned during early adolescence. One teen's mother died 2 months prior to her 14th birthday; the other had lost her maternal grandmother, who had raised her from birth and whom she called mother, just after her 14th birthday. These other family informants chosen by the teen ranged in age from 23-52 years old (See Table 1).

Table 1. Ages of Informants

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Teens at time of delivery	15-19	17.4
Teens at the time of interview	16-21	18.7
Other family informants at the time of interview	23-52	40

All of the teen informants are receiving some form of state assistance and food program subsidies. The average completed education for the group was 9.9 years (See Table 2). All five of the low score group have dropped out of school. In the high score group, two have completed a high school education or the equivalent; two are continuing their education; only one has dropped out of school.

Table 2. Years of Education Completed by Teen Mothers

<u>NCAT Group</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Low Score Group	8-11	9.4
High Score Group	8-12	10.4

The ethnic heritage of the teen informants selected for this study reflects the ethnic make up reported by the teen parent program from which they were selected (See Table 3). During the interviews, however, it was interesting to note that many of the informants reported their heritage as African-American or Caucasian, when in fact, many have

Native American heritage as well in their background. The informant who identified herself as Hispanic indicated she was of one half Hispanic and one half Polish descent.

Table 3. Reported Ethnic Heritage

Ethnicity	Teen Parent Program	Informants	Additional Heritage
African-American	58.2%	60%	3 of 6 are N-A
Caucasian	32.8%	30%	2 of 3 are N-A
Hispanic/Latino	3.8%	10%	1 of 1 is Cauc.
Other	5.2%	0%	

N-A: Native American

Cauc: Caucasian

Data Collection Techniques

This study has used a variety of methods to access the family stories of the participants. In this section the data collection techniques used will be discussed.

Semistructured Observation

The collection of data actually began with the semistructured observations and blind scoring of all the agency films of the teen mothers and infants in the parenting program using the NCATS (Appendix A) as already described. As described, it was the score distribution of these films that directed the selection of informants.

Interview and Genogram

The first person to person contact with one of the teens was on Wednesday, June 30, 1993. Visits were then scheduled in the informants' homes or at the agency and continued through Tuesday, September 21, 1993. The locations for the interviews were determined with the agency advocates and the selected participants. Due to the safety issues in some of the neighborhoods, the advocates advised the researcher to see two specific teens and their families at the agency. Four families asked to meet at the agency and four invited the researcher to come to their homes for the interviews. During the first visit introductions were made, the study was described, and consents were signed (Appendix C). Information obtained during this first visit also included names, ages, and birth dates of all household members, and the schooling, work, income, financial aid, ethnicity, religion, and marital status of each of the informants (Appendices D & E). During future visits the data were gathered with an intensive semistructured intergenerational family history (Appendix F) and the construction of an intergenerational family genogram (Appendix G) using qualitative interview methods. The initial question presented to each family was "How would you describe your family's history to someone who is interested in knowing about your family?" Most of the informants were not quite sure what the researcher was seeking with this

first question. The second probe was always more helpful:

I am interested in knowing about all the relatives you ever knew of or heard about. I am interested in the stories you have to tell about them, who they were, where they came from, where they lived what they did, what the family called them and had to say about them. I will try to put their names on the branches of this tree as you talk about them.

These materials were designed to assist the process for gaining information about the family tree and the intergenerational histories of these families.

The genogram approach was chosen for collecting data as it displays family information and relationships graphically in a way that produces a quick gestalt of complex family patterns (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985). The probe questions used in this study were modeled after the family assessment questions constructed by the Calgary Family Assessment Model-CFAM (Wright and Leahey, 1984). With the permission of both the client and the agency, client records and discussions with the agency advocates working with the teens were also used to augment data collected directly from the family.

Participant Observation

In qualitative research the primary research instrument is the researcher. In this case, this researcher's 28 years of maternal-child nursing practice focusing on teen parent families has given the investigator cause to believe that the teen and her family have a great deal to share with professionals about their family experience. This

researcher believes that the difference between the teen who is able to develop a supportive mother-child relationship/interaction with her baby and the teen who has difficulty in doing so is in the story that the teen and her family have to tell about their intergenerational family experiences.

For this study the investigator took the role of participant-observer. All families agreed for their interviews to be audiotape recorded. These recordings greatly facilitated the construction and labeling of the complex family trees presented by these families. Several families discussed various modes of dress, hair styles, family pictures, and previous family trees that had been made by other members of the family. Observations were made of the interaction patterns between family members including interactions with the babies. The investigator had provided snacks for each interview session. For those families who chose to eat and talk, the snacks seemed to provide a relaxed environment within which to talk about family experiences and stories. A few chose not to have the snacks until after the visit, but all voiced being pleased with treats brought to the session.

The original choice of the researcher was for the interviews to occur and the genograms to be constructed in the presence and with the assistance of both the teen mother and one other family member that the teen had chosen to be

with her. This approach was preferred over the alternative of collecting the information individually from family members. The investigator believes that concurrent interviews increase reliability and provide an opportunity to compare various family perspectives. This approach also supported the researcher's observations of family interaction and communication. McGoldrick and Gerson (1985) refer to this as a way of accessing the Rashomon effect. It is a way of seeing the events of the family from the perspective of a number of different family members. The approach was possible for 8 of the 10 families. As indicated, two teens were unable to find another adult family member to participate with them. Both of these teens had no difficulty presenting their family history alone. In 9 of the 10 families the babies were present for the interviews which provided further observations of the mother-infant interaction; in 7 families the presence of the babies provided additional information about how other family members interact with the babies.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are measured differently in qualitative research than they are in quantitative studies. Denzin (1978) notes that to handle a threat to validity, the researcher must demonstrate that the cases studied are representative of the class of units to which

generalizability is made. The external validity rests on the internal variety. Chenitz and Swanson (1986) indicate that the greater the range and the variation sought through sampling, the more certain one is of the generalizability of the results of the study.

In this study issues of validity were addressed by observing the following guides. Teens in the adolescent parent program of the health care agency were admitted to the program and randomly assigned to either a treatment or control group. Only the treatment group was used as a pool from which the final informants for this study were selected. This was done to avoid any possibility of the interview having a therapeutic effect with the control group, thus contaminating the group. The methods described earlier for selecting informants for this study resulted in a group of informants that reflect the age, socioeconomic status, and ethnic make up of not only the program from which they were selected but also the community in which they live. Information collected during interviews evidenced that the families are typical of families who migrated from the South to the industrial North and now comprise the majority of the population of the area surrounding the agency.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have indicated that for grounded theory to be valid it must "fit" the phenomena under study, have "grab", and "work". For theory to be

grounded it must be intimately linked to the data. "Fit" means that the categories that are generated must be indicated by the data and apply readily to the data. "Grab" implies that the theory speaks to or is relevant to the social or practice world and to persons in that world. "Work" refers to the usefulness of the theory to explain or interpret a phenomena.

The variety of methods used in this study also provides evidence of validity. Data acquired during the construction of genograms were compared with the data obtained during the interviews. The presence of two informants in the majority of the interviews provided for the validation or not of family information shared with the researcher. The two teens who were without the support of another family member during the discussions validated the information they shared with notes taken from other family members before the interview and with phone calls they made during the interviews. Data obtained from the families were compared with that of other sources such as program records and conversations with both agency supervisors and advocates who work consistently with the teens and their families. Objective data gathered by way of observations of interactions and activities were compared with the outcome scores on the NCATS and with the subjective data obtained from informants. Tape recordings were used to assure

accuracy of interview information. All of these methods lent to the validity of the research findings of this study.

Leininger (1985) indicates that reliability is present when patterns or themes can be documented with data. Comparable findings within families, across multiple families, and across the high and low score extremes are considered to have established the reliability for this study.

Reliability was also enhanced with the use of an interview guide (Appendix F). The qualitative questions included in the guide were developed around major categories of the Calgary Family Assessment Model (Tomm & Sanders, 1983) which has been recognized as an effective family assessment instrument used successfully in Canada and the United States. The guide provided as much consistency in data gathered as appropriate for a qualitative study.

Although replication of a qualitative study is often problematic, this researcher attempted to minimize any potential for observer effect, thus increasing the chance that another researcher could replicate this study. Field notes were transcribed verbatim, objective quotes were noted and differentiated from subjective data in an effort to avoid bias.

Data Analysis and Synthesis

Although this study is predominantly qualitative, both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were used. Qualitative data analysis was conducted independently from the quantitative data of the NCAT scores and socio-demographics.

Quantitative Analysis

A three phase analysis of the quantitative portion of the study was conducted. First a descriptive analysis of the NCATS data including an analysis of the distribution of scores among the mother-infant pairs in the health care agency's teen parent program was done. As indicated earlier, these distribution data were used to determine which families would be asked to participate in the interviews and construction of genograms. Second, a quantitative descriptive analysis of the socio-demographics of the teens and the families participating in the interviews was executed. Finally, a quasi-statistical (Polit & Hungler, 1991) tabulation of the frequency with which certain patterns or themes occurred in the qualitative data from the interviews and genograms was performed. These tabulations include, where possible, the frequency with which patterns presented in the total group and the frequencies that appeared for the family groups in each of the extremes.

Qualitative Analysis

The intent of this study was to explore and describe patterns or themes that exist in the intergenerational family contexts of these teens and their families and determine if the patterns or themes that evolve relate to the interaction that exists between a teen mother and her infant. Interview data were collected, transcribed, coded, and analyzed from the summer of 1993 through the spring of 1994.

The hallmark of qualitative research is that there is an ongoing dialogue between data collection, identification of themes, and subsequent coding and analysis (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Denzin, 1978; Glaser, 1992; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Ideally these processes occur simultaneously--in a pulsating fashion--over the course of the research (Snyder, 1992). However, the bulk of the analysis often actually takes place after the researcher leaves the field and has more time to sift carefully through the data. This was the case for this study. Some analysis did occur in the field. For example, decisions regarding what themes to pursue, the kinds of probes to initiate, and when to diverge from the interview guide were all being analyzed on the basis of what was emerging from observations and from what the participants were sharing during the interviews in the field. Each interview was audiotape recorded. These recordings were later transcribed in the

grammatical style of each participant. No corrections were made for any mispronunciations or grammatical errors. Attempts were also made to transcribe the participants' responses in the dialect of the participant.

The informants in the low score extreme of the NCATS distribution and their families were identified as Family A through Family E. Informants in the high score extreme of the NCATS distribution were identified as Family V through Family Z. Generations were labeled Gp for the present generation/infant generation, G1 for the teen's generation, G2 for the teen's parents' generation, G3 for the teen's grandparents' generation and G4 for the teen's great grandparents' generation. Thus A/G1 is the lowest scoring teen of the teen informants and Z/G1 is the highest scoring teen of the informants. For the purpose of documenting this study, many of the participant families' quotes were assigned one of the family labels indicated. However, no family label is used where this researcher believes that the confidentiality of a participant is at risk if the quote or experience is labeled as indicated above.

After data were collected and transcribed a discovery process was used where insights and intuition were combined with a strong knowledge of the data to conduct an intensive inductive analysis. Several authors have indicated that there is no blueprint for identifying themes and developing concepts in qualitative analysis (Gilgun, Daly & Handel,

1992; Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

Most, however, engage in a similar process. The transcripts, notes, memos, and other materials are read and reread carefully with the intent of identifying patterns and themes in the collected data. The researcher keeps track of themes, interpretations, and ideas that arise throughout the entire process.

A similar approach was taken for this study. A constant comparative analysis using the audiotape recordings, transcriptions of the tapes, genograms, notes from agency records, and notes from discussions with program supervisors and advocates working with the teens was conducted. The initial analysis of the data took place within each case. The analyst used margin coding in the transcriptions and notes of the data collected and conducted a line by line analysis of what was being discussed. The researcher was later able to conduct this analysis on a sentence by sentence or section by section analysis of each participant family's transcription. Genograms related directly to the content of the interviews. Codes in the interview were compared with what was illustrated in the genograms. All of these codes were categorized and labeled. Extensive family by family memos were written speculating how various categories were linked. Three emerging core categories evolved through this process: family frame, family characteristics, and family function, accompanied by

the emerging characteristics of each of these concepts. Later a similar process of extensive memos was used within the high and low score groups. This was done to identify and interpret how each of the core categories was experienced similarly and/or differently between the high and low score groups. Analysis continued throughout the writing stage. As themes emerged, the researcher returned to examine the literature for clarification of what was being found in the data and to ascertain any relation with existing theory. During the interpretive stage of the study, the researcher recognized that the differences between groups on the three emerging categories seem to point to the emergence of a distress/well being continuum. This is discussed in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER IV. EMERGING FAMILY FRAME

A list of five general open ended probe questions with a list of more specific associated questions (Appendix F) was created for this study to facilitate the interview process. This guide was never intended to be used as a rigid format for questioning. Each family was asked to describe their family history. Most of the participants initially had difficulty getting started. When this was a problem, the researcher found the following probe helpful:

I am interested in knowing about all the relatives you ever knew of or heard about. I am interested in the stories you have to tell about them, who they were, where they came from, where they lived, what they did, what the family called them and had to say about them I will try to put their names on the branches of this tree as you talk about them.

Once the families understood the intent of the interview, they all responded with apparent comfort in telling the stories of their families. There were similarities and differences found within and between the family histories of the high and low score groups. All of the informants discussed family composition and the sizes of the various family units across four to five generations of their families. They named members of the various generations and discussed a myriad of relationships that existed in the past or continue to exist between the family members they were able to recall. They reminisced about the maternal lineage of their family histories more easily than

they did about the family histories of the males of their families. Often little and sometimes nothing was known about the family heritage of their fathers or their mates.

The families were often exceptional in their abilities to recall the order of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces, easily relating the dates of these and other important events in the family. This information allowed the researcher to explore the generational density of these families, the incidence of adolescent pregnancy over the generations, who the single parents were, who married whom, and what range of involvement each parent had with their children. Throughout the process, the researcher was able to compare some of the experiences of the present generation of a family with the family stories of previous generations. This researcher defines these data as the family frame.

Family Size Across Four Maternal Generations

Informants often reported the various generations of their families as being very large and extraordinarily complex. The families seemed to recognize themselves as different from the norm and shared this awareness with the interviewer. The low score families presented stories of their families having large numbers of closely spaced children over several generations.

The teen of this family is the oldest of three sibs. She has two brothers.

The teen's mother said that in her own family she was the fourth of nine children. She had five sisters and three brothers. She named each of her siblings and struggled for over 30 minutes attempting to calculate each of their ages. She indicated that her own mother was the third of six children, four girls and two boys. (Family A)

Teen: "I have four brothers and one sister. I'm the youngest."

Mother of the teen: "I have 13 brothers and sisters. I am the 9th of the 13." She laughs and then continues to name her sibs and give their birth dates. "My father's parents had 15 children." She knew little about the family. Her mother was the third of four sibs. The other three children were boys. (Family B)

This teen is the middle child of three sibs, one older sister and a younger brother. "I would like to know my sister better, she lives down South with my grandmother". The older sister has been raised by the maternal grandparents from birth.

Mother of the teen: "I have seven brothers and four sisters. I'm the oldest" she giggles. There are 12 of us. My Daddy's family had 10 kids, 9 boys and only 1 girl. My mama had only one brother and one sister." She knew little about either side of her family history; not even the sequence of the births. (Family C)

Of the eight teens who were able to find an adult family member to be with them for the interview, only the next teen chose someone other than her mother to be with her. She chose her older sister.

This teen is the youngest of five. She has two sisters and two brothers. Her father is not the father of the other four children. "We're very close family," she said and then went on to talk about how she fights with her sister and the problems in the family that she blames on her siblings.

Sister of the teen: "My mother had five kids. One died. She was out there takin' care of four children by herself. It was rough for her and I know it because I have three of my own and it's rough on me now." Neither she nor her teenage sister knew very much about their family history prior to their own generation. She spoke of her sister's father, "Her daddy not my daddy. She saw her daddy when she growin' up. I didn't see mine that often." She talked of her own father, "Well there's 26 of us in all. It's like we're all spread around. He have about 26 kids all by different mothers. I know probably only about five of 'em. He counted 'em for us one day. There was 24 when he came to see us that year and there was a set of twins on the way. So it would a been 26. It don't make no sense. He's not takin' care of none of us. None of us! But none of 'em! He and his wife now goin' to get a foster child 'cause she can't have kids. Well he have 26 of us out here floatin' around and the man have refused to care for all of us. All of us, he haven't taken care of none of us! None of us, and I mean none! But he's gonna' go and get a foster child? And here he is, he owes millions and millions of back pay in child support for, you know, for the ones really here." She went on to explain that her father was one of 11 kids. She knew only a few of their names and had no idea of their birth sequence. She knew that her mother was the older of two children. "My mother's brother's a half brother. When her mother married another man, she had a son." (Family D)

This teen is the second of four siblings. She has one sister and two brothers.

Mother of the teen: "I had lots of sisters and brothers. I was the fifth. There were 12 of us. I know most of their birth dates." She continued, naming each and gave each of their dates of birth. Her father was the second of four. He had two brothers and a sister. Her mother was one of sixteen children. There were nine girls and seven boys. (Family E)

The next five families are the families from the higher score group. They also presented stories about large families. However, the children in their families were not as closely spaced.

This teen is the younger of two children. "My (maternal) grandparents had lots of children. Let's see there was one, two, three, four.... There was six children. My mother was the oldest. The youngest is 10 years older than my sister. I didn't know much about my great grandparents, so I don't know how many kids they had. My dad grew up with a stepfather. They had four other younger children. He had two half brothers and two half sisters." The teen continued to struggle unsuccessfully to name her father's sibs. (Family V)

The teens of the next two high scoring families were only children. Families with only children were not found among the lower score families.

This teen, an only child, allowed her mother to do most of the talking about family.

The mother of the teen indicated that she has eight siblings. She has four brothers and four sisters. She gave all of their birth dates without difficulty. Talking about her mother's family she said, "My mother was the oldest of her brothers and sisters. She had four brothers and five sisters." She, also, knew that her father had two sisters and two brothers, but wasn't sure of the sequence of their births. (Family W)

This teen, also an only child, insisted that we wait for her mother to return from vacation before the interview could take place.

Mother of the teen: Indicating that her oldest brother was adopted, she said, "He was my father's nephew. My mother had two miscarriages between my sister Betty and myself, and then myself. She had a total of eight pregnancies in nine years. That's a lot of babies!" She talked of having five brothers and one sister. Her mother was one of 10 children. She had four sisters, one of whom was also an adopted child and five brothers. "Her brothers all died as children." She did not know the reason for their deaths. "My father had one stepbrother and two sisters." (Family X)

The next teen was the only teen raised by her

grandparents. She considered her grandmother to be her maternal figure.

This teen is the oldest of seven children by her biological mother. However, she was raised from birth as if she lived in a family of three children. Her maternal grandmother parented her and the next two sibs born to her mother as though they were her own children. Talking of her grandparents, she said, "My grandmother, she was my mother! I think of her as mother. She had nine siblings. My grandfather had 17, but unfortunately only four survived. They only lived a couple months. It was kinda' like they got attached but they didn't survive. You know back then medical history, I guess wasn't to ask why." Her grandparents had raised four children of their own, two girls and two boys. The oldest girl was born to her grandmother while married to her grandfather, but the child was not his child. Her mother was the last of the four born. Referring to her mother, "Yeah! My mother's name is Ann. She is 38 years old. She has brothers and a sister who are all older than she is." Without hesitancy she named each and gave their birth dates. She seemed sad and disappointed as she talked of her mother, "My mother was pregnant every year until she had DeDe." Her mother had had a total of 17 pregnancies of which there are now 6 living children. She went on to say, "I think her taking drugs has made her act like she does and I think the drugs may have caused my one baby brother to have died." While on drugs, her mother had a baby born prematurely with respiratory distress. The baby died within hours of his birth. (Family Y)

This teen is the youngest of three children. She had two older brothers. The oldest died, as an infant, before she was born.

