CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) re sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur. SRC 1970, c. C-30.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

NL-339 (r.86/06)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Teenage Pregnancy:

Examining Differences Between 'Adopters' and 'Keepers'

by

Ann Elizabeth Mason Swindlehurst

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Doctor of Philosophy in Counselling Psychology

Educational Psychology

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Spring, 1986

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR   Ann Elizabeth Mason Swindlehurst

TITLE OF THESIS   Teenage Pregnancy:

Examining Differences Between 'Adopters' and 'Keepers'

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED   Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED   Spring, 1986

     Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

     The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) ....

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

12227-42A Avenue

Edmonton, Alberta

T6J 0X5

DATED April 2 1986
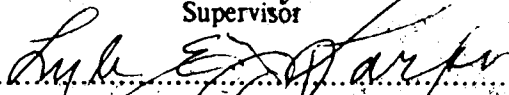
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of

Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Teenage Pregnancy:

Examining Differences Between 'Adopters' and 'Keepers' submitted by Ann Elizabeth Mason

Swindlehurst in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

....
Supervisor

....

....

....
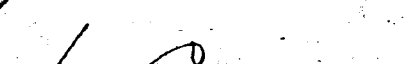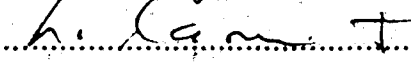
....
External Examiner

Date......Nov 12/85..............

Abstract

This investigation centered on providing information about unwed adolescent mothers in Alberta, a group which provides approximately 17 per cent of live births. The study examined possible differences between teen mothers who decided to keep their infants (Keepers) and those who decided to place them for adoption (Adopters). The inquiry involved a number of current but unconfirmed hypotheses about the two groups.

The investigation examined 72 adolescent mothers from four perspectives including demographic characteristics, locus of control, personality characteristics, and issues of personal concern. Particular emphasis was placed upon family and other support systems, decision-making with regard to placement of the children, education, orientation and goal-setting, and personality differences between the two groups of mothers.

A questionnaire consisting of 60 open-ended demographic questions was administered. Also involved in the investigation were objective instruments including the Rotter I-E Scale, three scales of the 16PF, and the Mooney Problem Check List.

Examination of the differences between 48 Keepers and 24 Adopters indicated that there were discrepancies in family backgrounds, caretaking perceptions, and future plans as well as the individuals who influenced the mothers to keep or surrender.

Teens who surrendered appeared to be from intact, two-parent families who valued education and professional status. Adoption was reinforced. Mothers who kept their children tended to have single-parent models within their families and motherhood was reinforced rather than education and attainment of personal goals.

An exploratory extension analysis indicated three factors which related to group membership. These factors were labelled Family Status, Future Orientation, and Family Constellation. Further analysis indicated that group membership could be predicted through test scores.

As a result of the analysis and significant findings, recommendations for programming in single parent situations as well as junior high and high schools were included.

Acknowledgements

v

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

A current increasing social phenomenon is the number of adolescent women who become pregnant out-of-wedlock. For these teens, pregnancy often interrupts psychological and social development. It hastens the acceptance of sexuality with focus on woman and mother rather than the acceptance of being female and a person in one's own right. Educational and occupational goals may be temporarily suspended. These teens, as well, may experience role conflict and may have difficulty maintaining relationships with their families of origin which are seen as necessary support systems in adolescent development.

There has been little Canadian research into social and psychological aspects of out-of-wedlock pregnancy. It is a social problem of significance, however, in Canada and Alberta with a high occurrence in the under-19 age group. The total out-of-wedlock births for Canada increased from 9.85 per cent in 1977 to 11.65 per cent in 1980. Alberta rates are approximately two per cent higher than the national figures: 11.24 percent in 1977 and 13.42 per cent in 1980. The most recent Alberta statistics (1982) indicate that out-of-wedlock births constitute 17 per cent of all live births.

The majority of Alberta births to women under 20 are to single mothers, ranging from 42.05 per cent in 1977 to 64 per cent in 1983. In the year ending July 31, 1982, there were 3760 births to single mothers aged 13 to 22. In 1983, 2260 teens aged 13 to 19 became single mothers. Between 80 and 90 per cent of these young mothers elect to raise their infants. For most, support services are limited. Only one-third of older and younger adolescents reside in the metropolitan areas of Edmonton and Calgary and have direct access to educational programs offered through school systems and social service agencies.