Mother of the teen: Attempting to help the investigator understand the order of her siblings, this mother described the rank and composition of her biological family, "I have an older brother who I named my son for. My oldest sister was outa' my mother's first marriage. Then my sister, Mary, was outa' my mother's second marriage. Then I came outa' her third marriage.... Well, I guess, no! I came outa' her fourth marriage. She was married again, but she didn't have any kids. And then the fourth marriage, I was born. And then her fifth marriage was to my

stepdad." She continued to talk of her complex family structure: "My oldest sister's daughter was raised as my youngest sister. Now, my youngest brother was given to my mother and my stepdad. The girl that had him had him under my mother's name. She posed as my mother when she went to the hospital to have him." (Family Z)

It should be noted that, while talking of family structure, the families of the low score group seemed to know less than the high score group about their family histories and the people who preceded their own generation. By comparison, they stumbled through names and ages of family members. Their focus on family seemed more directed toward their own generation. However, it must also be noted that their family sizes are considerably larger at each of the preceding generations and the sheer numbers of people to be remembered may have been the cause for their hesitancies.

Family Size Pictured Within the Genogram

The genograms constructed for this study (Appendix G) allowed for an analysis of actual family size across the generations of each family and the calculation of the average number of children born to the mothers of each generation (See Table 4). These averages were then compared between the low and high score groups.

The family size of both groups appears to have decreased over the last four generations. However, each of the last three generations of the low score group is notably larger than the higher score group. In fact, two high score teens (G1) were raised as only children. The smallest

family of the low score group in the same generation was a family with three children.

Table 4. Maternal Family: Average Number of Children Born in Each Generation

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Low Score Group</u>	<u>High Score Group</u>
G3	6.8	9.2
G2	9.6	6.4
G1	4.2	1.8
Gp	1.4	1.0

Gp: Infant's generation

G2: Teen's mother's generation

G1: Teen's generation

G3: Generation of maternal
grandmother of teen

A difference is again seen in the generation of the infant (Gp). All of the girls in low score group have had a second pregnancy. Two have delivered and are raising a second child and a third is presently pregnant and intends to carry the pregnancy to term. Only one teen mother in the high scoring group has become pregnant a second time. She was near term at the time of this study and intends to keep and raise this baby.

Family Spacing Pictured Within the Genogram

Determining the spacing of children was only possible in the generations where there appeared to be an accurate

report of birth dates. In most families this was only possible back through the G2 generation. The spacing between the first two children at each generational level is reported in this section.

In the low score group, the spacing between children over three generations ranged from 10 months to 13 years (See Table 5). There were no "only child" families in any generation of this group. Two families in two different generations had a spacing between the first two children greater than 24 months. The spacing of 47 months reported by Family A at G1 is questionable. The advocate believes the mother may have had multiple abortions between her first and second child. In Family D (G2) where there were 13 years between the first two children, the mother had one child and did not have another until she married 12 to 13 years later. In the high score group, "only child" families were reported in the Gp or G1 generations of four families and in both these generations in one family. The spacing between the first two pregnancies of families who had more than one pregnancy ranged from 17 months to 9 years. There was no indication in these families of abortions or miscarriages between the first two children. Among the five families reported over three generations, there were only two incidents of the first two children being born less than 24 months apart. In one family the children were 17 months apart in the other they were 18 months apart.

Table 5. Spacing Between First Two Pregnancies

<u>Low Score Families</u>					
<u>Generation</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
G2	16m	24m	16m	13y	14m
G1	47m(?)	24m	20m	10m	13m
Gp	17m	21m	16m	21m	19m

<u>High Score Families</u>					
	<u>V</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>Z</u>
G2	(?)	17m	5y	28m	9y
G1	29m	OC	OC	34m	24m
Gp	OC	OC	18m	OC	OC

m:	Months	y:	Years	OC:	Only Child
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Compression of Generations

A generation among humans is usually accepted to be an average of about 30 years between the birth of the parents and the birth of their offspring. Normally, one would then expect approximately 60 years between the birth of the grandparent and the birth of the grandchild. When children are born to adolescent parents for a period of generations, a generation compression seems to develop. This compression of generations is noted in both the low and high score groups of this study (See Table 6). The average age of the first pregnancy in each generation of both groups appears to be similar. However, the age of the mothers at the time of their first pregnancies has notably decreased with each generation.

Table 6. Mother's Age at the Time of First Pregnancy

<u>Low Score Families</u>						
<u>Generation</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>Gen. Av.</u>
G4	20y	-	-	20's	-	20.0y
G3	20y	18y	28y	19y	14y	19.8y
G2	18y	19y	19y	18y	19y	18.6y
G1	15y	17y	17y	15y	17y	16.2y
Family Av.:	18.3y	18y	21.3y	18y	16.7y	
<u>High Score Families</u>						
<u>Generation</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>Z</u>	<u>Gen. Av.</u>
G4	-	-	-	-	-	-
G3	20's	24y	14y	24y	20y	20.4y
G2	20y	19y	23y	17y	18y	19.4y
G1	18y	15y	17y	19y	15y	16.8y
Family Av.:	19.3y	19.3y	18y	20y	17.7y	

Marital Links

Marriage in our society has traditionally represented a commitment between a woman and a man to care and provide for each other and for any potential children to whom they give birth. During the last five decades this perspective on the importance of a marital bond has been changing. When problems arise in a marriage, couples are choosing divorce more frequently than they did prior to the 1940s. Some women are choosing never to marry and to parent alone. The number of children growing up in single parent homes has increased in the last few decades. In 1960 fewer than 10% of all children under the age of 18 years old lived with only one parent; by 1989 almost a quarter of all children

lived with one parent (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1994). Usually the parent they live with is the mother. The families in this study reflect some of these societal changes.

Across both groups, the few couples remembered from the 1920s and before were married and their marriages are reported to have remained intact. During the late 1940s and early 1950s the family stories and genograms begin to depict increasing numbers of separations, divorces, and remarriages. None of the marriages of the 1960s - 1970s remained intact.

One family's history indicates that there has not been a marital relationship between any of the parents of the family for over four generations. Another family describes a history of three generations of children raised by multiple stepfathers because the parents of each generation were unable to maintain a lasting relationship.

At the G4 generation, 9 of the 10 women were married. Eight of these marriages were reported to have remained intact. Only one woman remained an unmarried parent and the other divorced. Both of these women were in the low score family group.

Among the low score families at the G3 generation, there were three marriages that ended in divorce. Of the five families, only one couple's marriage remained intact. One woman never married any one of the three men with whom

she had children. There were only two marriages at the G2 generation; both ended in divorce. All of the teens of the low score group were born to single parents. Four of their mothers were reported to have had multiple male relationships throughout the time their children were growing up. Their daughters at the G1 generation are behaving similarly. None of the teens are married and only one is with the father of her baby. At the time of the interview, she was expecting their second child. Two others also have delivered a second baby and one has reported an abortion since the birth of her first child. Four of the five report having had sexual relationships with several men, other than the father of their first child, since having the first baby. All five describe themselves as single parents.

In the high score group, only four families could give information about the marriages in the G4 generation. In all four cases the maternal great-grandparents were reported by the informants as having had intact marriages. At the G3 generation four of the five families had intact marriages. In the fifth family the maternal grandmother was married a total of five times and had children by each of the first four husbands. At the G2 generation, two of the teens were born to single mothers and three were born to parents who were married at the time of their birth and later separated. Four of the teens of this generation experienced more stable

environments with their mothers or grandmother than was reported by the teens of the low score group. Even though their mothers' marriages did not remain intact, the children did not experience the frequent changes of male relationships in their homes that were described by the teens of the low score group. One of the teens did depict her biological mother as drug addicted and grossly promiscuous. However, this was the teen who recognized her maternal grandmother as her "mother". Her grandmother provided her with a stability similar to that reported by the other teens in the high score group.

Only one high score teen spoke of a childhood home similar to that of the low score teens. Her mother was married four times and had several live-in relationships throughout the teen's childhood.

Unlike the low score teens at the G1, three of the high score teens are now married to the fathers of their babies. The other two no longer have relationships with the fathers of the babies. Only one has had a repeat pregnancy. She is one of the married teens and is living with the father of her baby. She was due to deliver within days of the interview.

Paternal Presence

The intactness of a marital relationship between parents in these families was frequently the determinant of

the father's physical and psychological availability to the children. Among the 10 families studied, only 1 biological father lives with the mother of the teen. They are not married but have lived together for over 21 years. Although he is physically present, the family does not perceive him to be socially and psychologically available to them. The other nine teens were unable to identify a paternal figure with whom they felt close. Eight of the nine talked of having had very infrequent contacts with their biological fathers throughout their childhoods. Most live in the same city within relatively short distances of each other. One father has attempted a reunion with his daughter since his wife's death after their divorce, but the daughter detests the man. She delineates no reason for her revulsion except to say, "No one knows nor understands what my father and my relationship has been. I want to have nothing to do with him!" Another teen has never met her father. Both she and her mother had extreme difficulty even recalling his name. The mother indicates that her relationship with him was very brief.

Most of the teens in this study know little more than the names of their biological fathers. They rarely, if ever, see the men or their families of origin. Only the teen who expressed total contempt for her father was able to talk of her paternal grandparents beyond just a recall of their names.

Life Line Mirroring

Life line mirroring is a concept label created by this researcher. The term represents the phenomena of family behaviors or family incidents of one generation being replicated or mirrored by members of the family in the next generation at a similar point of family development. The teens in this study often reflect back a faithful representation of behaviors or experiences of the generation that preceded them.

Four of the maternal grandmothers and all five mothers of the low score teens were adolescent parents. For three generations, most of the families of this group spaced their first two children less than 24 months apart. All of the marriages for the past three generations have failed. Like their mothers, four of the teens of this group are demonstrating promiscuous behaviors.

Mirroring is also evident in the families of the high score teens. Three of the five mothers of these teens were also adolescent mothers. However, most of their maternal grandmothers were adults at the time they became pregnant for the first time. Like the generations that preceded them, the teens appear to be spacing their children further apart than the low score group. Most of the families had spaced the first two children more than 24 months apart. The generations of this group also tended toward smaller families, some having only one child. Marriages at the G3

and before remained intact. The first indication of failed marriages appeared at the G2 generation. Unlike the families of the low score teens, there was evidence of only one mother of a high score teen being promiscuous and she never parented the teen in the study; the maternal grandmother parented the teen from birth.

CHAPTER V. GENERATIONAL FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

The family stories told by the women of this study confirmed the uniqueness of each family's history. However, there were characteristics that they had in common with each other. Their family cultural origins and mobility, past and present education, work and economic status, living environment, and religious practices seem to reflect the culture of the community in which they are presently living. The researcher terms these family characteristics and presents them in the following sections.

Family Cultural Origins and Mobility

The reported cultural and ethnic heritage of the interviewed families reflects the ethnic makeup of the adolescent parent program from which they were selected. There were 60% of the teens in the program who described themselves as being African American, 30% said they were of Caucasian descent, and 10% were registered by the program as being of another ethnicity. Among the 10 families selected to be interviewed for the study, 6 of the families initially filled out a questionnaire describing themselves as African American, 3 indicated that they were Caucasian, and 1 said she was Hispanic (See Table 3).

During the interviews, more information about the cultural ethnic background of these families was added to

the initial data. Only 4 of the 10 families were strictly of the heritage they originally indicated. Their family backgrounds were much more complex than what was captured by questionnaire. Three of the African American families talked of having Native American ancestors at or prior to the G4 generation. The three Caucasian families indicated that their heritage was some combination of German, Irish, or English. Two of the three also identified earlier generations as being of Native American descent. Although her mother seemed reticent to talk about her daughter's father, one of the three teens proudly revealed that she is half Native American, "My father is a full blooded Indian!" She has never met her father.

The teen who initially said she was Hispanic was actually half Hispanic and half Polish. Other than using her father's Spanish surname, she purposively has little to do with him. Her maternal great-grandparents were Polish immigrants.

Among the low score families, four could definitely trace their family heritage to some one of the southern states of the United States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, or Mississippi. Although the Emancipation Proclamation was signed by President Lincoln in 1863, some of these families talk of relatives born after 1900 as having been slaves. They were probably poor migrant workers, hired hands, or share croppers who worked the

fields of southern land owners after the abolition of slavery. They lived in very meager conditions and received little for their work.

Mother of the teen: ...my mother was brought up in the South. I think she was born in Arkansas. She'd tell us about workin' in the fields and how they had to make butter and how they had to sleep on straw on the floor. The house would have holes. They could look up and see the stars. They could see when it rained. They'd get buckets to put on the floor and catch the rain in different places. Her mother didn't have too much. She had to give my mother to relatives and she was then passed around by the relatives a lot.

Teen: Our family first started and I know it was back in slavery. The female that start us was a housemaid. Some think that her owner, the slave owner, had sex with her. That would be the cause of our good hair. My great grandmother was a full blood Indian. You could tell by lookin' at her. Her hair was dark, straight and real long; she could sit on it.
(Family A)

The teen and her sister referred the researcher to her great grandmother's obituary of 9-20-93. Haddie "Big Mama" D. She died the day before our interview. The obituary read that Haddie was born in 1900 in Georgia. She had been a Michigan resident since 1923.

Sister of the teen: It was pretty rough. She was what you would call a slave. She was born a slave back then. It was like she was basically jes'... It was jes' comin' outa the slave days. She was workin' a plantation. She talked about how hard it is to pick that cotton. How it looks so easy to do but she said it's hard because you have to open somthin' and you have to dig in somethin'. You have to dig in there and get your fingers poked or sumthin'. (Family D)

Mother of the teen: (Referring to her grandparents) They talked about the horses and the plowin' when they in the South. But as a kid, I just thought they kiddin'! Pickin' cotton and stuff like that. They then come up here to work in the shops. (Family E)

Each of these three low score group families reported that their relatives had traveled a very specific route from the South to locate in mid-Michigan. They described a migration route during the 1940s, that took them to Chicago, later to Muskegan, and finally to their current location. A fourth family came during the 1970s and did not take the same route. They moved from Kentucky directly to mid-Michigan.

This last family described a childhood in Kentucky:

Mother of the teen: All I know is about my grandmother, my mama's mother, she lived in the country. Every Sunday, all of the cousins, aunts, and uncles would go to her house. She lived in Kentucky. We'd go there every Sunday. Play baseball. She had chickens and pigs, horses. We lived the city part. We'd go there for dinner. Sometimes we'd be there when they slaughtered hogs. They'd kill the pig. I don't know we were little. They'd be out there killin' the pig and makin' sausage. I was little. I wasn't out there. I couldn't watch it. I didn't like it.
(Family C)

A fifth family was unsure whether their family had any southern origins:

Mother of the teen: I didn't know my grandparents on either side. My parents named 'em and that, but I don't remember. My Dad's family were from Michigan on a farm near Oskota. My Ma was from Illinois (possibly came up from the South). They had a small farm when they came here but sold it and moved to the city.
(Family B)

All of the families of the low score group talked of their families at the G3 generation living on and working farms.

Every family noted that those who migrated North left their family and family supports behind. The mother of the

family from Kentucky related what the experience of leaving parents, siblings, and familiar surroundings behind is like for those who are forced to find jobs far from their family base.

Mother of the teen: I hated it when I came here. I miss my mother. She is my best friend. We don't see each other much, but maybe every so many years. She just call sometimes and say, "I been thinkin' 'bout ya'. How ya' doin'?" I miss her a lot! (Family C)

All of the families who migrated North left family and support systems behind. They all came alone in hopes of getting jobs and having better lives.

In the high score group, two other families also originated from the South: Alabama and Mississippi. These families migrated North during the 1940s and 1950s.

Teen: My mother's parents grew up in the South. Most of them were raised up on farms. It was a large family on both sides. My grandmother had nine siblings and grandfather had 17, but unfortunately only four survived. My grandmother was from Alabama. My grandfather, I don't know where he was from, maybe Mississippi. They came up here for shop reasons. They were paying well and they were hiring. I think they may have come up sometime during the 1940s. My great grandfather, on my grandmother's side, he owned his own farm in the South. He was one of the first Blacks in that town to own his own farm. He actually owned it! He had cows and pigs. And there were nine of them (children) to take care of the farm. He didn't pick cotton, because he owned his own farm. He was very much hated. He was hated by the county people, I guess because my great grandmother was an Indian. It was an interracial relationship, so he was hated. My great grandmother was murdered, because of that. I guess owning a farm was like being rich at that time. And by him being a Black man they were envious of that. It was that and the fact that he was in an interracial relationship. So my grandmother said they were pretty well off. And people hated him for that. They even sued him. They accused him of having a baby with another woman, a White woman. He was actually set up,

so they could sue him. But he did finally get the farm back. My great grandmother was killed in 1948. Somebody, apparently, put something in her coke bottle. When she drank it, it choked her. (Family Y)

Only one family in the high score group described their ancestors taking a route North that was similar to the one described by the low score families.

Mother of the teen: My mother and father were from what was it? Mississippi and Alabama. My mother was from Mississippi. I think they first stopped off in Chicago, then Muskegan, then here. They came here so that he could get a job in the shops. You know the shops were boomin' back then! They came from the South to stop pickin' cotton, my Mama said. My Mama say she left Mississippi and leave it at that! I don't know if there was a bad story around that or what. You didn't ask her no more questions 'cause you goin' to get no more answers from her. I don't know if she had had a bad experience or what. (Family W)

Three of the high score group knew of no southern family heritage in their ancestry. One family related that the teen's great grandparents lived in Chicago and that her grandparents moved from Wisconsin to Michigan probably during the mid-1950s.

(Family reported being of German, Irish and English ancestry.) Mother of the teen: I was born in Chicago. We was in Chicago, until I was 11 years old. Then we moved to Wisconsin until I was 13. Then we moved to Michigan and we been here ever since. My mother and my grandfather worked in the steel mill in Chicago during World War II and my mother also drove a cab. My grandmother was a homemaker and stayed home to take care of us kids. (Family Z)

Two other families noted having European heritage. Their ancestors came to the United States and immediately settled in Michigan during the early 1900s. By the 1940s

they were also taking advantage of the job availability in the research area.

Mother of the teen: My family always lived in this area. My mother's family was Irish and my father's was German and English. I don't know when they came. I never knew my grandparents on either side; they were dead before I was born. My father had four different jobs. He worked at Fisher Body in paint repair, he worked on cars in the driveway. He and a friend formed a house painting job where they would go paint insides and outsides of houses. He also cleaned a doctor's office once a week. My mother was a homemaker. She tried to work at General Motors for about three months and couldn't handle it. I know one of my grandfathers raised pit bulls during the Depression (Used dogs for dog fight gambling.) He also used to put a nail on the end of a stick and collect cigarette butts. He would take them home and open them all up and sterilize it in the sun and then reroll them and sell packs of cigarettes. (Family X)

The teen who identified herself as being of Hispanic heritage said that her father's family came from Mexico and settled first in New Mexico. Her father has been the only member of his family to move away from New Mexico. He came to Michigan during the 1970s. Her maternal great grandparents immigrated from Poland in the early 1900s. They initially lived on a farm near Gaylord but the family has since moved to an urban/suburban area of the research community.

Unlike the low score group, only one family of the high score group indicated that their family had a history of share cropping or migrant work. Three families said that their relatives at the G4 and the G3 generations owned their own farms. Only one of the five families has no history of

farming; they have been city dwellers for the past four generations.

Like Family C from Kentucky, one of the families in the high score group also described the effects of losing family ties when they had to move a distance from their family supports:

Mother of the teen: When I was a kid, every year, we always went to Illinois, southern Illinois. It was a family trek every year. It was just like a family reunion, only nobody ever called it that. You know, everybody bring their tents and everything. Family would all get together, spend about a week together. Everybody in the family was there. Nobody stayed out. Everybody had to be there. We sort of separated from the family when we moved up here. But, the uncles kept comin' to Mom. Mom was like the center point of the family. (Family Z)

Education

The education level of these 10 families prior to the G2 was minimal. The grade levels and ranges of education for both groups were similar.

Among the low score families only one family of the G4 had had any schooling. The wife had attended approximately four years of school and her husband had completed eighth grade. At the G3, only one maternal grandfather had completed a high school education. He did so through the military. His wife had no formal education. None of the other parents of the same generation completed elementary school. The members of the next generation-G2, the children born in the late 1940s and early 1950s, were apparently provided more of an educational experience than any prior

generation. Three of the mothers of the teens in the low score group completed high school. One of the three has an associate degree.

The trend of the G2 generation mothers, however, does not appear to be continuing among the teens of the low score group. All of the low score teens have dropped out of school with no intent of continuing. Three have concluded their schooling at the eighth grade and two others have completed the eleventh grade. Four of the five indicated that they had learning difficulties while in school, however, there is no information regarding the etiology of their educational delays.

Among the high score families no member of the family at the G4 ever had an opportunity to attend school. At the G3, not one maternal grandparent ever attended high school. However, four of the maternal grandmothers did attend elementary schooling; three were reported as having completed the eighth grade. Like the low score group, the late 1940s and early 1950s afforded the parents of these teens better educational opportunities than their ancestors had seen. In the high score group, four mothers completed high school. Since high school, two of the women have completed associate degrees and another indicates she has completed a bachelor's degree in business.

The high score teens appear quite different from their low score peers. They have continued a trend of increasing

levels of education across the generations. Two of the teen mothers have completed high school or its equivalent. Two others are attending high school with the intent to graduate; one is a freshman and the other is a junior. Only one high score teen has dropped out at the eighth grade. Although there was no mention of learning difficulties, she refuses to return to school. However, she has married a severely dyslexic young man who graduated from a high school special education program.

Work and Economic Status

Families that migrated to Michigan did so to take advantage of what they perceived as a better economy in the North. Those who came during the 1940s and 1950s, the post World War II boom, all got jobs in the auto industry. Later generations of these same families and two other families who first arrived during 1970s have not found the area to be as prosperous.

Although the educational level of the G2 generation is notably higher than that of the previous generation, the parents of the teens are having difficulty finding employment. Among the low score families, only two of the mothers of the teens are working. One mother is a floral assistant. She lives with a man who is a skilled tradesman in the auto industry. This mother is the only one of the five low score mothers not in need of state funds. A second

mother works intermittently as an office clerk. Finding work has been difficult for her. She and the other three families all receive federal and state benefits. None of the teen mothers of this group is working; they all receive some form of state or federal aid.

Although more of the high score group are working, the same number are on some form of financial aid. One mother of a teen was an auto company secretary before she died. Two of mothers are working but not in the area for which they have been educated. One, educated in business, is a hotel desk clerk. The other, educated as a medical assistant, is a nail technician. She lives with a man who supports her. She is also the only one of the five not receiving some state assistance. Two other mothers are not working. One has an associate's degree in office management and has not been able to find employment for several years. She has recently married a man who is working at a nonautomotive minimum wage job. They were married out of state and do not live together purposefully to avoid losing her state assistance. A fifth mother of a teen in the high score group is a severe substance abuser. She has never worked other than selling drugs.

Three of the high score teens are married. All three young husbands work at least two jobs as do two of the young wives. Only one wife does not work; she is the teen who has no intention of completing high school. Although, they are

working, their incomes are not sufficient to allow them to be free of state subsidies. The two unmarried teens are not working, but they are in school. They and their infants live with and are dependent on their mothers.

Immediate Living Environment

In the next few paragraphs, the researcher will report what the families revealed about the specific kinds of housing accommodations and conveniences that have been available to their families over the generations. Also the accessibility and/or inaccessibility of various modes of transportation and means of communication will be related and how the availability or nonavailability of such conveniences has influenced these families.

The families that had migrated from the South in the 1940s and 1950s were rural people who had worked the farmlands of others while living in the South. Upon moving to Michigan and getting a job they became urban dwellers.

All three low score families whose relatives migrated from the South reported that their maternal grandparents had rented homes when they came to Michigan. A fourth family of the same group and generation was already settled in the area in an owned home. All reported similar housing conditions in the next generation. The fifth family which migrated during the 1970s lives in subsidized housing.

None of the teens of the low score group live with their parents. One lives in a house trailer provided by the baby's father's family. The young father lives with them on occasion. The other four teens live alone with their babies in some form of rented or subsidized housing. Four of the five teens have no phone in their home and all have no personal means of transportation.

Although the mothers of these teens talk of having felt safe in their childhood environments, three of the five do not feel the same about their present living conditions. The four teens living in the area all say they feel unsafe in their homes. The teen who recently moved out of the area to live with her boyfriend does not voice a similar concern.

Four of five maternal grandparents in the high score group owned their own homes. The fifth, the family from Wisconsin, rented a home in the area. During the next generation, three of the mothers of the teens have lived in rented homes as single parents. The other two mothers have moved from house to house living with other than family members.

Two of the three married teen mothers in this group live with their husbands in rented apartments. The third lives with her husband and in-laws in a crowded house owned by the young husband's parents. The two unmarried teens live with their babies in their mothers' homes. Unlike the low score group, none of the women of this group indicated

feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods. Four of the five teens in this group have a home phone and only one is without the availability of a family car.

The environmental experience differs between these groups and has changed over the generations. Earlier generations of the high score group appear to have done better than later generations as far as home ownership. More recent generations of the low score group do not feel safe in their homes. This group is also more likely to live alone and feel unsafe in their neighborhoods in later generations. By comparison to the high score group they seem isolated by their lack of family phone or car.

Reported Religion vs Practiced Religion

All five low score families indicated the Baptist religion as their religious preference on the initial questionnaire. However, it became evident during the interviews that not one of the teens nor their immediate families were practicing a religion. One family reported that they know of no one in the family who has practiced a religion for the last four generations. In three other families it was believed by the informants that the maternal grandmothers of the teens in each family were the last generation to practice a religion. In a fifth family the last known adult member to attend church regularly was the maternal great-grandmother. This same family has sent the

very small children of each generation to church on Sunday, but the adults do not attend with the children.

Four of the five high score families indicated that they practice a religion. In one family, the teen and her husband are presently practicing in the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. Her maternal grandfather and two maternal uncles were preachers within other denominations in the two generations that preceded her. These families speak of their family rules and regulations being guided by religion. Only one teen practices Catholicism. Her Polish maternal grandparents were so insistent that the grandchildren receive a Catholic education that they paid for the children's tuition.

The maternal great grandmother of a fourth family is attributed with being a founder of a nondenominational fundamentalist church and religion in the area. All of the present generation of this family continue to attend the church that she built.

Mother of the teen: Our church is a very small, close-knit group of 28 people. It's uh, very, very small. The building is 130 years old. It's the oldest building in the township. The church was formed from three families, my mother's mother, the pastor and his family and another family. These three families, we are going into the fifth generation for this church. My sister and her husband are very strong pillars within the church. He's the Sunday School teacher and she's the treasurer. (Family X)

As in the other families with a practiced religion, this family says their religious beliefs influence how they

treat each other in their marriages and how they parent their children. "All is done to serve the Lord!"

The fifth family is the least religiously involved of the high score group. The mother of the teen practiced the faith of the Latter Day Saints for a brief period. "They threw me out when they found out I was pregnant and not married." She indicated that she is the only family member for over four generations that reported having practiced any religion. Neither she nor her children are any longer involved in any faith.

CHAPTER VI. FAMILY FUNCTION

In addition to the family frame and family characteristics, the families interviewed for this study talked about the relationships and friendships that have existed in their families. They talked of the happy and sad times remembered by family. They referred to some of the roles that members have played within family relationships, like who were the feuders and the peacemakers, and who made and who broke the family rules. They told stories describing how various members of their family actually conduct themselves with each other and about how the basic daily routines necessary for the management of a family are implemented. Some family researchers (Parsons & Bales, 1956; Tomm & Sanders, 1983; Wright & Leahey, 1984) have referred to these behaviors as expressive and instrumental functions of the family. For the purposes of this study, the researcher labeled this core category family function.

Close Relationships or Friendships

Among the low score families, none of the mothers and only one of the teens are receiving emotional or financial support from the fathers of their children. Only one of the five teens was able to identify a person to whom she would turn for assistance if she needed some type of support. In this one case, although the teen does not view her mother

and their relationship as positive, she said she would turn to her mother for help. Teenagers typically are assumed to have close friendships, yet none of the low score teens spoke of having friends their own age. Thus none could refer to an outside relationship for help.

Themes of rejection were common in the stories of the mothers of the teens. Three of the mothers of the low score group did express feeling isolated and/or rejected by their families or their communities. When asked to whom they would turn for assistance, two indicated that they would turn to their mothers. For one of these women, this would mean a long distance call to Kentucky to a mother whom she is rarely able to visit because neither has the financial resources to do so. Two other women said they would turn to an older sister. Only one woman said she would turn to a male member of the family, her stepfather, not because she had a close relationship with him but because he had money. She expected no emotional support from him.

Unlike the low score group, three of the five higher score teens were receiving emotional and financial support from the fathers of their babies. However, when asked to whom they would turn for help if they needed it, only one of the three indicated that she would turn to her baby's father for support. The other two said they would seek help from their mothers. A fourth would ask the assistance of a

maternal aunt in Colorado with whom she has very little contact. The fifth teen was the only teen of either group of teens who said she would turn to someone outside her family for help. Two of this group were so without family support that they were unable to find a family member willing to be with them for any portion of the interview. Four of this high score group of teens did talk of having friends their own age, but they did not say they would turn to these friends in a time of need.

Among the maternal figures of these teens, only one has received emotional and financial support from her mate. Two of the women over their life time have consistently turned to their own parents when they need help. In another family, the mother of a teen says that she has a sister to whom everyone in the family turns for support when in trouble. A fourth woman relied totally on her son or on the granddaughter that she had raised for help if she needed it. In this group only one mother expressed feelings of rejection and isolation from family, similar to that talked about by the three low scoring mothers. Unlike them, however, she was unable to name one person to whom she could turn for assistance if she needed it. It was this woman's daughter who said she will turn to others outside her family if she ever needs support.

Happy and Sad Experiences

Three families in the low score group made no comment as to what they perceived as the happy times in their lives. One mother of a teen lamented that the happiest time of her life was when she was a child. She said, "Those times were worry free years!" She indicated that there have been no happy times since then. Another teen said she was the happiest when her mother, grandmother, boyfriend, and cousins came to see her in the hospital when she had her baby. However, she pointed out that it was not that she had had a baby that made her so happy; it was the fact that her family had come just to see her.

The sad times for the low score families were primarily around experiences of loss. For three of the families, the saddest time was when a member of the family died. Two families talked of the death of a maternal grandfather as being a terrible loss. In another family, the mother of one teen talked at length about her sister being murdered. The entire family had visited with the murdered woman the evening that she was killed. They were awakened by police in the early hours of the next morning to be told that the sister's boyfriend had killed her. Her siblings were left with the responsibility of telling their parents of the violence. The mother of the teen said that she and all of her siblings believe that their mother took the death the hardest. The mother died of natural causes within months

after the murder, but family members feel that her daughter's violent death contributed to her ill health. For another family the loss was not to death, but a loss of one's health. The teen's mother contracted breast cancer two years ago and has had a total mastectomy. Even though the incident had occurred two years ago, she and her daughter talked and cried openly about the incident during the interview. They have never had counseling nor the benefit of a support group. Their story revealed that they had not yet resolved all the fears and concerns that the disease has brought upon the family.

For the high score group the sad times were not all that different from those of the low score group. However, the high score group talked about a greater number of varied times of sadness. They were seemingly more open in telling of their sadnesses. They pointed out the deaths of family members. The most poignant story was told by the teen who was raised from birth by her maternal grandmother. She told of experiencing her grandmother's death as the most distressing time of her life. Her grandmother's death was actually a story of many losses for her. She was raised by her grandparents from birth as though she was their child because her mother was seriously drug addicted. When the grandparents took her and the next two siblings into their home, they unwittingly and without any other choice set into place a loss that each of the children had repeated each

time they visited with or talked about their biological mother throughout the years. Within a period of three years this teen experienced three major losses. When she was eleven years old her maternal grandfather died of cancer. Two years later her favorite maternal uncle was murdered by his wife in Chicago. His death was a grave loss both for her and her maternal grandmother who succumbed the following year to cancer.

This teen looked very surprised at her own thoughts as she was interviewed and said to the interviewer, "You know you are White and my grandmother was Black of course, but you remind me so much of her!" At that she sobbed and told the story of how her grandmother's children were mistreating and stealing from her grandmother and how it was her responsibility as a 14 year old to fight for her grandmother while she was ill. She took off from school to be at home with her during that last year and stayed with her night and day at the hospital during the last few weeks. She said that she believes that her grandmother provided for her and it was her responsibility to care both physically and emotionally for her while she was ill. Her grandmother's death was not the last of the losses. When she died there was no one to come forward to care for the teen and her two younger sibs. When it appeared that they would all be turned over to her biological mother, the teen asked that they be put into foster care. They were each placed in

separate homes. She felt that the time would give her an opportunity to continue school and make decisions for herself and the other children. She and her brother are now living independently and a younger sister continues to live in foster care. Although she never lived with her biological mother, she has experienced her mother's substance abuse as the loss of the mother and the family that could have been.

A second teen sees her parents' divorce and her mother's death as losses in her life. Her parents had divorced when she was four years old. Her mother, as a single parent, then raised her sister and her. The teen relates another loss as she tells a story of having lost a good relationship with her mother when she was about 12 years old. She is unsure why their relationship became a problem, but she had started running with the wrong crowd and had begun to drink and smoke marijuana. As a result of frustration, her mother sent the teen away for a summer to live with a maternal aunt in Colorado. Soon after she returned home, her mother became ill and died. The teen continues to blame herself for the mother's death. Although she was never told the cause of her mother's illness, she is sure that it was her behavior that contributed to the death.

Expressions of Feelings

When encouraged by the interviewer to explain how members of the family were most likely to express their

various emotions, the low score group gave no indication of how one shows happiness. They did, however, say that their anger was revealed in a variety of ways: through yelling at each other, hitting, throwing things, fighting, violent behaviors, and in a few cases murder was ultimately committed out of anger. One teen said, "Ya' just know they be angry by the way they be lookin' at ya'." Soon after one of the interviews, the police found symbols of the anger and violence of the community in the home of one of the teens participating in this study. They confiscated five rapid fire guns and several magazines of ammunition from her home.

One low score teen did discuss how it felt to be sad or afraid. She said that when she was sad she felt like running away. From the researcher's perspective, this same teen was the most difficult teen with whom to make contact. Agency records indicate that she is almost always not home for her scheduled appointments. She also revealed that when she experiences fear, she feels physically paralyzed. She talked of a night that she was alone and while sitting on the porch she thought that she saw someone in the bushes outside her home. She was so frightened upon seeing the shadowy figure that she could not move herself back into the house to safety.

Unlike the low score group, every family of the high score group could recall times of joy and contentment for the family. Most referred to family get togethers and

reunions. They talked of holiday meals with grandparents, anniversary parties, weddings and celebrations. Only one teen, a high score teen, mentioned the baby and the celebrations around the birth as a time of joy.

Although it appears that these families are struggling for the basics in life, four of the five high score families view times improving over the generations. The African American women who see times improving base their opinion on the fact that generations ago families of African American heritage had decisions imposed on them. They believe that in present times people of all heritages have more possible choices.

One mother of a high score teen talked about how times had improved and at the same time grown worse over the generations. She agrees that families now have more choices, yet she is concerned with the increase in violence and crime. She has observed an increase of violence in her community and a change in how families must now care for their children over the generations and she believes that the changes in both are related. She believes that with mothers and fathers both having to work, sometimes several jobs, to provide for their families, there is no one taking care of the kids. She sees parents coming home from work too tired to care for the children. She says, "The parents have less time for the children. And the kids are really raisin' themselves! When this happens drugs and crime and

violence increase." This same mother sees adolescent pregnancy as a problem that has worsened over the generations. She confided in the interviewer,

When I was a girl, I only knew of a few who was pregnant as teenagers. Now you see it all the time. I'm only 37 years old, and if I was to be pregnant, today, everyone would think it was strange that this old lady was havin' a baby. Hardly anyone looks at it bein' strange that a 14 or 15 year old is pregnant. Times, they have changed! (Family W)

When the high score families were asked to talk about how emotions are expressed in their family, they talked of anger in a way similar to the behaviors demonstrated by the low score families. They, too, showed their anger by way of physical fights, running away, and screaming and yelling at each other. In a few cases the anger had escalated to result in murder. One family attributed the anger of some members of the family to their having a "hair trigger" temper. In another family, the father's anger was blamed on his childhood experiences with an abusive father. One teen said, "I know I shouldn't, but I hold my anger in and then later I blow!"

Four of the high score families did describe how their families show sadness. Two said that family members cry when they are sad. A third woman said that she knew of family members, including herself, who became depressed and suicidal when they were sad. In the fourth family, the teen said that since her mother died "everyone is sad but no one

talks about it." This is the same teen who talked about how she represses her anger.

One mother of a teen is presently feeling very fearful. Her present husband has become very violent. She feels her only alternative in dealing with his behavior is to run away. She plans to go and live with family in either the South or the far West.

This group indicates that the families show their happiness by laughing or simply telling others how happy they feel. The teens say that they like to hang out with others their age when they are happy. The adults talk of partying or having a celebration.

There were similarities and differences between the two groups as they talked about happy and sad times and the associated emotions. Although the number of incidents of anger reported by the low score group were fewer, their experiences with specific types of anger seemed to parallel the level of violence that culminated from anger. The high score group seemed more open to talking about feelings. They gave more examples of happy, sad, and angry times. The high score group also seemed more competent in articulating the feelings that they felt were associated with the emotions they discussed.

Family Rule Makers, Breakers, and Enforcers

Five mothers of the teens of the low score group came from childhood homes where their mothers, even when their fathers were present, were the rule makers in the home. None of their mothers worked outside the home. These women also made sure that the rules they made were followed. The mothers of the teens described their parents as having had high expectations and as being very strict.

The next generation by comparison was quite different. Four of the five low score teens did not perceive their mothers as having imposed strict rules. In fact, one teen said, "My mother made lots of rules, but we usually got out of 'em!" Another said that the rules in her house were few; "Maybe it's because my mom's mother was so strict with them, that she became easy on us." Her mother had grown up in a house where music, dancing, and television were not allowed. The children were beaten with a strap if they disobeyed. The mother of the teen then admitted that she had no planned rules for her children. Her daughter felt that the kids were confused as to what was allowed and what was not. The mother denied ever spanking the children, but the daughter corrected her saying, "Sometimes you got upset and beat us with a ruler or stick!" In another family the teen said, "There weren't no rules. There was like an understandin'." The understanding, however, seemed to be between the children; "If I got in trouble, my brothers would beg mama

to leave me off groundin'. She always did!" The fifth teen described a mother who was a single working parent who used a reward system of candy when the children were good. Each of the children were given daily chores to do. All had curfews; "You be home when the street lights come on!" their mother would say. There were major flaws, however, in this family's rules. Their mother had to work very long hours and often the younger siblings were left to the care of the older children. Essentially, they were often without adult supervision. The fathers were missing from four of these homes and in the fifth family the father was physically but not emotionally available.

The low score teens have now created their own families and are raising their infants alone. Not one of the teen parents of the low score group could describe a rule that they had developed for their own home. One of the teens living alone in her own apartment has not been able to keep family members from partying in her home. She was even incapable of keeping her brother from moving into her home for several weeks when she did not want him with her. Two of the low score teens are unable to manage their own household business. In both cases, someone else in the family manages their bills and writes their checks. The teens apparently have little to say about the management and plans for their own homes.