The timing of the first birth is of crucial importance in the lives of young women because the infants' needs severely limit their ability to take advantage of opportunities which might improve their lives. McHenry, Walters & Johnson (1979) suggest that a

1

pregnant adolescent has much of her life script written for her in terms of truncated education, loss of employment opportunities, and marriage potential. It has also been suggested that teen mothers are more prone to repeated out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Furstenberg (1976), for example, found young mothers to be unemployed, poor, repeatedly pregnant and on the welfare roles. Similar dependence and multiple births have been noted by Canadian investigators (O'Hanlon, 1983; MacDonnell, 1981) with approximately 80 per cent of mothers who keep their children relying on social assistance for their source of income.

Personnel involved with adolescent mothers view them as keeping their babies to enhance their status and meet their own emotional needs. Professionals express concern that these teens have little knowledge of children's development or their physical and emotional needs and do not have the emotional or physical resources to meet them. In spite of these perceptions, there is little educational or emotional support for the mothers nor research as to their psychological readiness for parenting.

Currently, society and legislation ensures a teen's right to keep her baby if she desires and social workers are discouraged from overtly persuading her otherwise. In Alberta, a teen may keep her baby at her own volition but if she plans to surrender, she must have parental permission if under 18 years of age. In rare cases girls have petitioned Social Services to assume responsibility for themselves and their babies so that they could surrender.

With the decision to keep their babies, these girls in effect become children raising children. Both they and their offspring may be viewed as falling within the 'at risk' category and in need of extended societal support. Subjective opinion (Lucas, 1982;[1] Talbot, 1982[2]) is that teens who keep have an increasingly difficult time adjusting to their children's needs as they become toddlers. Lightman & Schlesinger's statistics (1980) indicate that the mothers' personal adjustment becomes problematic as the children become older.

The notable absence of research into adolescent pregnancy is astonishing given the magnitude of the problem. In Canada, only one psychological study has been found within the past 16 years (Martin, Mazurekewich & Fischer, 1976). Several surveys of services have been undertaken (Pozsonyi, 1973; Poulos, 1969) and one descriptive study of

Ontario maternity homes has been completed (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1980). Both MacDonnell (1981) and O'Hanlon (1983) have described the living situations of single mothers and their children in Nova Scotia and Alberta, respectively.

More attention has been paid to teenage pregnancy in United States publications but there the bulk of the literature focuses upon educational intervention programs for the disadvantaged and racial and ethnic characteristics of the mothers. Those articles which purport to be psychological in nature consist of psychoanalytic descriptions by social workers or medical practitioners.

There is a particular dearth of studies which attempt to determine differences or similarities between teens who keep and those who surrender their children for adoption. Writers such as Kravitz, Trossman and Feldman (1966), Pochin (1969), and Bernstein (1966) state that the more disturbed girls tend to keep their children. Jones, Mayer and Borgatta (1966) found that the teen who keeps her child shows more general immaturity or lack of ego strength, and more submissiveness in her overall personality characteristics than does the mother who surrenders her child for adoption.

Lightman & Schlesinger (1980) and Talbot³ question whether the wrong mothers are keeping their children. There has been no research into why particular teens keep their babies and who, if anyone, influences them to do so. As well, no studies within the past 15 years have investigated how keepers are managing in the post-partum period, despite the incidence of adolescent pregnancy.

Purpose of the Study

The primary focus of this study is to provide information about unwed adolescent mothers. This study will examine the various possible differences between adolescent mothers who decide to keep their infants (Keepers) and those who decide to place them for adoption (Adopters). Inquiry will involve a number of current but as yet unconfirmed hypotheses about these groups.

The investigation attempts to examine adolescent mothers from four perspectives: (1) demographic considerations, (2) locus of control dimensions, (3) personality characteristics, and (4) issues of personal concern. Particular stress is placed on examining family and other support systems, decision-making particularly with regard to

keeping or surrendering, educational considerations, future orientation, and personality differences between adopting and keeping mothers.

Examination of these questions provides information about unwed mothers which will enable understanding of the areas in which they require the greatest assistance. Implications for the helping professions and educational considerations are provided.

NOTES

1 Personal communication from Marguerite Lucas, Supervisor, Un-married Mothers Unit,

Alberta Social Services and Community Health, February, 1982.