In summary, among the low score families, the role of rule maker and enforcer in earlier generations was that of the mother of the home. However, the role seems to be disappearing over the last four generations. At the G3 generation, the rules were reported to have been very strict and the mothers of the families were accepted as the rule makers and rule enforcers of the home. In the G2 differences in rule development and execution became evident. The mothers of the G2 remained the rule makers, but were less effective enforcers. It should also be noted that it was during this same generation that there was a disappearance of fathers from the home. With fewer fathers present, the mothers had less support in parenting and caring for their children. All five of this group viewed their siblings, not themselves, as being the rule breakers in their home. Finally, at the G1, we see teens who had had ineffective parenting rules in their childhood homes now not taking the responsibility for developing rules let alone enforcing rules in their own homes.

Unlike the low score group, the G3 generation of the high score group had three fathers who were reported as participants in making and enforcing the rules of the home. The rules in these homes were considered by the children of these homes as having been very strict. In four of the five homes the rules were described as bordering on physically and/or emotionally abusive. Not one of these families

admitted to there being rule breakers among the children of the G3. One woman indicated there were no rule breakers in their home because "no one would dare not follow the rules in the home for fear of the punishment" they would receive. Only one mother of a teen described the rules created by her parents as appropriate. However, she did indicate that her mother had been an emotionally abused and parentified child. She recognized that her mother had purposefully worked toward avoiding a repetition of the abuse with her own children.

At the G1, four of the high scoring teens described their mothers--G2--as having strict but reasonable rules in their childhood homes. In the fifth family the teen made no comment, but the mother talked of her own abusive parenting behaviors. As in the low score families, all of the women but one were also without the support of a husband. However, unlike the other group, these mothers were caring for smaller families; three teens in this group were the only children in their families. And, four of the five mothers reported having had parents or siblings who were supportive of them.

If rules were broken, three of the five high score teens considered themselves the rule breakers. One of the teens, although she was physically and emotionally abused by her father, considers herself a very bad person. She is the

teen who believes that her preadolescent rebellious behavior was actually the cause for her mother's death.

Unlike the low score group, four of five of this high score group of teens can articulate the rules they are now creating for their homes. They have all established goals for themselves. Those who are married talk of what they expect of their mates. They all speak of a part of the rules in their home being a daily routine that accommodates their work or schooling and the care of their babies.

In this group, four of these five families interviewed spoke of the family rules being influenced by their religious beliefs. Two mothers of the teens indicated that this was true, but they see the family rules becoming much less harsh than those of previous generations.

Among the high score families the role of a rule maker and enforcer does not appear to be vanishing over the generations. It does, however, seem to be changing. Where in earlier generations the role was shared by both parents, it is more likely today for the women in these high score families to be establishing the rules of their family alone. The mothers of these teens also tell us that they see that the rules are becoming far less harsh from generation to generation and they see this as good. It is not clear for this researcher as to why, but in the high score group even with a disappearance of the paternal parent, effective rules for the family seem to have been maintained. The teens all

recognized that there were rules and felt that the rules were fair. All of the teens in this group accept the fact that if a rule was broken, it was probably one of them who broke the rule. They were not likely to blame rule infractions on others in the family as the low score group members tended to do. And unlike the low score group of teens, this group of teens has begun establishing and implementing rules within their own homes.

Family Feuders and Peacemakers

Every family of the low score group talked of family members who were likely to start quarrels or fights. None of the teens of the group were mentioned as being the instigators. Three of the families attempted to excuse the quarrelsome behaviors by indicating specific traits that caused the persons to act as they did. One family attributed the unpredictable anger of a great grandparent to her ethnic background; "She had Indian blood in her; that's why she acted like that, you know." Two other families felt that the feuders of their families were mentally unstable or mentally slow. At the G2 generation, the family feuds culminated in the death of a baby in one family as her parents fought with each other and later the husband of the same family killed his wife. In the next generation, three of the teens have violent siblings all of whom are involved in substance abuse. One of these teens and her brother

traffic drugs and have been involved with street violence associated with the drug world. Another teen in this group reported having been emotionally and physically abused by a boyfriend who was also involved with illegal drugs.

The low score group identified only one peacemaker at the G3 generation. The other four named the members of the G2, including one male, as the people who make peace when others in the family feud. Most said that the peacemakers talked with both sides and through authoritative methods told those participating in the argument that their behaviors were not acceptable and that they must stop fighting. There was no indication of mediation or negotiation being used with the feuders.

Like the low score families, all of the high score group were able to point out the feuders of the family. One family reported six family members at three different generations who were likely to start fights and arguments in the family. Two families talked of family members at the G3 who were likely to cause feuds. One group, the siblings of a maternal grandmother, were labeled the "trouble makers". Family members managed the dissident behaviors of these members by avoiding contact with them. In another family, it was a jealous maternal grandmother who was described as incapable of getting along with anyone. Many in the family have cut off relationships with her to escape her argumentative ways. Most of the feuds seem to occur among

the members of the G2 generation. The feuds are usually the result of family members being jealous of what others in the family have or have been given. One of the families has labeled the feuders as the "users". These are the family members who take advantage of others in the family to get what they want. Only one mother of a teen recognizes herself as a fighter and voices great pride in the verbal and physical battles she has had. For her, losing a fight is evidence of one's weakness and vulnerability. Only two of the high score teens felt that they were the instigators of feuds in the family. Both are married and talked of having arguments with their husbands. One talked of having frequent verbal disagreements with her husband. The other talked of both emotional and physical abuse perpetrated by both the husband and the wife on each other. None of the high score families associated substance abuse with the behaviors of the feuders in the family.

Every high score family identified a family peacemaker. At the G3, a maternal grandfather was described as a peaceful, charitable, loving person. There was an expressed fondness for this man and what he provides his family and his friends. Four families mentioned family members of the G2 whom they look to as peacemakers. The peacemakers of all but one of these families described using methods of mediation and negotiation to bring calm. Most indicated that the peacemaker settled arguments by calling those

feuding together to talk with each other. One teen said her mother-in-law first talks to each side and then brings both sides together to talk. Ironically, the mother of the teen who recognizes herself as a feuder and uses abusive behaviors to control others, also recognizes herself as a peacemaker. She talked of the aggressive and violent methods she uses for "making peace". In only one of the 10 families interviewed was peace making associated with religious principles. A maternal aunt of the high score group is said to "call upon the Lord" to help family members to arrive at peace.

Daily Routines

In the low score group the mothers of the teens talked easily about how the households of their childhoods were managed. Four of the five maternal grandmothers were attributed with having very strict daily routines which were all arranged around the work schedule of their husbands or the needs of the children. One of the mothers from a family of 13 siblings pointed out, "With that many kids, you better have a routine or nothin's gonna' get done!" Four of the same women who identified their mothers' strict routines admitted that they had no routine set up to manage their homes. Their teen daughters revealed that they also were without a routine. Most said they filled their day with sleeping in, watching television, and just "hangin' out".

They had no scheduled family meals, no time for feeding and bathing the babies, no consistent time for putting the babies down for a nap or to bed at night. Their lack of routine has also caused all of the teens in this group to have difficulties maintaining appointments as noted in agency records. Several are having extreme difficulty managing their money and paying bills on time.

Like the low score group, four of the five high score group maternal grandmothers--G3--of the teens were attributed with having strict daily family routines. Three of these women established their day around their husband's work schedules. The fourth was a working mother and scheduled her day around her job and the needs of the children. The fifth family accused the maternal grandmother of being an extraordinarily lazy and negligent woman. Three of their daughters in the next generation--G2--maintain a regular daily routine. Two have set their routine up around their own work and school schedules and the needs of their children. Another set up a routine strictly around her daughter's and her granddaughter's needs. The other two women were totally without a recognized routine. One is a drug addict and the other has been a single nonworking parent and never felt a need for a routine until she recently took a job. Four of the five teens described thoughtfully planned days that are set up around the needs of their babies, their schooling, and if married around the

work of their mates. The fifth teen lives with her mother and depends on her mother to care for her and the baby. She has a schedule, but it is set up totally around her own needs.

Unlike the low score group, this group of teens does not have major difficulties keeping appointments. Only three of the five are faced with managing their own bills. According to agency records, two of the three appear to be managing these household responsibilities quite well. The third intermittently has problems.

This researcher has noted that in both groups across the generations, those families with members who are working outside the home or going to school were more likely to have a structured daily routine for their home. In those generations where the children were not in school, and/or the men of the family were not working or possibly not present, and women were not working outside the home, no routine was evident.

CHAPTER VII. INTERPRETATIONS

In this chapter, the study will move from a descriptive to an interpretive mode. To accomplish this, it is important first to revisit the original purpose of the study which was to provide baseline qualitative data concerning the description of the intergenerational family histories of teen mothers and to determine if the patterns that evolved are related to the interaction that occurs between a teen mother and her infant. Using the NCATS scores, two groups of teen mother informants were identified: one group, the high scorers, having successful interaction with their infants and the other group, the low scorers, having a not so successful interactional experience. The teens participated with other family members in telling their family histories and creating genograms with the interviewer. Using a line-by-line data analysis of the informants' family stories, three intergenerational family patterns emerged: family frame, family characteristics, and family function. Multiple subcategories were also identified and have already been discussed as being linked with these three concepts thus giving more specification to the intergenerational patterns. A continuing review of the literature is also incorporated in this chapter to show the relationships of the findings of this study with other

published works and previously cited work is mentioned again if pertinent.

Human Ecological Lens

A human ecological lens, more specifically the family ecosystem perspective proposed by Bubolz, Eicher, and Sontag (1979) including later revisions in the framework (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993), provided valuable insights and interpretations of the themes or patterns that emerged from the stories told by the family informants of this study. This family ecological framework not only provided a view for what is occurring in the immediate generations of these families; it also provided an indication that experiences of previous generations influence and contribute to the interactional quality that exists between the teen mothers and children seen in the videotapes.

The interaction observed between a child and a parent evidences the nature of the attachment that exists (Barnard & Eyres, 1979). The quality of such an attachment is extremely important to a child's physical, cognitive, and social development (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Walls, 1978; Ainsworth & Eichberg, 1991; Sroufe, 1983). Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989) believes that the relationship between a parent and child can only be understood if examined in its broader context, because every human quality is embedded and finds its meaning in the particular

environmental settings in which that human exists. Family ecological theorists would concur with his beliefs. However, a study guided by his theoretical framework would perceive the developing child as the basic unit of analysis; the family theorists identify the family as the basic unit of analysis. For this reason, this study identified the family ecosystem as a conceptual guide.

The family ecosystem has been defined by theorists as a group of persons considered to be family in interaction with their environment. Paolucci, Hall and Axinn (1977) defined family as a set of independent and interdependent persons who share common goals, resources, and are committed to each other over time. These members of a family need not necessarily be related, married, or even live in the same dwelling (Bubolz, Eicher, & Sontag, 1979).

Bubolz and Sontag (1993) define the environment with which the family members are interacting and interdependent as the physical, biological, social, economic, political, aesthetic, and structural surroundings of humans: a context for their behavior and development. As indicated earlier, they conceptualized three analytically distinct interrelated environments: the natural physical-biological environment, the social-cultural environment, and the human built environment. The natural physical-biological environment consists of the unaltered physical-biological components as they exist in nature. Examples of this environment found in

the stories of the families interviewed for this study were the geographic areas from where their ancestors had originated, and the route they traveled in migrating north. In the social-cultural environment the families spoke of rules, laws, religious beliefs, cultural ideologies, social and emotional support systems, socioeconomic status, their schools and workplaces, their neighbors, friends, and extended family. The human built environment of these families consisted of their houses, the cultivated fields they had worked, their churches, their means of transportation and communication. These environments were perceived by these families as both stressors or "melioris". The latter is defined by Boyden (1986) as "experiences which tend to to protect the individual against the effect of stressors and promote well-being" (p. 17).

Bubolz and Sontag (1993) describe the major concepts of family eological theory as an interrelationship of family structure, process, and outcomes. They further describe these interrelationships of concepts as families of diverse characteristics with individual and family attributes interacting in and with diverse environments to transform matter-energy and information through engaging in a key process of adaptation. Adaptation they propose is accomplished through a variety of activities and processes: perception, organization, communication, decision making, management, use of technology, sustenance activities, and

human development. The goal of the process is to reach human betterment and a sustainable environment.

Family frame, family characteristics, and family function which are the three emergent patterns of this study appear to be components of the ecological family structure described by Bubolz and Sontag (1993). The patterns identified describe characteristics and attributes of the informant families and of the environments in which they exist. However, what is not discussed by family ecological theory, but seems to be occurring in this study, is the apparent influence of the ecological contexts of previous generations on the families of the present generation.

In the following sections, when similarities and differences in how families experience each of the core concepts is used again to examine the family stories of this study, an intergenerational differentiation of family experiences becomes even more evident between the low and high score families. The ecological contexts of previous generations appear to be influencing the ecological experiences of present generation families whose members are telling the stories.

Family Frame

In this section, the researcher presents specific family frame similarities and differences that differentiate

the low and high score families. These are presented in table form (See Table 7) and discussed.

Similarities Between Groups

All of the informants were women. They all confided that they knew little or nothing about the families of their fathers, their husbands, and/or their mates. All talked of having come from families that were often large and complex over the generations. Not unlike what the teen pregnancy literature has pointed out for some time (Furstenberg et al., 1987; Musick, 1993), the family genograms of this study revealed that the teens were highly likely to have been parented by a mother who was a teen parent. The family stories in this study indicate that the teens were from families where there were multiple generations of adolescent parents. The average age of women in both groups at the time of the first pregnancy was similar and with each generation the women were younger at the time they delivered their first child. During the last four generations the number of children born to these families has been steadily decreasing. This observation seems to concur with what Furstenberg et al. found in their longitudinal study of some 300 teen mothers. They reported in their 17 year follow up that the mothers had not had as many children as they had originally anticipated having. Not unlike national norms for several decades (Carnegie Corporation of New York,

Table 7**Similarities and Differences in Subcategories of Family Frame Core Concepts**

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
	Informants had difficulty recalling names and ages of relatives.		Informants had exceptional memories for names and ages of relatives.
Size	Size of family was larger at each generation than was noted in the high score group. All five teen mothers-G ₁ have had a second pregnancy since the birth of the child focused for this study.	Family size is decreasing in each generation. All informants knew little about the male members of their families.	Size of family was smaller at each generation than was noted in the low score group. One of the five teen mothers-G ₁ has had a second pregnancy since the birth of the child focused for this study.
Spacing	Spacing between the first two children in families of each generation tended to be less than 24 months.		Spacing between the first two children in families of each generation tended to be greater than 24 months.
Generation Compression		Generation compression due to high incidence of adolescent pregnancies in each generation. Age of mother at the time of first pregnancy is decreasing with each generation.	

Table 7, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Marital Links		Since late 1940s-1950s, incidence of separations and divorce is increasing.	
	All teens of G ₁ were born to single mothers.		Two of five teens of G ₁ were born to single mothers.
	Incidence of promiscuity appears to be greater than in high score group.		Incidence of promiscuity appears to be less than in low score group.
	None of the five teens have married the fathers of their babies.		Three of the five teen mothers have married the fathers of their babies.
Paternal Presence		Teen mothers of G ₁ have had little to no contact with their biological fathers as they grew up.	
Life Line Mirroring		Teen mothers of G ₁ appear to be mirroring family size and spacing of preceding generations. They also appear to mirror marital and promiscuous behaviors of their mothers.	

1994), both groups of families in this study disclosed fewer intact marriages in their families with every generation, increasing incidences of divorce, greater numbers of single mothers, and fewer fathers maintaining a relationship with their children. No teen in this study has had a consistent supportive relationship with her biological father after the parents severed relations. A final fact related to the similarities of these two groups is that the teens of this study appear to be replicating or mirroring similar features of the intergenerational family frame that preceded them. Like the generations that preceded them, they are starting their families while they are very young and they are spacing their children in a manner similar to that of their parents and grandparents.

Differences Between Groups

Although the family size of both groups appears to have decreased over the last four generations, the last three generations of the low score group are consistently and notably larger than the high score group. The spacing of these children also seems to differ between the two groups. When an analysis of the reported spacing between the first two pregnancies of each generation was conducted, it was found that the low score group was more likely to space their children closer than 24 months apart, while the high score group was more likely to space children further apart. Spacing was also influenced by the fact that the raising of

an "only child" occurred only among the mothers of the high score group. The teens of this study seem to be following this same trend. All of the teens of the low score group have been pregnant more than once and three of the five were raising two children at the time of the study. In contrast, it was noted that only one teen of the high score group has had a second baby. The high score teens were also more likely to be with the fathers of their babies and not as likely to be involved in the promiscuous relationships admitted to by the low score teens and their mothers. Experts in family and parenting have pointed out how all of these factors--the intactness of parents' relationship, family size, and the spacing of children--highly influence the financial stability of a family (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1994; Furstenberg et al., 1987; Musick, 1993).

Family Characteristics

Like family frame, there were also similarities and differences in the family characteristics reported by the participants that differentiated the high and low score families (See Table 8).

Similarities Between Groups

The educational level of all 10 families prior to the G2 was minimal. Most had had less than an elementary school education. However, the children born during the late 1940s

and early 1950s, the G2 generation, were apparently provided more of an educational opportunity than the generations that preceded them. Eight of the mothers of the 10 teens in the study had completed high school. As the educational levels increased over several generations, the work opportunities appear to have lessened for the families of both groups. Women of the earlier generations were not likely to have a job outside the home; the men of these earlier generation families had jobs and provided the income for the families. Men of the G2 generation were less likely to be married and living with their mates. All of the women of the G2 generation were interested in job opportunities for themselves. They all find it difficult to acquire and retain work in order to provide for their families. This has resulted in a comparable number of G1 and G2 families being on financial assistance.

Differences Between Groups

Cultural heritage reported by the 10 teen informants reflects that of the adolescent parent program from which they were selected. There were six teens who described themselves as African American, three teens said they were Caucasian, and one teen said she was Hispanic. When the total group was divided between the high and low scorers on the NCATS, the split of ethnic heritage was not even across the two groups. There were four African Americans and one Caucasian in the low score group. The remaining two African

Americans, two Caucasians, and one Hispanic were in the high score group.

Table 8

Similarities and Differences in Subcategories of Family Characteristic Core Concepts

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Family Origins and Mobility		Ethnic heritage of the ten families reflects ethnic makeup of the adolescent parent program and the community in which this study was conducted.	
	Four of the five families are of African-American heritage. One is Caucasian.		Two of the five families are of African-American heritage. One is of 1/2 Hispanic and 1/2 Polish heritage. Two are Caucasian.
	Four of the five families can trace their family heritage to a southern state.		Two of the five families can trace their family heritage to a southern state.
	All five families indicated that G ₃ and G ₄ families were farm families. Two owned their own farms. Three were poor migrant workers or share croppers at G ₄ .		Four of five families indicate that G ₃ and G ₄ families were farm families. Three owned their farms. One was a share cropper at G ₄ .
	Three of the four families from the South indicated their families at G ₃ traveled north to Chicago, to Muskegan to mid-Michigan.		One of the two families from the South indicated that their families traveled north to Chicago, to Muskegan to mid-Michigan.

Table 8, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Education		Level of education increased from G ₄ through G ₂ .	
	None of the five teen mothers-G ₁ have finished their high school education.		Two of the five teen mothers-G ₁ have graduated from high school.
	None of the five teens are presently in school nor do they intend to return to school.		Two of the five teens remain in school continuing their education. One teen has not completed high school; she does not intend to return to school.
	Four of five teen mothers reported learning difficulties in school.		One of the five teens possible experienced learning difficulties in school.
Work and Economic Status		Families who came to mid-Michigan 1940s-1950s all acquired work in the auto industry.	
	Two of the five mothers of the teens have jobs.	Later generations have not been as prosperous. They are having difficulty finding jobs.	Two of the five mothers of the teens have jobs.
	Four of the mothers of the teens are on some form of state and/or federal aid.	All teens are on state and/or federal aid.	Two of the mothers of the teens are on some form of state and/or federal aid.
	None of the five teen mothers are working.		Two of the five teen mothers are working two part-time jobs concurrently.
			All three husbands of teen mothers are working.

Table 8, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Immediate Living Environment	Four of the five families migrated from the South and rented their homes in mid-Michigan.		Four of the five G ₃ families owned their homes. Two of the four were from the South.
	One G ₃ family from the midwest owned their home.		One G ₃ -family from the midwest rented their home.
		All mothers of the teens-G ₂ rent their homes/apartments.	
	Four teens live alone as single parents. One teen lives with the father of her baby.		Two teens live with their biological mothers. Three teens live with the fathers of their babies.
	Four of the five teen mothers feel unsafe in their neighborhoods. Three of their mothers feel similarly.		All five teens and their mothers feel safe in their neighborhoods.
Religion	Four of the five teens are without a telephone or personal means of transportation.		Four of the five teens have a telephone in their home and have a family car available to them.
	There has been no practiced religion in these families for several generations.		Four of the five families report a practiced religion for several generations.

This difference in ethnic makeup of the groups was possibly responsible for there being a difference in the cultural origin and mobility of the two groups and possibly their economic stability for a period of time. Three of the low score families, all African American, were able to trace a family heritage back to some one of the southern states. Each of these families reported their relatives during the 1940s traveling a very specific migration route that took them to Chicago, later to Muskegan, and finally to mid-Michigan. A fourth family came in the 1970s and did not take the same route. These were poor families from very meager backgrounds as share croppers, migrant workers, or poor farmers. They all left family supports behind; they had no family on whom they could rely for help in the North. A fifth family was unsure of their early origins, but knew they also had originally come from a farm family. In the high score group there were two families who reported relatives migrating North during the 1940s; only one had traveled the same migration route as described by the low score group. Three families including the teen who indicated that she was combination of Hispanic and Polish heritage related that they had no knowledge of southern family ties. Three of the families came from northern Europe, two to Michigan and the other to Illinois during the late 1800s or early 1900s. The family that settled in Illinois moved to Michigan during the 1950s. The teen with

Hispanic heritage indicated that her father's family was originally from Mexico and later moved to New Mexico, but she was unsure when. She did know that her father was the only member of his family to finally settle in Michigan during the 1970s. Unlike the low score group, only one high score family indicated that their early relatives were poor migrant type workers. Three of the families in the high score group indicated that their relatives at the G4 and G3 generation owned their own farms. A fifth family reported no history of farming in their family. They have been city dwellers for the past four generations.

Although the educational levels in both groups at each generation through the G2 increased and seemed somewhat comparable, at the G1 generation education notably differentiates the two groups. In the low score group, all of the teens have dropped out of school prior to graduating. Four of the five reported having learning difficulties and educational delays. The high score teens appear quite different. They have continued the trends of their earlier relatives by increasing the levels of education across the generations. Two have completed high school or the equivalent. Two others are presently attending high school with an intent to graduate. Only one of the high score teens has dropped out of school and refuses to return. No learning problems were reported by this group.

At the G1 generation there is a difference in relation to work and economic status. None of the low score teens are working. They all rely on state and federal funds for support. The high score teens are also in need of the same source of funding; however, the husbands of the three who are married are working and attempting to support their families financially. Two of the married teen mothers are also working. Even where both young parents are working, some several jobs, they remain below poverty level.

Housing differed for the two groups for the last four generations. Only one low score family at the G4 generation is reported as ever having owned a house. All the other low score families for four generations or more have had rented housing. The high score group presents itself differently. Four of the five high score families at the G4 owned their own home. Even one of the families from the South had owned their own farm before the family migrated to Michigan; upon coming to Michigan they again bought a home. The next three generations have not been as financially successful. All have rented or they lived with other than family. Although there are no reports of earlier generations feeling uncomfortable in the neighborhoods in which they lived, more recent generations of the low score group are more likely to live alone and indicate they do not feel safe in their environment.

Finally, differences between the two groups appear in the area of religious practice. Although all 10 families reported a religious preference, only four in the high score group indicated that the family has actually consistently practiced a religion over the last four generations. None of the low score families reported a practiced religion for several generations.

Family Function

Similarities and differences again exist between the high and low score groups in family function (See Table 9).

Similarities Between Groups

There were only a few similarities in family function between the two groups. The mothers of the teens in both groups lacked the support of the fathers of their children. If they were to get help from others, the majority had to rely on other family members for help. The family members upon whom they said they would rely were similar. Many indicated one of their sibs.

When asked to discuss emotions and the experiences around those emotions, the researcher anticipated that some families, especially the high score families, would relate some of their happy times to their experiences with the children of the family. Only one high score teen talked of

the joy her infant has brought her. No other family interviewed for this study mentioned the babies. In relationship to sad times, both groups talked primarily of experiences of loss. Most of losses discussed were losses due to the death of family members. Both groups also said that they experience feelings of anger in similar ways: physical fights, running away, and screaming and yelling at the person with whom they are angry. In both groups, families admitted that in a few cases murder was a result of the anger expressed by a family member.

When the families of this study were encouraged to talk about the family rules, it was found that both groups perceived the parenting of families at the G3 generation as being more similar than the parenting during either of the following two generations. In both groups, the mothers of the teens discussed their own parents as having been very strict disciplinarians. In both groups the mothers of each generation were discussed as the primary person who makes and implements the rules of the house.

Both groups also agreed that the same G3 generation of women were more organized than the generations that have followed. The mothers of the teens talked of their mothers having established very strict daily routines. In both groups the maternal grandmothers were attributed with arranging their day around the work schedule of their husbands or the needs of their children.

Table 9**Similarities and Differences in Subcategories of Family Function as Core Concepts**

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Close Relationships		Mothers of the teens are not receiving emotional and financial support from the fathers of their children.	
	Only one teen is receiving emotional and financial support from the father of her child.		Three of the five teen mothers are receiving emotional and financial support from the fathers of their babies.
	All five teens initially rejected their mothers' participation in the interview. Four mothers participated.		All of the teens immediately wanted their mothers to participate in the interview. Three mothers participated
	Only one teen was able to name a person to whom she would turn for help if needed. She chose her mother.		All the teens named a person to whom they would turn for help if needed. Two of the five chose their mothers. One chose her husband. One would turn to someone outside the family. One would turn to an aunt.
	None of the teen mothers spoke of having friends of their own age.		Four of the five teen mothers talked of having friends of their own age.
	Themes of isolation and rejection were common in the family stories of all five families.		Themes of isolation and rejection were present in only one family's story.

Table 9, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Sad and Happy Experiences	Group was reticent to talk about their sad experiences.	Sad experiences revolved primarily around experiences with loss.	Group was open and articulate about their sad experiences.
	Group gave no indication of happy experiences.		All could recall a joyful time. Most referred to family get-togethers and reunions as happy times. Only one teen mentioned experiences around her baby as happy times.
	Group was pessimistic about what they believed family experiences in the future would be like.		Group was optimistic about family and what they believed the family experiences would be in the future generations.
	Number of actual angry family incidents reported were fewer than in high score group.	Anger demonstrated in both groups through physical fighting, running away, screaming and yelling.	Number of actual angry family incidents reported were higher than in low score group.
	No comments made regarding how happiness is demonstrated.		Happiness is demonstrated by laughing or telling someone how happy they are.

Table 9, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Rule Makers, Breakers, and Enforcers		Women of the G ₃ generation were considered strict rule makers and enforcers in their homes.	
	Four of the five teens did not perceive their mothers as having strict rules in the family. One teen said there were no rules in her childhood home.		In four homes, rules were so strict at G ₃ generation they bordered on abusive.
	None of the teens could describe a rule they had developed for their own home and family.		Four teens perceived their mothers as strict but fair and reasonable.
			The three married teens and one single mother articulated family rules they have created in their homes.
			Mothers of the teens felt rules in their childhood homes were so strict that there were no rule breakers.
	Teens blamed other family members not themselves for breaking rules.		Teens in this group were likely to identify themselves as rule breakers.
	Role of rule maker and enforcer appear to be vanishing.		Rules exist in these families but over the generations they are becoming less harsh.

Table 9, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
Feuders and Peacemakers		All identified family members who were likely to be feuding, quarreling, or fighting.	
			Most of the feuds were identified at the G ₂ .
	No teen mother was labeled as quarrelsome or a troublemaker.		Two teen mothers identified themselves as likely to start quarrels.
	Violence, drugs, physical and emotional abuse were more common in these families.		
			All five families identified peacemakers. Four identified members of G ₂ .
	Peacemakers are likely to use authoritative methods for making peace.		Peacemakers are likely to use mediation and negotiation to make peace.
Daily Routine		Families at G ₃ likely to have strict daily routines in their homes.	
		Families with members attending school or working at jobs outside the home were more likely to have a daily routine.	

Table 9, continued

Subconcepts	Low Score Group	Both Groups	High Score Group
	Mothers of the teens and the teen mothers were likely to admit they have no regular daily routines.		Three of the five mothers of teens have a set daily routine in their homes. Four of the five teens described thoughtfully planned days in their homes.
	Teens are having difficulty keeping scheduled appointments and managing their own finances.		Teens are more likely to keep appointments and manage their own bills.

Differences Between Groups

The two groups were quite different in their discussions of their experiences with friendships and close relationships. The low score teens both behaviorally and verbally rejected any relationship with their own mothers even when their mothers appeared to be offering support. They did not talk of having close friends. None of them were receiving emotional or financial support from the fathers of their babies. Thus, none of them had someone to whom they could refer if they needed help. Their mothers seemed to have similar relationship problems. Themes of rejection and isolation were common in their mothers' stories. They indicated that they felt unwanted by their families. However, unlike their daughters each of them did

name someone in the family upon whom they felt they could rely for support if needed. The high score teens voiced a very close relationship with their maternal figures. Their mothers were not likely to talk of feeling rejected as the low score group of mothers had done. On the contrary, they were more likely to talk of how close they felt to their own parents and siblings.

Unlike the low score teens, the high score group indicated that they valued their relationship with their maternal figures. Three of the five were married to the fathers of their babies and received emotional and financial support from these young men. However, the high score group of teens said they preferred the support from their mothers if they should need help. Most of the group were able to talk of close friends other than family.

It appeared that the members of the high score group were more open in discussing their emotions. Although the themes of loss permeated the sad experiences of both groups, it was the high score members that were more open and more articulate in sharing what those experiences were like for them. They talked of how sadness for some in their families has led to depression, illness, or suicide. They also told of times when sadness was just too difficult to talk about for the family and how this negatively influenced relationships in the family. Unlike the low score group, every high score family could recall times of happiness,

joy, and contentment for the family. Most of their stories were around family celebrations and get togethers.

In the perceptions of the researcher, it appears that the generations of the infants, the teens, and the teens' parents have progressively become more difficult. Contrary to this perspective, four of the five high score group of families indicated that they perceived that times have grown better for their families over the generations. The African American women felt that generations ago African American families had decisions imposed on them. They feel that today families of all heritages have more possible choices offered than ever in the past. This same group could also speak to concerns about how times have also grown worse. They voiced concern regarding increased violence, adolescent pregnancy, and the parenting problems that exist in their neighborhoods.

When the conversations turned to how parents discipline and how rules are made in the home, the role of the rule maker and enforcer begins to differ between the two groups at the G2 generation of parents. As indicated previously the mothers in both groups were the rule makers and the enforcers of the rules. However, the low score teens were more likely to perceive the rules set down by their mothers as unfair, inconsistent, and ineffective. In a few low score cases, rules seemed almost nonexistent. In contrast,

four of the five high score teens indicated that they felt the rules of their childhood homes were strict but fair.

The two groups of teens also differed in perceptions of whom they attributed as being rule breaker of the family. The low score group of teens were more likely to accuse one of their siblings. The teens of high score group more often confessed that they were the rule breakers. The teens of both groups differ again in who and how rules are made in the families that they are now establishing. The high score teen mothers talked of how they had already begun to develop rules for their homes. None of the low score teens were able to do the same.

The establishment of rules clearly differs between the groups over the generations. It appears that the role of rule maker is disappearing from the homes of the low score families over the last four generations almost as though there was an overwhelming feeling of powerlessness. Unlike the low score group, the role of the rule maker appears to have continued in the high score group, although the high score mothers of the teens did note that they perceived the rules becoming more reasonable with each generation and less likely to be considered physically or emotionally abusive when enforced. When the rules of the homes of the low score group were poorly executed, the intensity and viciousness of the violence of the feuding discussed by the families was more prevalent than found among the high score families.

A difference between the peacemakers was also found. The high score group of peacemakers used methods of mediation and negotiation while the low score group seemed more likely to use authoritarian approaches to stop the feuders.

When each of the family members interviewed was asked to talk about what she remembers a day during her childhood being like for her mother and then to comment on how her own day differs, a number of differences between the groups were identified. Although, the maternal grandmothers of both groups were perceived as having been very organized and having strict daily routines, differences between the groups were found at the next two generations. In the low score group, neither the mothers of the teens nor their teen daughters were able to relate to any daily routine in their homes. Most agreed that their days were filled with watching television, hanging out with friends until late at night, and then sleeping in late the next morning. No low score teen had made a sleep or feeding schedule for her child. All were having difficulties maintaining appointments with the agency staff. All five broke multiple appointments for this study's interview. Each would give the interviewer a time convenient to meet the researcher and then would either not show up for the appointment or not be at home when the researcher came to visit. Most were also having difficulties with managing their own money and their

bill payments. When the high score families were compared, it was found that three of the five mothers of the teens maintained a strict daily routine around their own work, school schedules, or needs of their children. Four of the five high score teens were able to describe thoughtfully planned days. Their reasons for doing so were similar to those of the mothers who had done similarly. They were also having less difficulty maintaining appointments than the low score teens. All five attended this study's first interview appointment. Only three of the five are faced with the responsibility of managing their own bills. Two are doing quite well based on the income and expenses they have. The third is having difficulties similar to those of the low score group. The two without the responsibilities for managing bills are in school and living with their mothers. The researcher noted that for over four generations, in those families where there were members working outside the home or going to school, the women were more likely to indicate that there was a structured daily routine in the home.

Distress

The process of determining these similarities and differences of each pattern and the associated subconcepts responded to the second of the original research questions. The two groups were differentiated and several persistent

intergenerational stressors were identified that appear to be influencing the ecological systems of these families: family size, spacing of pregnancies, generation compression, cultural origin and mobility, socioeconomic status, housing, religion, interpersonal relationships, perceptions of the family status over the generations, role of the rule maker, and daily routine.

In addition to responding to the research question, another important idea emerged at this stage of the analysis. This researcher believes that the intergenerational stressors which were identified in the analysis of the emerging core concepts can be best interpreted as intergenerational distress, the opposite of the well-being sought by families. Psychological distress is an unpleasant subjective state that takes two forms: depression and anxiety. Both forms are attributed with physical and psychological symptoms that are often experienced concurrently. Depressed persons will often complain of feeling sad, hopeless, worthless, and having trouble sleeping. They often feel that everything is an effort. Anxiety is often associated with depression. However, the anxious person talks of feeling tense, restless, worried, irritable, and afraid (Mirowsky and Ross, (1989).

Basic Social Patterns of Distress

Prior to the 1960s there was little known about how patterns within a social context encourage psychological distress or emotional well being. Mirowsky and Ross (1989) indicate that during the last few decades community mental health studies have confirmed such a relationship. They point out that four basic social patterns of distress have been established:

1. A few studies have found higher levels of distress among women than among men in similar stressful situations (Gove & Geerken, 1977; Gove & Tudor, 1973; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Rosenfield, 1980).

2. Married persons have been found to be less distressed than unmarried persons (Gove, Hughes, & Styles, 1983).

3. Distress escalates as a person experiences greater numbers of undesirable changes in their lives (Ross & Mirowsky, 1979; Vinokur & Selzer, 1975; Williams, Ware & Donald, 1981).

4. Socioeconomic status has an inverse relationship with distress (Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan & Mullan, 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

Beyond these four basic patterns, other studies have indicated that race is also related to the level of distress experienced by people in the United States. Mirowsky and Ross (1980) believe that Blacks experience higher levels of

psychological distress because on average they have a lower level of education and income than Whites, in large part due to the long history of discrimination in this country. More recently, Kessler and Neighbors (1986) compared African Americans and Caucasians of the same income level and found that poor Blacks have a higher level of distress than poor Whites. They believe that the reason for this is probably that discrimination blocks upward mobility for Blacks resulting in many Blacks feeling helpless, powerless, and unable to control life.

None of these studies has examined distress from an intergenerational perspective. However, the informants of this study have told stories that seem to depict generations of family distress. Possibly the three emerging concepts and the associated subcategories of each identified in the family stories of the participants of this study actually influence the level of distress that a family experiences from one generation to the next. For example, most of the families in this study come from a long line of poverty. A few of the families tell stories of a brief break in their socioeconomically disadvantaged status during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Many had moved from the South where they were poor migrant or dirt farmers to the North where they hoped to acquire technical skills and job opportunities. Although the Black workers' incomes remained far below those of the White workers in the same factories, they were making

more than they were in the South. The move possibly made them feel as though they were gaining control of their lives and their destiny. Foner and Lewis (1989) give some indication of this new found control when they point out that the Black workers who had come North to find jobs joined labor unions in an effort to maintain what they had gained and to improve their future status. The children of those who moved North just after World War II reflect the advantages of their parents' increased incomes and possibly their feeling of now having taken some control on the direction of their lives. Their children experienced intact families; their fathers were important to the home, because they provided for the financial needs of the family. Most of these children, now adult women, the G2 generation of this study, remember the times as being good times. These children were also more highly educated than the generations that preceded them. On the whole many of the changes that had occurred in the lives of these families during this generation were ones that the adults had chosen and were choices that they perceived as advantaging themselves and their children. The stories seem to relate a period of decreased distress and increased feelings of well-being.

Families already living in the North during the same period did not appear to be as poor as those coming from the South. Most of these families were Caucasian. They were more likely to own their own homes already and were more

able to take advantage of the job opportunities at the earliest stages of the post war growth.

The period of well-being was not long lived. The teens of this study and their mothers tell stories of their own lives that seem to indicate increasing levels of distress. Although the G2 generation was more highly educated than the generations that preceded them, their lives and opportunities have been greatly changed by several recessions in the last few decades, the resulting downsizing of large corporations, increased unemployment, and state and federal laws regarding family subsidies that discourage men from living with their families. These experiences appear to have had a trickle down effect on the generations that followed. The teens of this study grew up parented by single mothers, mothers living alone in poverty without the emotional and physical support of the men with whom they had had a child. The changes and the choices in the lives of these teens and their mothers are often dominated by the socioeconomic situation in which they now find themselves. Their infants, the Gp generation, are now a third generation of poverty. The experiences of these three generations depict distressed families (Mirowsky & Ross, 1980).

Prior to the adolescents' generation, the four basic patterns of distress discussed by Mirowsky and Ross (1989) described many of the intergenerational similarities between the two groups of families interviewed but did not seem to

differentiate the groups. As the teens start their own families, one of the four basic social patterns of distress, the pattern of marriage versus not married differentiates the low score group from the high score group of families. Only one low score teen mother has married while three of the five high score teens have married the fathers of their babies.

Additional Social Patterns of Distress

There are four additional social patterns of distress more recently considered by many sociological researchers: (a) parenting children, (b) practice vs. nonpractice of religion, (c) the fit of one's self-image with that of the norm, and (d) age (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). These are now believed to be social patterns that also influence an individual's experience with psychological distress or well-being.

When researchers attempted to correlate the presence of children in a home with the psychological well-being of the mothers and the fathers, they found that children did not improve the psychological well-being of parents. Nonparents were often better off than parents. In many instances mothers were found to be more distressed than nonmothers (Gove & Geerken, 1977; Pearlin, 1975). Researchers indicate that distress is often greatest for the single, divorced, or separated mother (Aneshensel, Frerichs, & Clark, 1981; Kandel, Davies, & Raveis, 1985).