2 Personal communication from Donna Talbot, Alberta Social Services and Community

Health, February, 1982.

3 Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

Existing Empirical Evidence and Theoretical Bases for the Present Study

To facilitate understanding of teen pregnancy and parenting as well as the decision to keep or adopt, three issues are dealt with. Initial discussion is placed upon the characteristics of adolescence which may predispose a young woman to pregnancy. Secondly, studies relating to adolescent pregnancy are reviewed. Finally, research directly associated with Adopters and Keepers and to the study itself is outlined.

Developmental Tasks of Adolescence

Adolescence is viewed by psychologists as a period of emotional and physical turmoil. The teen's role in this particular life stage is to integrate "the different images of him / her / self into a whole that makes sense and that shows continuity with the past while preparing for the future" (Elkind, 1977, p. 21).

Although specific developmental tasks are common to all teenagers, virtually no one progresses through them quickly, smoothly, or simultaneously. There are "uneven spurts of turmoil, rebellion, and experimentation, and quiescent intervals that may even be regressive" (LaBarre, 1969, p. 17). Some of the key factors for successful transition are time, and parental support and patience.

Konopka (1973) and Adams (1976) perceive the tasks of adolescence as becoming comfortable with one's body and developing a sense of self-worth, striving for economic and social autonomy, establishing meaningful relationships with the opposite sex, developing a workable and personally meaningful value system, and the enhancement of conceptual and cognitive skills.

Experience of physical sexual maturity.

This biological experience influences the individual's relationships and stimulates assessment of the external world. The teen's understanding of her own sexuality is in the formative stages and she is often unprepared, emotionally and intellectually, for the

experience. Her need is more for a love object or a friend than a sexual partner; however, there is pressure from the peer group to be actively sexual (Baum, 1980).

Abernethy (1976) describes two primary patterns of sexual behavior during adoescence: (a) many partners with little commitment, and (b) serial monogamy where the relationships are more serious. She comments that a girl in the first situation is at greater risk because there appears to be poor contraceptive use. There is more reliable use of contraceptives in the latter sexual style as well as more regular activity.

Tomney (1979) discerns progression toward the ability to assess the risks of pregnancy as the youngster gains intellectual maturity. The natural stage requires little acknowledgement of one's sexuality. Methods used include rhythm and withdrawal. In the second stage, the teen demonstrates some acceptance of her sexuality in order to use coitus-dependent devices such as foams and condoms. In the expert or prescription stage, the female is dependent upon methods such as the pill or I.U.D. which she must independently obtain from a physician.

Experience of withdrawal of and from adult benevolent protection.

The teen moves from family protection toward inter-dependence with peers, elders, and younger children. Although the individual is attempting to achieve independence, parents and surrogate parent figures are viewed as particularly important stabilization factors (Mitchell, 1979). Konopka views rebellion as a natural stage in the process of learning to interact on an equitable basis. Youths who view their parents' marriages as unhappy are more likely to rebel than those whose parents are compatible. Excessive rebellion is associated both with unhappy parents and with child-rearing practices which are either excessively restrictive or permissive (Balswick & Macrides, 1975).

Pregnancy, in adolescence, exacerbates the individuation process. If it occurs, emancipation and independence are both deflected and disrupted. The girl's need to achieve a balance between impulsivity and control fails and leaves her regressed and dependent. Ambivalence over relinquishing material support and emotional security results in conflict, anxiety and anger.

Consciousness of self in interaction.

The intellectual and emotional consciousness of the self as an individual and in interaction with others becomes increasingly important for teens. The meaning derived from social experiences is personal but, for teens, what may have been clear previously may now be inexplicable because there are fewer guidelines from adults.

Adolescence is a period of physical maturity and social immaturity. The individual attains adulthood physically before she is allowed to or is capable of functioning appropriately in adult social roles. Physical capabilities and social pressure to become independent coincide with social and legal impediments to actual independence, power, and sexual freedom.

The resultant status ambiguities, including unclear social definitions and expectations, may engender a corresponding difficulty in self-definitions. Additionally, the necessity of making major decisions regarding future adult roles on the basis of current self-perceptions exacerbates an adolescent's self-awareness and uncertainty (Erikson, 1978).