The number of children reported in each of the generations of the families participating in this study does distinguish the low from the high score group. Although, the average number of children has been decreasing every generation, the low score group of families for three generations has consistently had larger families than the high score group. The more children in a family, the greater the strains on family income. The chronic struggle and worry of a parent to care, house, feed, clothe, and pay bills related to their children's needs becomes overwhelming. The result is often a feeling that the future is hopeless and that there is little in life to enjoy. The lives of the families in this study have been further compromised by the fact that the majority of the women of the last two generations have been single parents. Single mothers have, on average, been found to be poorer than married mothers (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1994; Musick, 1993). They are often without physical and emotional support or someone with whom they can share the child care responsibilities (Crockenberg, 1981). The distress level is further increased when, as in this study, the low score single teen mother has less than a high school education. Such conditions seriously jeopardize any potential income for her family (Furstenberg et al., 1987).

The low and high score families participating in this study are further differentiated by their practice or

nonpractice of a religion. All of the families reported being of a specific religious persuasion. However, the high score families reported more generations of family who had practiced religion than did the low score group. There have only been a few studies which have specifically looked at the relationship between psychological well-being and religion (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960; Lindenthal, Myers, Pepper, & Stern, 1970). These researchers indicate that people with very strong religious beliefs or those who attend church frequently have lower levels of psychological distress. They also indicated that the subjects practicing a religion were found to be better adjusted, happier, and worried less. In a related study, conducted by Redemptorist Pastoral Communications (Neff, 1990), it was found that although the overall divorce rate in the U. S. is approximately 1 out of every 2 marriages, when couples attend church together the divorce rate drops to 1 out of every 50 marriages. If one accepts the basic tenet of these studies, the family ecological researcher might consider religion a "melior" in respect to the stressors experienced. However, the few studies done in this area did not answer a very important question: Are religious practices responsible for reducing distress, possibly through social and emotional supports, or are people with high levels of psychological well-being more likely to seek church activities as a means for socializing? Mirowsky and Ross

(1989) did study distress levels using survey data from the Illinois Health Behavior Survey. In their study, they were able to differentiate populations according to how religious the subjects were: those who rejected religion, those with weak religious belief, moderate belief, and strong belief. They found that those subjects who had not made a commitment, who belonged to a religion not out of choice but out of indifference, had the highest distress levels.

Mirowsky and Ross (1989) also identified the internalization of societal stigma as a third new pattern of distress. Prejudices in our society often exist against those who do not meet what some portend to be the accepted norm. Some researchers and theorists have posed that those toward whom prejudices are directed internalize these negative evaluations (Cooley, 1964), leading them to low self-esteem, devaluation of themselves, and depression. At one time Blacks were believed to suffer higher levels of psychological distress because it was believed that they internalize the negative evaluations made of them by Whites. Mirowsky and Ross (1980) indicate that the internalization of negative evaluation given by the Whites is not the problem for Blacks. They believe that the experiences of discrimination and disadvantage are. Their studies have found that Blacks are more depressed not because they have a poor internalized self-image; rather they are depressed and anxious because a disproportionate

number are living in poverty in this country as a socioeconomically disadvantaged group. This is further complicated by the fact that during the last decade there has been a dramatic increase of single-parent female headed homes in this country (Burton & Dillworth-Anderson, 1991; Farley, 1988; McLanahan, 1988; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1988).

The histories of the families in this study seem to confirm Mirowsky and Ross's findings. The daughters of those who came North in the 1940s and 1950s remember those times as "being good" and "trouble free" possibly because by comparison to their lives in the South; their parents were feeling they had some control of their decisions, they saw their incomes increasing, and they felt there was hope.

Age is believed to be a fourth new pattern of distress. Using data from the Illinois Survey of Well-Being, Mirowsky and Ross (1989) report that they found depression to be very high among young adults, low among middle aged, and again high among the elderly. This seems to mirror family income. It assumes that as individuals grow older their income improves. This has not been true for the mothers and teens of this study. Most of the mothers are as poor as the teens. Researchers believe that income affects the depression experienced by way of perceived control (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). For the families in this study, all of whom

are poor, the interaction of the other social factors seems to differentiate the experiences of poverty even further.

All of the families of this study told stories of financial struggles over the generations. It appears that the economic hardships, however, may have been experienced differently by the low score group. They consistently had larger families to house, clothe, and feed by comparison to the high score group. Their children were closely spaced placing even further strain on the family at any one point in time. The G1 generation of the low score group feels even more compromised; their education level has not prepared them for the job market. Their interpersonal relationships result in minimal family and social supports. Their stories tell how difficult the struggles are and how much they want employment, but they are not even minimally prepared for most of the available jobs. This researcher believes that many of the families whose roots originated in the South are again experiencing what their ancestors experienced, a loss of control over their destinies. Such feelings almost always are associated with distress.

Summary

The family histories over four generations of both groups of families participating in this study are filled with signs of a social context believed to be supportive of psychological distress. In addition, the informants' stories appear to indicate that the members of the low score

group lead more distressful existences. The subcategories of the emerging concepts that distinguished the two groups of families on the basis of distress, i.e. marriage, family size, spacing of children, generation compression--age of women in each generation with first babies, family economics--inclusive of education, housing, family origin and mobility, and religion, concur with the intergenerational ecological stressors mentioned earlier in this chapter. The informants of the low score group seem to speak for themselves and for their ancestors when they talk of the feelings brought on by the social distresses they were experiencing. Note that their personal stories related feelings of alienation, powerlessness, limited control over life, and being without physical and emotional supports. Mirowsky and Ross (1989) identify these personal feelings as psychological responses to the distresses met in one's social context.

Research has been conducted in the past to indicate the importance of social emotional support on the parent-child relationship (Crockenberg, 1981; Homel, Burns, & Goodnow, 1987; Teitjen, 1985). There is also research that confirms the negative effect of maternal depression on mother-child interaction (Cohler, Gallant, Grunebaum, & Kaufman, 1983; Cox, Puckering, Pound, & Mills, 1987). However, there is a conflict between research presented by those who are studying adolescent parents and those studying distress and

depression. Mirowsky and Ross (1989) believe that the incidences of depression are highest among young adults and adolescents because of their life context experiences; however, Brooks-Gunn and Furstenberg (1986) were unable to find evidence that adolescent mothers were more depressed than older mothers in similar economic circumstances. In this study, there is evidence of social and resulting psychological distress among the teens. This appears to be related to the mother-child relationship observed in the videos.

Effects of Intergenerational Distress

Other knowledge gained in this study is that the life experiences of the teen mother and her infant appear to be related not only to the interaction and interdependence that exist within their own life time ecosystem, but they also appear to be associated with ecosystem experiences of previous generations. Thus this researcher believes that there are intergenerational patterns in the family histories of teen mothers, possibly family experiences in which they have had no direct involvement, that now affect the relationship and interaction they are able to establish with their babies.

Intergenerational Family Spiral

An illustration similar to the one pictured in Figure 1 is frequently used by a nurse researcher (Rogers, 1970) to

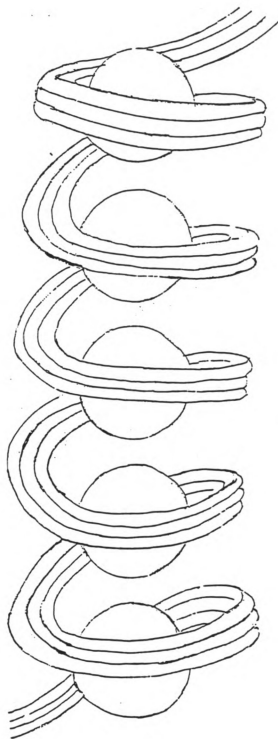


Figure 1: Intergenerational family spiral

describe concepts of her own theory. The illustration has helped this researcher to conceptualize the intergenerational influences that are believed to be occurring in the families of this study. Although very little of Roger's theory beyond the use of her "slinky" illustration will be used in this study, her theory does appear to interface well with human ecological theory. Like the human ecologists, she is consistent in her presentation of the importance of the interaction between humans and environments. Rogers used a toy slinky to demonstrate theoretical concepts indicating the openness and rhythmical nature of the life process. She discusses her principle of reciprocity [sic] as a function of the mutual interaction of and between the human field and the environmental field. She believes, as does this researcher, that the human life process evolves unidirectionally along a space-time continuum having multiple dimensions.

For this researcher, human life is influenced by all of our past, present, and potential future relationships with space, time, and energy. The genograms and family histories of the families in this study tell us that the experiences of a present day family member are often influenced by experiences that may never have been a part of that person's own immediate life.

This researcher uses the spirals of a toy slinky to illustrate the unidirectional movement of life over the

generations. Within the turns of the slinky note the multiple spheres which represent the families within the various generations. The turns in the slinky represent the continuing influences of the past on the present and the potential future. The spiral itself represents time in its synchrony of movement and orientation in space. A spiral like the slinky has flexibility; such flexibility has energy. The spiral also can give an example of space as it has boundaries within which it must remain. As the slinky centers it falls back to its original shape and its turns represent true links of past, present, and future. Although the spirals are constantly directed forward, each turn in the spiral reflects on the previous turns.

The toy slinky and the spheres within the curves give a good illustration of how one might conceptualize interaction between humans and environments within the present generation of the family ecosystem and possibly how this interaction continues through time and space across generations. This researcher believes these interactions continue through time and space often reflecting back on the past as they spiral around and yet move forward. In the stories of these families we see repetitions of behaviors and experiences within a generation as well as within a family's history across generations. Thus, there appear to be within this unidirectional movement of life an interface

and interaction of all environments at all times throughout time and space, across generations.

If we are to believe that a person is continually developing and striving toward personal well-being, then within this proposed intergenerational ecosystem there are continual efforts toward further human development which produce as well as expend energy in the process. Again using the toy slinky as an illustration, the energy to propel the toy forward occurs when the sections of the slinky are stretched within a specific range. When the sections collapse on one another, a possible illustration of generation compression or close spacing of children, energy becomes limited or nonexistent. Likewise, there is no energy when the sections of the slinky are stretched until the coiled toy is straightened to a continuous length of wire. Thus, the slinky and its potential energy can be used as a metaphor for the human intergenerational family. When the generations of the family are spaced too closely, the energy from one generation to the next seems dissipated much like the slinky collapsed upon itself. It is the availability of resources and the ability to provide for renewed energy at each generation within the entire intergenerational ecosystem that influences the developmental experiences and behaviors observed within the present generation. Energy, resources, and supports seem more readily available when there is a "fit" between when

one expects to be a parent or a grandparent and when one is actually met with the role.

In the future, a similar strain on resources and energy will possibly exist for those families in which the generations are spaced well beyond the expected 30 years of our culture. Technology today is now capable of allowing 50 and 60 year old women to become pregnant. Maybe like the fully expanded slinky the time between the generations will be so great that similar issues regarding resources, energy, and supports will be a problem.

This researcher believes that the differences in the the makeup of the family frames, family characteristics, and family functions of the high and low family groups possibly are associated with how intergenerational distresses are experienced and reflected from one generation to the next. Possibly, it is how these core categories are experienced intergenerationally that determines where a specific generation, family, or individual falls at any one point in time on a distress/wellbeing continuum (Figure 2).

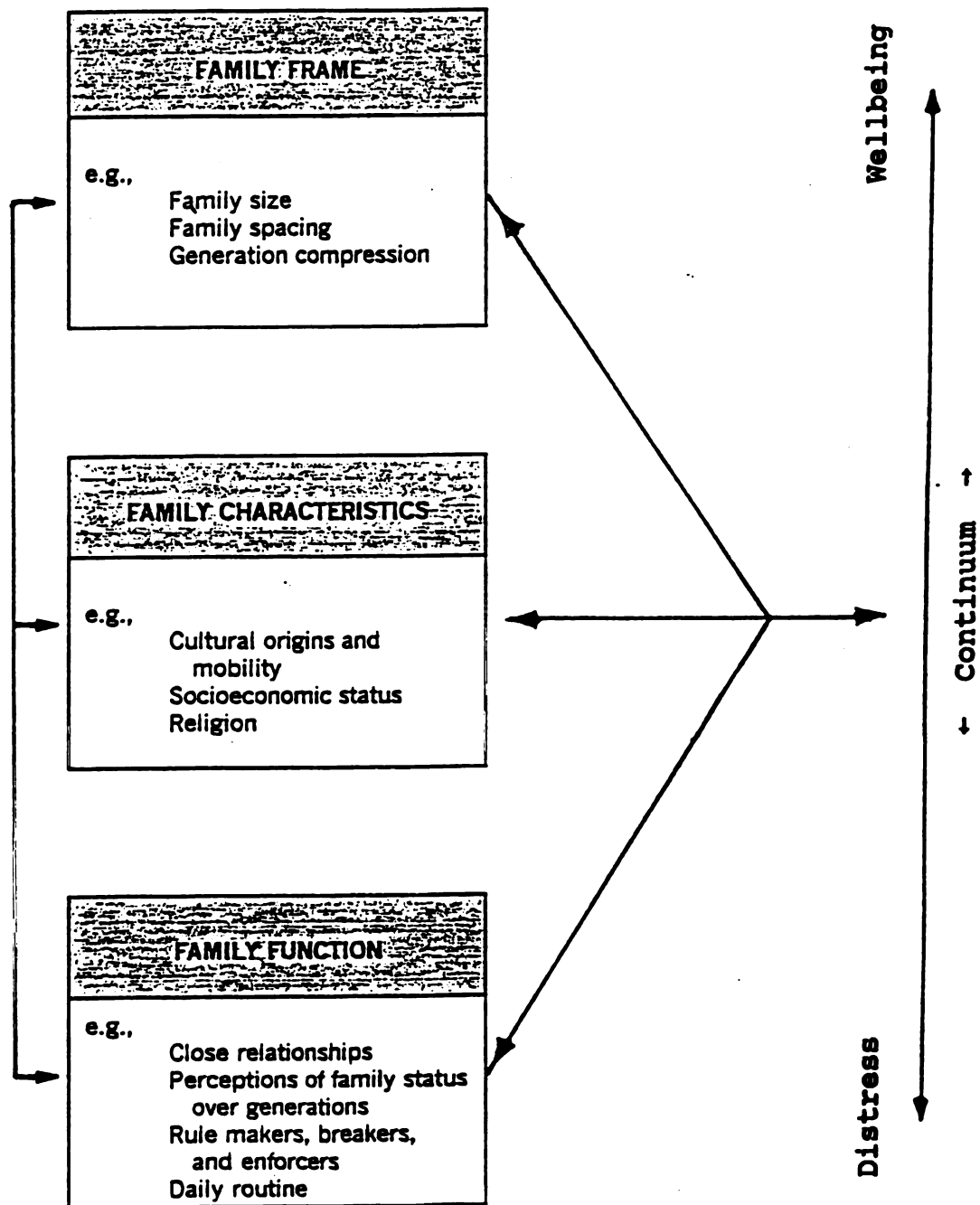


Figure 2: Relationship of the core concepts
to a distress/wellbeing continuum

The attachment/interactional behaviors viewed in the videotapes of the teen mothers and babies and the family stories of the people interviewed for this study do seem to indicate that as the intergenerational distress increases over the generations the teens have greater difficulty forming a supportive relationship with their infants. This researcher suspects that the intergenerational distress is experienced by the teen mothers as depression and anxiety. Such experiences likely rob a teen parent of the energy that is needed to read and respond to a baby's cues.

CHAPTER VIII. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

Experts in the area of mother-infant attachment contend that positive interaction with/attachment to a caregiver is crucial to the child's ability to learn (Sroufe, 1983). Some believe that these early experiences have long term effects on the child's psycho-social health, influencing the child's capability to form interpersonal relationships throughout life (Bowlby, 1969). Without early positive attachment experiences the child is believed to be at extreme social, emotional, psychological, and even physical risks. It is believed that the risks for some children can be life threatening.

Among teen parents and their children, studies often point to relationships where the interaction between the mother and child appear to be at risk. Some of these studies have indicated that teens offer their children less stimulation than adult mothers (Darabi et al., 1984; Field et al., 1982; Garcia-Coll et al., 1987; King & Fullard, 1982; Sandler, 1980; Schilmoeller & Baranowski, 1985). They are often less vocal, less responsive to the baby's cues, less likely to engage in play and face-to-face interaction with their infants. Such interaction is believed to be necessary for attachment to develop and flourish. Unlike studies of adult mothers, there is little

in the literature distinguishing the characteristics of teens who develop a supportive relationship with their infants and those having difficulty achieving such a relationship. Less is known about the intergenerational family context in which these relationships exist.

In an effort to learn more about the family context of teen parents and about how the quality of parenting varies within the teen parent population, this qualitative study explored and described the similarities and differences of the intergenerational family patterns that exist in the families of teens who have developed a successful attachment/interaction with their infants and those who are having difficulty doing so. Informants were chosen from a mid-Michigan adolescent parent support program. The program services 142 teen mothers between 13 and 19 years old. The agency had videotaped 106 of the teens in interaction with their 12 month old babies. The individual filming of the teens and babies was originally set up and conducted with the anticipation of using the Nursing Child Assessment Teaching Scale - NCATS (Barnard & Eyres, 1979) to score the quality of interaction that exists between the mothers and babies. This researcher, certified in the use of the scale, observed and blind scored all of the films that the agency had conducted within their treatment and control groups. Five participants were then purposefully selected from each of the score distribution extremes, the five highest and the

five lowest scores, of the treatment group of the program. The five lowest scores were below the 10th percentile cutoff point set by the Nursing Child Assessment Satellite Training Programs at the University of Washington, Seattle (1994). All 10 teens were then asked to take part in a semi-structured family interview in which they and one other adult family member they had selected were asked to tell their "family story" or history and assist in making a family genogram. These interviews took place between June 30, 1993 and September 21, 1993. Transcriptions of these interviews and the genograms were analyzed using constant comparative analysis which identified three emerging categories: (a) family frame, which identified patterns within the internal structural context of the families inclusive of family composition, size, and birth order; (b) family characteristics, which focused on patterns that would typically be identified as the external structure or the external context that the family encompassed, for example, culture, religion, and social status; and (c) family function, which included routine or mechanical activities of daily living as well as some of the expressive functioning and emotions expressed by the families.

When comparing the stories, the researcher identified within group variability as well as multiple similarities and differences between the family histories of teens who had successful relationships with their babies and those who

were having difficulty establishing the same. However, it was the differences between the high and low score group in how each of the patterns was expressed in the family stories that pointed out several persistent intergenerational stressors that appear to influence the ecological system of these families.

The teens who were having the greatest difficulty forming a supportive relationship with their babies came from intergenerational contexts where the average age of the mothers was declining with each generation. The average number of children in these families has tended to decrease over the generations. The spacing of children has grown closer from generation to generation among the families of teens who have difficulty in relating with their babies. These factors point to a generational compression.

The cultural backgrounds of the high and low score groups were similar in some respects, yet in other respects they were very different. In the low score group, families in past generations were more likely to have come from the poverty of migrants or share croppers of the South. Although the educational level in both groups had increased over several generations, none of the low score teens of the present generation had completed a high school education. All five had dropped out of school and all expressed they had no intention to return in the near future. The low score group was more likely to rent a home rather than own

their own home over the generations. And different from the high score group, the last two generations of the low score group indicated they did not feel safe in their present neighborhoods. Another notable difference was that the low score group of teens and their mothers reported being of a specific religious belief; however, in the interviews they all indicated that their families have not practiced a religion for several generations. In the high score group four of the five families reported being of a specific religion and practicing that religion on a regular basis.