Socially, the external and internal pressures to plan for a career, to become more independent and to establish relationships with the opposite sex all direct the adolescent away from the family of origin. If an adolescent is experiencing difficulties within her family, the process of individuation and occupational orientation may become attenuated. Baum (1980), citing early studies wherein American young women, aged 14 to 25 years, wish to perform traditional roles, believe that young women have a more difficult time than men in establishing separate identities. He notes that girls continue to seek validation in relationships with others: initially through the family, next with boyfriends, and finally through husbands.

Re-evaluation of values.

The formation of values is a life-long process which peaks in adolescence, according to Konopka (1973) and Mitchell (1979). The teen re-evaluates values which may have been accepted or rejected earlier in terms of an emerging individual-moral code. It may be difficult for the adolescent to establish a sense of continuity between past and present due to North America's contradictory values. Teens often display a lack of consistency between their stated goals, values and behaviors. The self-image is in flux and, at times, dissonant with a previously espoused code.

Experimentation.

Teens are viewed by Konopka (1973) as needing to experiment or test their strengths and value systems and to risk success or failure. The danger with teen experimentation is the youngsters' lack of caution. They require guidance but may reject it due to negativism common to the developmental age.

Elkind (1967) relates adolescents' changing attitudes to the emergence of formal operations, the ability to conceptualize and abstract. A heightened sensitivity to the world acts paradoxically and the individual reacts subjectively to events and persons rather than objectively. Two important aspects in adolescent thought processes arise. Often teenagers hold beliefs or personal fables that contradict cognitions. Boys, for example, may see themselves as invulnerable or immortal and drive recklessly. Girls may believe that they cannot become pregnant although they understand the consequences of intercourse for other females. Secondly, adolescents tend to believe egocentrically that they attract everyone's attention, leading them at times to be painfully self-conscious. Because they are preoccupied with their status in relation to others, they veer between feelings of excessive self-importance and doubts about their own worth.

Teens are typically audacious, insecure, lonely, and vulnerable. The audacity is a result of inexperience and a constricted view of the future. Often they are unable to plan ahead, foresee consequences or think in terms of costs and benefits. This difficulty is aggravated by the need for experimentation. Teens actively try out thoughts, feelings and behaviors. Risks are feared but sought after in an effort to define the self and others.

Mood swings, related to physiological as well as emotional changes, typify adolescent behavior. Teens are, overall ambivalent. They vacillate between omnipotence and hopelessness and find it difficult to cope with their parents' expectations as well as their own feelings. They become argumentative and emotional, perceiving only their peer group as understanding their feelings and actions.

Stages of Adolescence

Within the adolescent years, ages 12 to 21, there are developmental stages. Generally, the young teen is quite different from the older adolescent in her level of independence, sense of responsibility and perception of self-worth. The difference is

attributable to physical, emotional and intellectual maturation as well as successful coping with adolescent tasks. Inadequate mastery of the tasks may lead, however to regressed functioning so that an older teen may think, feel, and act similarly to a girl just entering adolescence.

Most authors agree that teen years can be divided into three phases characterized as early (12-15 years), middle (15-18 years), and late (18-21 years) (Hatcher, 1973; Mitchell, 1979). The level of the teen's emotional and intellectual maturity will affect both her reasons for pregnancy and her ability to cope with the experience.

<u>Early Adolescence.</u>

Early adolescence encompasses the period from puberty to about 15 years of age. Teenagers in this stage are dominated by the physical and emotional changes related to sexual maturation fully described by A. Freud (1958). Peers of the same sex are the focus of relationships at this age and acceptance by peers is the major source of the adolescent's self-esteem (Tomney, 1979). Usually the early adolescent has difficulty with parents as, in this stage, the child is attempting to attenuate their influence. Same-sex friends may serve as a substitute for, and help loosen the ties with, the mother. The friendships, however, are characterized by rivalry, jealousy, and possessiveness (Mitchell, 1979).

The home and family still entail the most important social and emotional ties for young adolescents. They are dependent upon parents for rules and limits as well as affirmation of basic worth. Their thought processes tend to be impulsive, egocentric, and authoritarian and, if firm parental modelling and guidance are lacking, acting-out will occur.

Undefined sexual impulses and an initial sense of femininity are common concerns. If the teen is involved in a sexual relationship, the experience is usually depersonalized and laden with anxiety. She will project or deny her own responsibility: a 'villain' took advantage of her; her mother did not provide enough instruction; contraceptives were too difficult to obtain. For the young teen, there is little sense of control nor personal responsibility.

The early adolescent is not generally very aware of sexuality even though she may have attended classes held in the school or community. Hatcher (1973; 1976) notes that, as a group, these teens appear to block information because of emotional or cognitive

immaturity posited by Elkind (1967). Herold and Goodwin (1980) found that younger teens were at much greater risk for pregnancy due to erratic use of birth control. Although their difficulties were not significantly different from older girls, their defenses against contraceptive use appeared more strongly retained. O'Hanlon (1983) confirms these findings with Alberta teens.

Denial is a common defense in the young teen's relationship with the putative father. Hatcher (1973; 1976) hypothesizes several covert motivations in pregnancy among early teens: to become closer to her mother through a common experience; to prove feminity; to replicate a role model such as a mother who was pregnant as a teen or an older sister who was in a similar circumstance; to gain attention. Hatcher (1976) does not view the teen as capable of nurturing an infant--the young woman's perception of the fetus is not maternal and she does not see herself as fulfilling a mother role (p. 408).

The young adolescent has a need to be rescued from her emotions, behaviors, and dilemmas. The primary defense mechanisms, denial and projection, as well as this group's tendency to isolation, preclude any indepth problem solving, according to Hatcher: "The early adolescent girl denies most of the physical and emotional realities of her pregnancy and shows symptoms of isolation, depersonalization and depression" (1973, p. 63).

For the early teen, the pregnancy experience is seen as unpleasant, if it is acknowledged at all until the infant's arrival. The most important people, if pregnancy is established or admitted, are the mother and girl-friends; the putative father is usually irrelevant.

Middle Adolescence.

This group of teens, aged 15 to 18 years, is characterized by greater self-autonomy and increased introspection. To psychoanalysts such as A. Freud (1958), the middle adolescent is dealing with the re-emergence of the pedipal struggle. Parents are still depended upon for some affirmation but, generally, the middle adolescent becomes even more dependent upon her peer group and social relationships.

Erikson (1978) suggests that a moratorium is required within this period to combat the adolescent's internal pressure for identity formation. If such a hiatus is not provided, role diffusion results and adolescents may become overwhelmed by situations, including parental demands or inconsistencies. The youth may withdraw into despair or embrace a negative identity, rebelling through perverse demands.

The need for individuation results in great emotionality during this developmental period, from hedonism to complete emotional and physical withdrawal for varying time periods. Although peers become increasingly important, the individuation process is not complete enough for the teen to experience genuine intimacy. The middle teen remains quite egocentric in her demands with relationships serving her own needs.

An important subsidiary need during this period is for recognition. The adolescent is in conflict with her parents but, at the same time, remains tied to them in emotional dependency. Other relationships may be formed to arouse the parents' attention and concern. If pregnancy results from such a relationship, the teen tends to externalize and project the blame. Too, sexuality is romanticized, to the extent that contraception would demean its worth. Therefore, birth control does not tend to be utilized.

Although Hatcher (1976; 1973) notes that the oedipal conflict often results in a teen forming a relationship with an older or married male, Collins (1982) does not view this as a common occurrence. Hatcher perceives other secondary motivations for middle teen pregnancy: gaining the father's attention and/or sympathy, and proving autonomy within the family. For the middle adolescent, pregnancy is usually a strong message directed toward the parents.

The drama of pregnancy for this group centres around the teen, her experience of pregnancy and, primarily, her physical symptoms. The infant, putative father, and the mother's parents receive scant attention.

Late Adolescence.

By late adolescence, ages 18-21 years, the teen has a more organized sense of self, has developed a sexual identity, and is able to enter into a more stable, intimate love relationship. During this period, adolescents tend to be less rebellious than their younger counterparts. Sexuality, however, assumes an increasingly important role. Attainment of emotional or physical intimacy with a member of the opposite sex becomes a powerful motivator for many adolescents. Hatcher (1976) summarizes the late adolescent's functioning:

> While a firm sense of self and purpose is not yet accomplished, it is the overt struggle with identity issues which keynotes this stage . . . Cognitive skills and logical thought are at a peak, reality testing is greatly enhanced, and a more stable personality with established defenses is available for the first time. (p. 410)

In contrast with younger teen, the late adolescent is more introspective and aware of her feelings and goals. She is less ambivalent and more realistic regarding both pregnancy and the responsibility of parenting. Questioned in retrospect, she is usually able to identify her rationale for contraception failure or her reasons for not protecting herself. Hatcher (1973; 1976) has found that contraceptive 'failure' with this age group usually involves a desired marriage with the putative father. This male is "the primary object of importance for the late adolescent girl" (Hatcher, 1973, p. 61.)