Each of the low score teens voiced a rejection for their own mothers. They and their mothers indicated many signs of isolation. Both generations of the group were more likely to talk of feeling rejected and abandoned. None of them had close friends. The high score group of teens, on the other hand, indicated that they valued their maternal relationships. Although three of the five were married they preferred the emotional support of their mothers over that of their husbands. Most of the high score group were also able to talk of close friendships outside their family relationships. The low score group members were more closed to discussing their own emotions and feelings and those of others in their families. They were not as likely to perceive the present status of their families as better than in the past. However, the high score group voiced optimism regarding the changes that have occurred for their families

over the past several generations. For the low score group organization, planning, and the role of the rule maker seem to be breaking down in more recent generations. Daily routines and disciplining of children by parents have all but disappeared from some of their homes. This was not so for the high score group.

The family histories and the context of both groups of families over four generations are filled with signs of social distress. However, the informants' stories appear to indicate that the members of the low score group have led more distressful existences. The informants of the low score group seem to speak for themselves and for their ancestors when they talk of the feelings brought on by the social distresses they have experienced. Their personal stories relate feelings of alienation, powerlessness, limited control over life, and being without physical and emotional supports. These personal feelings are most often seen as responses to distress met in one's social context. These families report not just their own personal experiences; they report intergenerational distress, the distress of four generations. The family stories indicate that the teens who have had difficulty forming successful interactions with their children have come from families that have led what appear to have been more distressful existences over the generations.

Thus the research questions directing this study have been acknowledged. In response to the first question, relating to what patterns or themes exist in the intergenerational family histories of teen-mothers as told by these teens and one other family member, three major patterns were identified in the stories of the family participants. All of the families identified the intergenerational structure of their families, they revealed characteristics specific to their family histories, and they described the various family functions they have noted about their families over generations.

In reply to the second question pertaining to what the similarities and/or differences are in the patterns or themes of the teen mothers who have developed a successful mother-child relationship/interaction with their infants versus those who are having difficulty developing such a relationship/interaction, multiple similarities and differences were found. It was the differences in the patterns identified in the stories of the two groups that revealed intergenerational experiences indicative of social distress. As indicated earlier, the the teens who have had difficulty forming successful interactions with their babies seem to have come from families that appear to have led more distressful existences over the generations.

Implications for Theory

Theory can be defined as a specific way of viewing the world. Theories are abstract generalizations that present a systematic explanation about relationships among phenomena. The building blocks of theories are concepts. These concepts are mortared together into an orderly pattern allowing us to see and explain the way in which the world and the people in it function (Polit & Hungler, 1991). A theoretical perspective provides a way for organizing our observations, focusing inquiries, and communicating findings in both research and professional practice. In practice, using a theoretical perspective for assessment assists the professional to sort out and organize a large amount of disparate data about a family, giving meaning to the data in terms of identifying the strengths and limitations of the family, and providing guidance for setting goals and interventions with the family. Noting and recognizing the potential for variability within family and client groups presents tremendous implications for both theory and practice. No one theory or perspective on family will adequately address the behaviors, problems, and needs of all families (Friedman, 1992).

1. This study has supported family ecological theoretical conceptualizations of Bubolz and Sontag (1993).
2. The results of this study indicate that there is an interaction between family and environment not only within

the immediate family context but also within the intergenerational family context. The experiences of the present generation appear to be affected by experiences of previous generations.

3. The results of this study have also supported theory regarding the social causes of psychological distress (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989).

4. The data from this population of teens combined with data from other adolescent program data may potentially lead to a theory of intergenerational family distress/well being.

Implications for Research

Research provides a link between theory and practice. It is through research that theoretical perspectives are developed and empirically tested. Practitioners of all professions need a base of knowledge from which to practice, and the scientific knowledge gained through research contributes to a particularly sound base. It is frequently the practitioners who ask questions about specific phenomena or issues they have confronted in practice. It is the researchers who seek to answer such questions, solve problems, and make sense of the various experiences. This is not to say that the practitioner and researcher cannot be one and the same. Often as in this study, although based

upon a small sample, the findings that emerged can serve as a basis for future research.

1. New studies with the same focus using the same methodologies could be conducted with (a) informants from specified ethnic or multiethnic heritages, (b) informants from middle and high socioeconomic backgrounds, (c) informants from various religious beliefs and practices, (d) informants from rural or metropolitan areas of the United States, (e) fathers of the babies and the males of the intergenerational family, (f) married teen parents where there have been several generations of intact marriages in the family, (g) an older group of primiparous mothers, for example, mothers between the ages of 21 and 34 years old, mothers between 35 and 45 years old, and mothers 50 years old and older who are now having invitro fertilization pregnancies. Qualitative investigations dealing with larger samples of teen parents and families within a variety of other contexts need to be considered.

2. Comparison studies could be conducted between (a) informants of various ethnic, cultural or multicultural heritages to determine if the cultural variations of family structure, family characteristics, and family function between various heritages influence the interaction that occurs between the mothers and babies of the various ethnic and cultural heritages, (b) informants of various religious beliefs and practices to determine if differences in

religious preference and/or practice behaviors are associated with how mothers interact with their babies, (c) informants of various socioeconomic backgrounds to determine if variations in socioeconomic status over the generations have any affect on the interaction observed between mother and child.

3. Research should be implemented to determine if the family story and genogram methods for family data collection and documentation actually do provide professionals using such methods with a quicker, more effective method for identifying family structural, developmental, and functional patterns than the more typical methods of standardized check off forms and narrative notes.

4. A study could be devised to test the effectiveness of intergenerational genograms and family stories as methods for family assessment, as a means of intervention assisting teen parents to better understand their family experiences, and as a method for helping them to make changes thus avoiding a replication of past problematic family behaviors.

Implications for Practice

The purpose of interventions used with adolescent parents is to provide for a positive parent-child relationship that will nurture the physical, emotional, and cognitive development of the child. For several decades the

focus of this intervention has been on providing social and instrumental supports to the adolescent parent. Often this approach is not a sufficient response to the problems that teens experience as parents. Although many teen parent programs view themselves as comprehensive, most concentrate their efforts and support on one area of need (Musick, 1993). For example, some emphasize schooling or acquisition of employment depending on the teen mother's age. Other programs might stress child care and child development. Programs developed by medical care facilities often focus on reproductive behaviors and family planning. Most center on what they feel financially and structurally equipped to do best. Professionals specializing in parenting recognize a link of early mother-daughter relationships with later childbearing and child rearing patterns. With this perspective some teen parent programs have developed family interventions, yet few of these programs have resources allowing them the ability to examine and work with family members beyond those living within the teen's household let alone work with family members across multiple generations.

The clinical experience of this researcher agrees with Horwitz, Klerman, Kuo, and Jekel (1991) that many adolescents seem drawn to motherhood as a means of compensating for what they failed to get from their burdened and depressed family contexts. Others seem to be attempting to adapt to family expectations which are so strong that

they feel as though they cannot move on with their lives until they, through having a baby, prove they are like the emotionally significant females in their lives (Hamburg, 1986). Musick (1993) believes that many of these teens feel psychological pressures to validate the life style choices of others in their lives. They often seem driven to do so. They appear to fear that to do differently will set them apart from their mothers, sisters, and aunts. To be very different from one's family presents a risk of being separated from the only family supports and security, as poor as they may be, that one has known in life. It must be very frightening for a teen who comes from a context of psychological distress--feeling inferior, powerless, isolated, alienated--to consider making the changes that professionals are presenting them. Such interventions are often created with a goal to make changes in reproductive behaviors, changes in spacing of pregnancies, changes in parenting behaviors. All are changes that are likely to make the lives of the teens different from the lives of those who preceded them.

1. This researcher believes that no amount of social or instrumental support will ever be adequate enough, unless professionals working with these families understand and emphasize the intergenerational and interpersonal relationship context of these young parents. Until these professionals and policy makers understand the importance of

the intergenerational context and interpersonal relationships and the links these have with how young parents behave, they cannot understand what drives the teen nor can they create programs, interventions, or policies which will provide the young person with potential for a healthier future for themselves and their families.

Most teens tell us that they long to be good parents, but the psychological distress experienced within the families of so many seems to sap their energy, the energy needed to provide even the basics of parenting. It seems to drive them even more directly toward the life cycle choices of previous generations.

2. To understand the meaning of the family context and the relationships within these families, we must hear their family stories. Their stories must be a part of our assessments and our interventions. Their stories are the key for understanding and constructing conditions in which change can occur. Qualitative and clinical data are essential to such an inquiry.

Clinicians and researchers believe that unresolved and often unconscious issues from the past affect present behavior and act as barriers to using new knowledge for change (Fraiberg, 1980; Main & Goldwyn, 1984; Main & Hesse, 1990). When young girls compulsively repeat self-destructive patterns of behavior in an effort to work out the unresolved, some examination and interpretation of these

psychic ghosts seems warranted (Musick, 1993). These unresolved ghosts are often found within the intergenerational stories of their families. Burton and Hagestad (1986, p. 483) believe that the French poet and novelist, Victor Hugo probably put it best, "If you want to reform a man (woman), start with his (her) grandmother!" Time is vital component when conducting intergenerational interventions. However, it is this critical factor of time that is often incompatible with the political attitude and process to get fast results.

3. Genograms can provide insight into the needs of a family which are often not readily obvious in the appointment by appointment narrative notes of even the most fastidious clinician. The genogram can then be used as a blue print for constructing change (Lieberman, 1979). Families can learn through their genograms the coping styles and strengths of previous family members. When the strengths are identified, they can incorporate those strengths into their own attempts to cope with a current problem.

4. Genograms can also be used as a method for evaluation. Professionals interested in knowing the effectiveness of their interventions within a family could conduct comparative genograms as they progress through their plan of care. For example, an initial assessment genogram evaluating family relationships could be compared later with

an evaluation genogram overlay following a period of intervention to determine if there has been a change in family functioning (Ingersoll-Dayton & Arndt, 1990).

Conclusion

This study concludes that within this small group of young poor mothers there is a difference in the intergenerational family patterns of teens who have developed a successful interaction/attachment with their babies and those who are having difficulty doing the same. There are differences in the intergenerational family frame, family characteristics, and family functioning of these teens. The differences appear to be related to the level of social and psychological distresses experienced by the teens and the generations that preceded them.

Professionals need to be aware of not only the context within which the teen presently exists but also the intergenerational family context of these young people if they hope to be able to provide these families with effective interventions and family supports. Excellent vehicles for acquiring this information are the family story and the genogram; both function well as methods for assessment, intervention, and evaluation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Nursing Child Assessment Teaching Scale - NCATS

NURSING CHILD ASSESSMENT TEACHING SCALE - NCATS

PERSON OBSERVED IN INTERACTION (circle)

mother father other

MAJOR CAREGIVER (circle)

yes no

TEACHING TASK: _____

LENGTH OF TEACHING (circle) MIN.

1 or less 2 3 4 5 6 or more

SETTING (circle)

home clinic other

CHILD'S AGE: _____

CHILD'S SEX (circle)

male female

DATE OF BIRTH: _____

BIRTH WEIGHT: _____

DELIVERED BY: (circle)

C-Section Vaginal

COMPLICATIONS OF BIRTH:

	YES	NO
I. SENSITIVITY TO CUES		
1. Parent positions child so child is safely supported		
2. Parent positions child so that child can reach and manipulate materials.		
3. Parent gets the child's attention before beginning the task, at the outset of the teaching interaction.		
4. In nearly all cases parent gives instructions only when the child is attentive (90%).		
5. Parent allows child to explore the task materials for at least 5 seconds before giving the first task related instruction.		
6. Parent positions child so that it is possible for them to have eye-to-eye contact with one another during the teaching episode.		
7. Parent pauses when child initiates behaviors during the teaching episode.		
8. Parent praises child's successes or partial successes.		
9. Parent asks for no more than three performances when child is successful at completing the task.		
10. Parent changes position of child and/or materials after unsuccessful attempt by the child to do the task.		
11. Parent does not physically force the child to complete the task.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

	YES	NO
II. RESPONSE TO DISTRESS (indicate whether distress occurred or not)		
12. Stops the teaching episode.		
13. Makes positive, sympathetic, or soothing verbalization.		
14. Changes voice volume to softer or higher pitch (does not yell).		
15. Rearranges the child's position and/or task materials.		
16. Makes soothing non-verbal response, e.g., pat, touch, rock, caress, kiss.		
17. Diverts child's attention by playing games, introduces new toy.		
18. Does not make negative comments to the child.		
19. Does not yell at the child.		
20. Does not use abrupt movements or rough handling.		
21. Does not slap, hit or spank.		
22. Does not make negative comments to home visitor about the child.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

	YES	NO
III. SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL GROWTH FOSTERING		
23. Parent's body posture is relaxed during the teaching episode (at least half the time).		
24. Parent is in the face-to-face position with the child during the teaching interaction (at least half the time).		
25. Parent laughs or smiles at child during the teaching.		
26. Parent gently pats, caresses, strokes, hugs, or kisses child during episode.		
27. Parent smiles, or touches child within 5 seconds when child smiles or vocalizes.		
28. Parent praises child's efforts or behaviors broadly (in general) at least once during the episode.		
29. Parent makes constructive or encouraging statement to the child during the teaching interaction.		
30. Parent does not vocalize to the child at the same time the child is vocalizing.		
31. Parent does not make general negative or uncomplimentary remarks about the child.		
32. Parent does not yell at the child during the episode.		
33. Parent does not make critical, negative comments about the child's task performance.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

	YES	NO
IV. COGNITIVE GROWTH FOSTERING		
34. Parent provides an immediate environment which is free from distractions from animate sources (sibs, pets, etc.)		
35. Parent focuses attention on child's attention on the task during most of the teaching (60% of the time).		
36. After parent gives instructions, at least 5 seconds is allowed for the child to attempt the task before parent intervenes again.		
37. Parent allows non-task manipulation of the task materials after the original presentation.		
38. Parent describes perceptual qualities of the task materials to the child.		
39. Parent uses at least two different sentences or phrases to describe the task to the child.		
40. Parent uses explanatory verbal style more than imperative style in teaching the child.		
41. Parent's directions are stated in clear, unambiguous language (i.e., ambiguous= "turn," "reach;" unambiguous= "turn the knob toward me")		
42. Parent uses both verbal description and modeling simultaneously in teaching any part of the task.		
43. Parent encourages and/or allows the child to perform the task before intruding in on the use of task materials.		
44. Parent verbally praises child after child has performed better or more successfully than the last attempt.		
45. Parent smiles and/or nods after child performs better or more successfully than the last attempt.		
46. Parent responds to the child's vocalizations with verbal response.		
47. Parent uses both verbal and nonverbal instructions in teaching the child.		
48. Parent uses teaching loops in instructing child (75% of the time).		
49. Parent signals completion of task to child verbally or nonverbally.		
50. Parent spends not more than 5 minutes and not less than one minute in teaching the child the task.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

	YES	NO
V. CLARITY OF CUES		
51. Child is awake.		
52. Child widens eyes and/or shows postural attention to task situation.		
53. Child changes intensity or amount of motor activity when task material is presented.		
54. Child's movements are clearly directed toward the task materials or away from the task or task materials (not diffuse).		
55. Child makes clearly recognizable arm movements during the teaching episode (clapping, reaching, waving, pounding, pointing, pushing away).		
56. Child vocalizes while looking at task materials.		
57. Child smiles or laughs during the episode.		
58. Child grimaces or frowns during the teaching episode.		
59. Child displays potent negative cues during the teaching interaction.		
60. Child displays subtle negative cues during the teaching interaction.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

	YES	NO
VI. RESPONSIVENESS TO PARENT		
61. Child gazes at parent's face or task materials after parent has shown verbal or nonverbal alerting behavior.		
62. Child attempts to engage parent in eye-to-eye contact.		
63. The child looks at the parent's face or eyes when parent attempts to establish eye-to-eye contact.		
64. Child vocalizes or babbles within 5 seconds after parent's verbalization.		
65. Child vocalizes or babbles within 5 seconds after parent's gestures, touching or changing facial expression.		
66. Child smiles at parent within 5 seconds after parent's verbalization.		
67. Child smiles at parent within 5 seconds after parent's gesture, touch, or facial expression changes.		
68. When parent moves closer than 8 inches from the child's face, the child shows subtle and/or potent negative cues.		
69. Child shows subtle and/or potent negative cues within 5 seconds after parent changes facial expression or body movements.		
70. Child shows subtle and/or potent negative cues within 5 seconds after parent's verbalization.		
71. The child shows subtle and/or potent negative cues when parent attempts to intrude physically in the child's use of the task material		
72. Child physically resists or responds aggressively when parent attempts to intrude physically in child's use of the task material.		
73. The child stops displaying distressing cues within 15 seconds after parent's soothing attempts.		
SUBSCALE TOTAL (No. of YES answers)		

ENTER TOTALS FOR EACH CATEGORY:	
SENSITIVITY TO CUES	
RESPONSE TO DISTRESS	
SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL GROWTH FOSTERING	
COGNITIVE GROWTH FOSTERING	
CLARITY OF CUES	
RESPONSIVENESS TO PARENT	
TOTAL (No. of YES answers)	

1. Were you uncomfortable during any part of the teaching due to the presence of the camera?

A. YES B. NO

If YES, why? _____

2. Observer's comments:

October 18, 1994, Nursing Child Assessment Satellite Training Program gave permission for the use and printed enclosure of NCAT Scale in this dissertation.

APPENDIX B

Letter of Introduction

(September 10, 1992)
(Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Smith)
(555 Merrill Road)
(City, MI 48000)

Dear (Mr. and Mrs. Smith):

I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University and currently involved in a research study concerning family stories. Some might refer to these "family stories" as their "family roots" or the history of their family. All families have a story or a history to tell. I am interested especially in the family stories of young mothers. I believe these stories can help us understand how mothers begin to interact with their children.

(Name) is one of a small group of teens who might be asked to participate in this study of teen parents and their family stories. She has been asked to have one or more adult family members to help her remember and tell her family's history. She has indicated that she would like you to be one of those family members. She will be asked to answer an initial questionnaire regarding some personal information about herself. A similar form has been enclosed for your use. If you should agree to participate with her, we ask that you answer the questions indicated and return the sheet with both your signed personal consent form and the parent/guardian consent form. Please return all three forms to me in the enclosed posted self-addressed envelope. You can decide not to participate personally and yet give permission for (Name) to take part in the study by just signing the parent consent form and not signing the personal consent.

We will be calling to make an appointment to meet with all those teens and family members who have agreed to participate in this study. The appointment will be scheduled at (Name) and your convenience. You are assured of the strictest confidentiality. Identification numbers are to allow for matching forms only. Your family name will not be placed on any of the forms.

The results of this research will be used by the researcher as well as clinicians and teachers working with teens and their families to better understand both the families of teens and how young mothers begin to interact with their babies. If you would like a summary of the results, please indicate on the enclosed postcard. Print your name and address for mailing and return it separately from the consent forms and questionnaire.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (313) 370-4077 or at the address below. I would be very happy to answer any questions.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Mary E. Mittelstaedt
Family and Child Ecology - MSU
39214 Sunderland Drive
Clinton Township, MI 48038

APPENDIX C
Consent Form

Parent or Guardian Consent Form

The research project on the family stories/histories of teen mothers has been explained to me. I understand that if I agree to allow my (Name) to participate in this study that I will be agreeing to:

1. Allow Mary Mittelstaedt, doctoral student at MSU, to view the Institute's films of (Name) and her baby.
2. Allow Mary Mittelstaedt to review my daughter's records at the Institute with the staff.
3. Allow (Name) to answer a questionnaire regarding personal information about herself (age, schooling, income).
4. Allow (Name) to talk with Mary Mittelstaedt about herself as a mother and about her family history.
5. Allow the interview to be tape recorded. I understand that these tapes will be kept in a secured/locked box and they will be retained until no further studies are anticipated.
6. A previously scheduled home visit or an appointment at the health care facility with Mary Mittelstaedt.

I understand that this study is to facilitate family clinicians and teachers working with teen families to better understand both the families of teens and how young mothers begin to interact with their babies.

I understand that my permission is voluntary. I understand that either of us, (Name) or myself, can drop out at any time. I understand that we need only talk about those things about the family that we feel comfortable in sharing. I, also, understand that if (Name) does not participate it will in no way affect her future education or the health care of her or her baby.