In summary, adolescence encompasses important developmental tasks with three phases of progression. Pregnancy has a differing impact on teens according to their developmental stage. Early adolescents are preoccupied with friendships and are particularly vulnerable to peer influence. They tend to be impulsive and poor contraceptors with little ability to exercise personal control or to perceive the consequences of their actions. Denial and projection are common defense mechanisms.

Middle teens, like their younger counterparts, are egocentric and demanding of friends and family. Needs during this period include individuation and recognition from peers and adults. Contraception is rarely used with pregnancy blamed and projected onto others and circumstances. Risk taking is common because middle teens have only a limited ability to perceive the consequences of actions.

Late adolescents are more interested than their younger sisters in establishing stable, emotionally satisfying relationships which aid their sense of identity. They are,

however, less vulnerable to peer and outside influences and are better able to make rational, individual and long-term decisions. Contraceptive use tends to be established or the teen has a reason for not employing it. The responsibilities and consequences of motherhood are viewed in a more realistic light than is typical of younger teens.

Mastery of adolescent developmental tasks is viewed as important by theorists. The search for self-identity, acceptance of sexuality, attainment of independence and individuation from parents, development of a personal value system, the capacity for lasting relationships and occupational goal-orientation are seen as milestones between childhood and adult status.

Sociological and Psychological Theories of Teenage
Pregnancy

Theorists posit several reasons for the increasing incidence of adolescent pregnancy. Most researchers search for one definitive cause of the problem in their attempt to describe the population and propose remedial strategies. Factors thought significant include generalized social permissiveness toward sexual involvement outside marriage, socio-economic factors, family dynamics, personality difficulties, lowered self-esteem, peer influence, and school difficulties. In an attempt to further understand the dynamics of adolescent pregnancy, these viewpoints are explored further.

Emotional Disturbance

Efforts to define an adolescent personality syndrome in illegitimate pregnancy have been largely unsuccessful. Although several researchers have attempted to discover whether pregnant teens are emotionally disturbed, the general consensus is that they are not. Pannor et al (1971) found that their sample of middle class adolescent mothers, in traits measured by the California Personality Inventory, appeared to function more adequately than did the lower socio-economic status subjects in Vincent's earlier study (1961). The contrast was substantial in self-acceptance, achievement via independence, sociability, and capacity for status (p. 109). This group did not differ from Vincent's 1961 group on C.P.I. measures of self-control, socialization, and good impression. In both studies, however, the two groups' results were below adolescent norms.

Kane, Moan and Bolling (1974) adminstered the M.M.P.I. to a group of pregnant girls. Half the sample was conventional, outgoing, open and enthusiastic while the others reflected patterns of social deviancy, conflict and interpersonal insensitivity.

Hertz (1977) summarizes the inadequate findings and suggests that direct psychiatric causation should be re-evaluated since no single personality deviation appears to play a determining role in teen pregnancy.

Self-Esteem

It has been noted in psychological and medical literature that pregnant teens tend to have a low level of self-esteem. As a causative factor in adolescent pregnancy, the evidence is mixed. Generally, the 'evidence' presented is the researchers' subjective opinion based upon interview impressions. It is not usually based upon objective data.

Abernethy et al (1975) suggest that negative self-assessment and a need for approval create conditions conducive to girls acquiring male attention through sex. This would appear particularly true of early and middle teens.

Zongker (1980) found that married and unmarried pregnant teens had differing self-perceptions with the single teens viewing themselves as unworthy, morally bad, and unhappy with their behavior, physical selves and social relationships (p. 175). He postulates that general maladjustment, poor personality integration, and deviant self-concept are a configuration of emotional difficulties which predate conception and lead to decisions to keep babies.