I understand that the information gained from this study might be published. If so, I understand that neither my name, (Name) name, nor the name of any other family member will be used in recording or reporting the results of this study.

I have been informed that if I have future questions or concerns, Mrs. Mittelstaedt will answer these for me. I have a phone number and an address where she can be reached.

Signing this paper indicates that I have read and understand the description of the research being conducted and that I give my permission for my daughter to participate in the study.

Date

Parent/Guardian Signature

Daughter's Name

APPENDIX D

Teen Parent Questionnaire

Teen Parent Questionnaire

Hello. We appreciate your help with this study.
First, we would like some personal information about you.

1. When were you born?

_____ month _____ day _____ year

2. Please *circle* the last grade level in school that you have completed.

K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3. Are you presently in school? (*Circle your answer.*)

1. yes
2. no

4. *Circle* which of the following best represents your family's ethnic background.

1. African American
2. Asian American
3. Caucasian
4. Hispanic/Latino
5. Native American
6. Other (*please specify*) _____

5. Please *circle* which of the following best indicates your religion.

1. Catholic
2. Jewish
3. Protestant
4. Other (*please specify*) _____

6. *Circle* the answer that best describes where you live.

1. City
2. Farm
3. Suburb
4. Other (*please specify*) _____

7. Circle your present marital status.

1. Married (living with your husband)
2. Married (not living with your husband)
3. Divorced
4. Single

8. You currently are living: (Circle the best answer)

1. at home with your parent/parents/guardian
2. with your baby's father
3. with a friend
4. Other (please specify) _____

Below, we would like you to list all who live with you in your home from the oldest to the youngest. Tell us how they are related, what sex they are and their age as closely as you know it. If you need to add on, please do so.

(Numbers are for office use only)

9.	(1) FIRST NAME	(2) RELATIONSHIP TO YOU	(3) SEX	(4) AGE
EXAMPLE	x. Mary	My Mother	F	44
	a.			
	b.			
	c.			
	d.			
	e.			
	f.			
	g.			
	h.			

To get an accurate picture of the financial situation of the teen mothers in our study, we must know something about your work and income.

10. Circle the answer that best describes your employment status.

1. Full-time (over 35 hours per week)
2. Part-time (please specify the number of hours that you work per week): _____
3. Unemployed
4. School, full-time
5. School, part-time

11. What is your job title? (please specify) _____

Describe your duties: _____

12. Circle the letter of the category that is closest to the amount your job pays per hour:

1. Under \$1.99
2. \$2.00 - \$2.99
3. \$3.00 - \$3.99
4. \$4.00 - \$4.99
5. \$5.00 - \$5.99
6. \$6.00 and over

13. Do you receive regular financial assistance from your parent/parents?

1. yes
2. no

14. Do you receive regular financial assistance from your baby's father?

1. yes
2. no

15. Are you presently receiving any financial aid from the state of Michigan?

1. yes
2. no

16. If your answer was yes to question #15, please indicate the kind of state support you are receiving:

17. Are you presently receiving assistance from the WIC (Women, Infant, and Children Food Supplement Program)?

1. yes
2. no

APPENDIX E

Other Family Participant Questionnaire

Other Family Participant Questionnaire

Hello. We appreciate your help with this study.

First, we would like some personal information about you.

1. When were you born?

_____ month _____ day _____ year

2. Please *circle* the last grade level in school that you have completed.

K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

3. Are you presently in school? (*Circle your answer.*)

1. yes
2. no

4. *Circle* which of the following best represents your family's ethnic background.

1. African American
2. Asian American
3. Caucasian
4. Hispanic/Latino
5. Native American
6. Other (*please specify*) _____

5. Please *circle* which of the following best indicates your religion.

1. Catholic
2. Jewish
3. Protestant
4. Other (*please specify*) _____

6. *Circle* the answer that best describes where you live.

1. City
2. Farm
3. Suburb
4. Other (*please specify*) _____

7. Circle your present marital status.

1. Married (living with your husband)
2. Married (not living with your husband)
3. Divorced
4. Single

8. Circle the answer that best describes your relationship to the teen mother who has asked you to participate with her in this study. I am her:

1. Mother
2. Grandmother
3. Father
4. Grandfather
5. Aunt
6. Uncle
7. Other (please specify) _____

Below, we would like you to list all who live with you in your home from the oldest to the youngest. Tell us how they are related, what sex they are and their age as closely as you know it. If you need to add on, please do so.

(Numbers are for office use only)

9.	(1) FIRST NAME	(2) RELATIONSHIP TO YOU	(3) SEX	(4) AGE
EXAMPLE	x. Mary	My Daughter	F	16
	a.			
	b.			
	c.			
	d.			
	e.			
	f.			
	g.			
	h.			

To get an accurate picture of the financial situation of the families of teen mothers in our study, we must know something about your work and income.

10. Circle the answer that best describes your employment status.
1. Full-time (over 35 hours per week)
 2. Part-time (please specify the number of hours that you work per week): _____
 3. Unemployed
 4. School, full-time
 5. School, part-time
11. What is your job title? (please specify) _____
- Describe your duties: _____
12. Circle the letter of the category that is closest to the amount your job pays per hour:
1. Under \$4.99
 2. \$5.00 - \$5.99
 3. \$6.00 - \$6.99
 4. \$7.00 - \$7.99
 5. \$8.00 - \$8.99
 6. \$9.00 and over
13. Are you presently receiving any financial aid from the state of Michigan?
1. yes
 2. no
14. If your answer was yes to question #13, please indicate the kind of state support you are receiving:
- _____
15. Are you presently receiving assistance from the WIC (Women, Infant, and Children Food Supplement Program)?
1. yes
 2. no
16. Do you provide regular financial assistance to the teen participating in this study?
1. yes
 2. no

17. How often do you phone or see her?

1. daily
2. weekly
3. more often than once a week
4. less than once a month

18. The last time I phoned her was: *(please specify)* _____

19. The last time I saw her was: *(please specify)* _____

APPENDIX F
Interview Question Guide

Interview Question Guide

The following questions have been developed to facilitate the interview process of this study. Such questions are often referred to as probes. The guide is not meant to be a rigid format for questioning. Probe questions will be selected by the researcher as necessary to encourage the informant to talk freely and at length about their family story/history.

The guide consists of an initial general probe, five general open ended probe questions (identified by *) developed around the major categories of the Calgary Family Assessment Model (CFAM) (Tomm & Sanders, 1983): family structure (internal and external), family function (instrumental and expressive) and family development. Each of these general questions is followed by more specific questions related to the same categories. If assistance is required, the interviewer will move from general questioning to more specific questions to facilitate the interview.

The researcher will begin the interview with an introduction to the interview and an explanation of why the interviewer is interested in hearing the family story. All the interviews will begin with the initial interview question found in the guide. The other general and specific questions of the guide will be used only as the interviewer deems necessary to encourage a free open sharing of the family story/history.

Introduction to the Interview and Interviewer

Several years ago, I was given the opportunity to develop my own family tree. I talked with my father and several other older relatives. Together, we were able to write down our "family story/history". Some people might refer to these stories as their "family roots". Whether we call it family roots or trees, the experience was so fruitful, so rewarding, that I began to share it with others.

The latest with whom I have shared such an experience is a young student at the university where I teach. She told me she never expected to learn so much about herself and about her family. She, as I, thought she already knew all there was to know about her relatives and their lives. She never expected that what she learned about her family's history would have so great an effect on how she saw herself and the others in her family. She tells me she now has a better understanding about the experiences of her childhood. She says she also feels that learning her family's history has improved the family relationships and communications, especially the relationship she has with her parents and grandmother who helped her write down their story. She tells me that as a child, she didn't believe that her parents and she understood each other and she didn't feel they were as close as she would have liked. She feels that talking to each other about their family and reliving their stories has drawn them closer together. For me, as well as for many others with whom I have already shared in the writing of their family story, the increased understanding of the family's history has given us a way of coping with some of the changes in our lives. Because I have found the experience so rewarding, I would like to learn more about families by way of their stories. I am especially interested in the family stories of teen parents and their families.

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in my research on families. I hope that you will feel very comfortable and open in talking about your family. What you tell me about you and your family story will remain confidential. If at any time you feel uncomfortable in answering any question, you can choose not to answer that question. You need only tell me

what you feel comfortable in telling. If at any time, you do not wish to continue the interview, just let me know and the interview will end immediately.

*** INITIAL GENERAL PROBE**

How would you describe your family's history or story to someone who is interested in knowing about your family/roots?

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family structure looks at both the internal structure of a family and the external structure. Internal structure is interested in who are the members of a family and what are the connections between these members. Frequently, four subcategories are listed under internal structure: composition, rank order, subsystem, boundary. Also, important to understanding the family structure is knowing the structure in which a family is nested. Each family system is embedded within and interacts with broader systems such as, a neighborhood, region, country (Lytton, 1980, 270). These structures are often referred to as the external structure. External structure includes: culture, religion, social class, mobility, environment, extended family.

*** Internal Structure General Probe**

I am interested in knowing about all of the relatives you ever knew of or heard about. I am interested in the stories you have to tell about them, who they were, where they came from, where they lived, what they did, what the family called them and had to say about them. I will try to put their names on the branches of this tree as you talk about them.

Internal Structure Specific Probes

Rank Order: Tell me about your brothers and sisters and your mother and father. Tell me the same about grandparents, your aunts, uncles and cousins. Tell me back as far

as you know anything about. In what order were these family members born? Tell me who is married to whom and when they were married or divorced. Tell me about those who have died in the family, or possibly if a baby was miscarried.

Subsystems: In some families, certain smaller groups of the family are expected to do certain things. In my family the mothers and daughters did certain things together while the fathers and their sons did certain things together. Sisters did things together while brothers did other things. I am interested in knowing about any of these small groups in your family.

Boundary: Every family has rules. I am interested in knowing what rules your family has and if you know if and how these rules have changed from one generation to the next.

Tell me about how you see your family as being the same or different from other families.

If you were feeling stressed, to whom would you turn for help.

Tell me with whom you share happy and or sad times? Tell me about when and if that person has not been there for you. Would you or have you been there for them under similar conditions?

*** External Structure General Probe**

Every family exists in an environment. I am interested in the family stories about where these families might have come from and how they got here. Tell me about what the family has said about where and how each of the families have lived.

External Structure Specific Probes

Culture: America is a melting pot of many cultures and ethnic groups. Families come from various ethnic and cultural groups. What stories do you know about your origins? What has been the effect of the family's heritage/roots on their education, jobs, health and friendships? Do you think the effect has remained the same from one generation to the next or has it gotten worse or better over time?

Religion: Religion often influences what a family believes in and what they choose for themselves. What stories does your family tell about its religious beliefs? Have these religious beliefs changed over time and how?

Social Class and Mobility: What do you know of the family stories about the education and occupations of the various members of your family? What have family members said about their education/job? Tell me about whether you believe the education and jobs of family members has effected where they live and how often they move and why you think this happened.

Environment: People live in various environments. Some families live in cities, others on farms, some in suburbs. The actual home they live in can also vary. Some live in apartments, others in houses, some have no place they can call a home. Tell me what you know about the homes and the surroundings of the people we have talked about. In your own case, what conveniences, transportation, recreation and public services do you wish your family could have but you don't know how to get for them?

Extended Family: Family can be more than just the parents who birthed us. Some families consist of steprelatives, foster relatives, and adoptive relatives. Sometimes people in the family raise or care for the children of others. It is not uncommon for a grandparent or an aunt or uncle, sister or brother to raise us as children. These are often referred to an extended family. Tell me about the extended family you are aware of within your family. Who in the family do you feel closest to? How often do you hear from them: a visit, a letter or just a phone call. Who visits, writes or phones who? Who do you never see? What relatives do you know of in the family that seem very, very close? Tell me about the family feuds and how long they last.

FAMILY FUNCTION

Family function is concerned with how individuals relate to one another. Parsons and Bales (1956) indicated two major categories of family function: instrumental and expressive. Instrumental functioning refers to to the routines or mechanical activities of daily living.

Expressive functioning refers primarily to communication, roles, problem solving, beliefs and relationships within a family (Wright & Leahey, 1987). The family function data of this study will be collected by way of interview and observation.

*** Instrumental Function General Probe**

How would you describe what a day is like at your house? How is the routine the same or different from how you remember the home you lived in as a child.

Instrumental Function Specific Probes

Describe the routines of a normal day at your house? When do various people in the family get up? What things have to be done everyday and who does them? When is everyone able to get together in a day? When do the various members of the family end their day? Do you remember the home of your childhood being the same or different and how?

*** Expressive Function General Probe**

In many families there are people who seem to always be there for others. They are the people you can always count on to share happy times, sad times, good times and bad. Tell me about those people and some of the situations where they were there. Likewise, there are people that we rarely see or hear from. Tell me about those people, as well. (Some of the expressive function will be evidenced within the data already collected.)

Expressive Function Specific Probe

Emotional Communication: Emotional communication refers to the range and types of emotion expressed (Wright & Leahey, 1987). Every family has its squabbles. Tell about the squabbles, arguments or feuds in your family. How long do some of these last? Who is most likely to start them and who is most likely to come along to attempt to be the peace maker? How do they go about trying to stop a feud. How do people in your family show when they are very happy, very sad and/or very angry?

Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication: (Verbal and nonverbal communication will be observed within the family members present for the interview. A great deal of family communication and problem solving is anticipated as the family attempts to tell their story.)

Roles: Sometimes we give family members nick names like Baby Joey! or The Boss! Can you tell me about any nick names in the family and how people got them? If there are no nick names, do you have names you would like to call certain people?

Beliefs: What have been some hopes and dreams (goals) of your family? How are these different or the same from those of your parents or grandparents?

Rules: Every family has its own rules. Tell me about some of the rules in your family. Tell me who enforces the rules and how. Who breaks the rules and how?

Alliances and Coalitions: (Alliances and Coalitions should become evident as a result of collecting the other data.)

FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

"Family development refers to the process of progressive structural differentiation and transformation over the family history to the active acquisition and selective discarding of roles by incumbents of family position as they seek to meet changing functional requisites for survival and as they adapt to recurring life stresses as a family system" (Hill & Mattessich, 1979, 174).

The family development data at this point primarily exist within the data already collected. The collected data should give information about the attachments that exist between family members. The story told should already point out critical events of the family and the dates when these occurred. Dates of births, deaths, marriages and divorces should give the information needed about both the stages of individual and family development. If this information is limited the following questions could be used.

*** Family Development General Probe**

Every family experiences happy times and sad times, good times and bad times. Tell me about some of the happiest or best times that you think your family has experienced. Tell me also about the times you consider to have been the saddest or worst times in your family's history. How have these times gotten better or worse from one generation to the next?

Family Development Specific Probes

What do you know about how people in the family reacted to these experiences. Who do you think was the happiest during the happy times? Who do you think took the bad times the worst? Who just didn't seem to care? Why do you think they felt and acted as they did?

Tell me about who in your family history you believe has had the greatest influence on you and others of your family? Is there a particular event that you heard about or actually experienced that you believe had a tremendous effect on your family's history?

(The following question topics, I have saved until last. They are often very emotionally charged. Some or all may have been answered within the other areas covered; therefore, they would not need to be covered again. However, if it is noted that discussion of certain family critical events have been avoided, the interviewer will need to create specific questions related to these family history topics:


- serious physical or emotional illnesses-include alcoholism, addictions and problems with the law
- economic hardships
- marital problems
- challenges in raising children-include discipline problems and abuse

Conclusion of the Interview

I appreciate your giving the time to take part in this study. Please accept this token/small gift as a "thank you" for your participation (i.e., MSU memorabilia: key chain, cup, stationery).

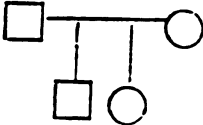
APPENDIX G
Sample Genograms


Male: 

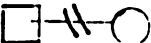
Female: 

Marriage: 

Relationship
Without Marriage: 

Children: 


Death: 


Divorce or
Separation: 

Unable to Name: ?

Attachments:

Very Strong 

Strong 

Moderate 


Negatively 

Figure 3. Symbols Used in Genograms

Figure 4. Sample genogram A.

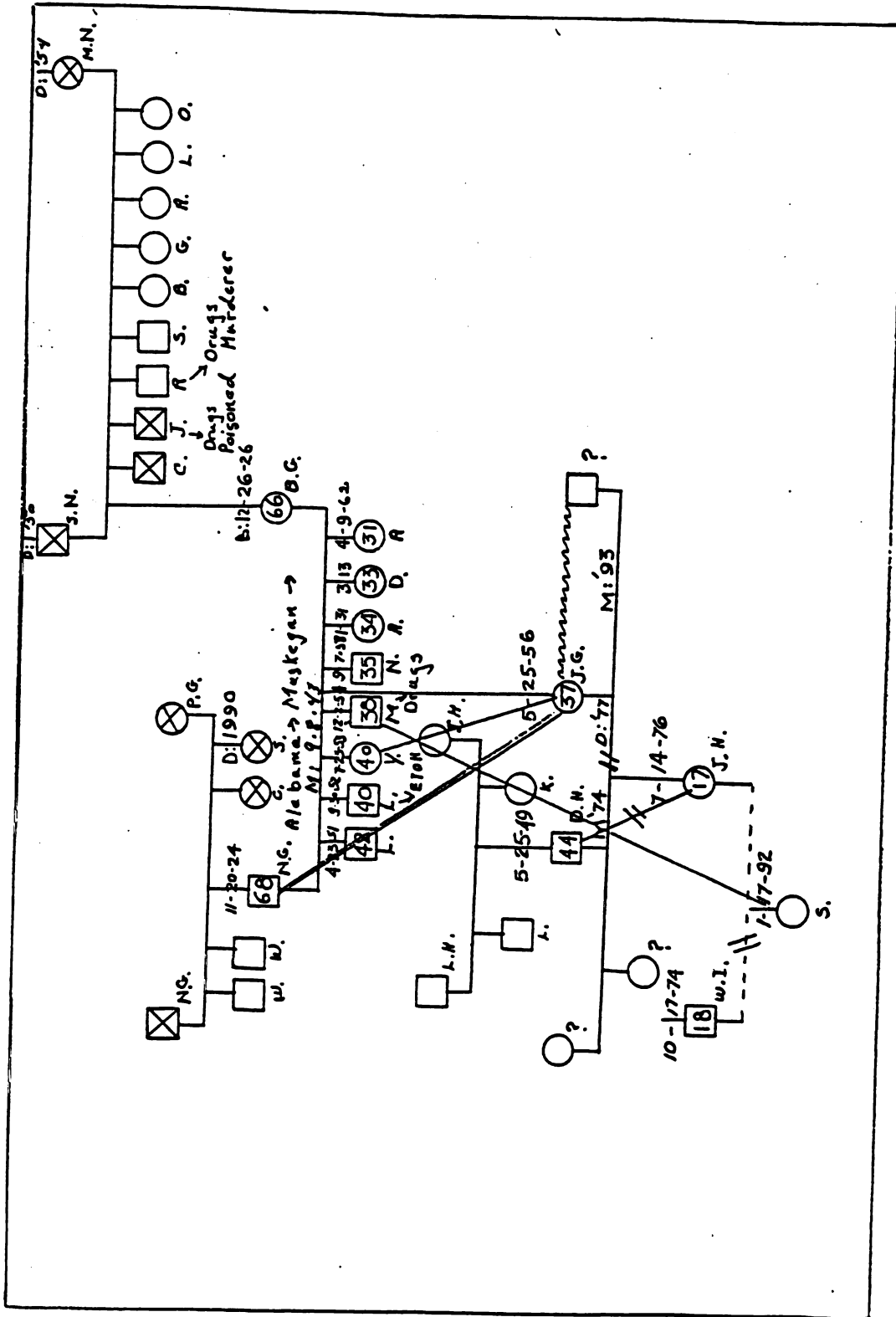


Figure 5. Sample genogram B.

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