Although other writers (Chilman, 1977; Kane, 1973; Phipps-Yonas, 1980) also perceive self-esteem as an important determinant in teen pregnancy, the assumption of low self-esteem as a precurser to teen pregnancy is countered by several researchers. Fischman (1975) reports that most of the girls she worked with appeared to have medium or high self-esteem. Two other researchers utilized specific measures to investigate whether there were any differences in self-esteem levels between pregnant and never-pregnant teens and among three groups of pregnant adolescents. Prather (1981) administered the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale to 31 pregnant adolescents and young mothers and 36 teens who had never been pregnant. No significant difference was discernable in the two groups' perceptions of self-worth.

Held (1981), working with a clinic population of young, pregnant Blacks. Mexicans and Caucasians, administered the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. She found that all three groups achieved at least average scores with the highest results obtained by the black girls who were keeping their children and attending a day school. On reviewing her results, Held (1981) perceives school dissatisfaction as a likely cause of teens' willingness to risk pregnancy (p. 910).

The view that teens who lack faith in their own abilities are at risk for pregnancy is propounded by several researchers who base their views on interview impressions. This rationale as the sole cause is not borne out in scanty studies.

Socio-Economic Status

Society's attitude toward adolescent sexual activity is changing rapidly (Mathis, 1976). According to Tomney (1979), traditional beliefs in abstinence from sex before marriage and the double standard for males and females are giving way to a single standard of permissiveness.

Surveys reveal that sexual attitudes among teenagers are similar regardless of race, age, socioeconomic status or place of residence. Females and those males and females who attend religious services regularly, however are considerably less permissive (Harrison, 1974).

Pomeroy and Landman's (1972) study indicates similar adult attitudes across every socioeconomic group. Permissiveness toward adolescent sexual involvement is common. Highest support for birth control programs is found among those who have the highest level of education. Similar results were found in Meikle, Pearce, Peitchinis and Pysh's 1980 Calgary study.

The high rate of illegitimacy among lower class blacks and minority groups in the United States has given rise to the notion that, in these socio-economic groups, illegitimacy is acceptable. As an example, Honig (1978) cites the following statistics: "For both white and nonwhite teenagers, the proportion of children born out-of-wedlock has increased since 1960. In 1974 this proportion was 21% for all white teenagers and 73% for non-white teenagers" (p. 114).

Thompson (1980) surveyed 300, 15 to 17 year olds, from intact lower and middle class families, equally split between blacks and whites and between males and females.

Major sex, class and racial differences emerged with the blacks expressing more positive attitudes about children and having many of them, than did the whites. The males were more positive than the females, with children seen by black males as personal and social assets. Black males, however, do not tend to marry the girls they impregnate (Zelnick & Kantner, 1978).

Vincent (1961) perceives socio-economic status, rather than race, as the chief causative factor of adolescent pregnancy. Bernstein (1971) and Klein (1978) although noting that early sexual activity and pregnancy are more common among minority groups, cite the sociological reasons for a higher pregnancy rate as including poverty, undereducation, disrupted family life, and discrimination. Klein (1978) adds that most minority teens feel they have fewer options in life, poor employment prospects, lower income status and, therefore, little interest in education. She summarizes, "Until teenagers -perceive desirable alternatives to pregnancy, early pregnancy and repeated pregnancy will continue to be more common among the underprivileged" (p. 1158).

United States studies of adolescent pregnancy have tended to concentrate on welfare cases since they are a readily available research population. Mednick (1980) views girls from affluent families as seeking abortions or surrendering their children at birth; thus they are lost statistically. According to Fielding (1978) and Tietze (1976), approximately one-third of all teenage pregnancies are terminated by abortion. Aborters tend to be from a higher socio-economic status and to have more education than those who choose to deliver. Fischman (1977) suggests that this is a conscious choice which indicates personal control.

Canadian Studies

Canadian studies (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1980; MacDonnell, 1981) indicate limited investigation of teen mothers' socio-economic status. In Lightman and Schlesinger's (1980) research, 246 single Ontario mothers, resident in maternity homes, completed questionnaires. They present the following profile of the unwed mother:

> The average woman is 19 years old, with a range of 14-42 years, the average grade being grade 10. A little over half of the women are Catholic, and 40 per cent are Protestant. Three-quarters live in their parents' home and 92 per cent are Canadian citizens, with English spoken at home. Two-thirds had a blue-collar job, in 38 per cent of the cases a white-collar job. (p. 4)

MacDonnell (1981) compared unwed and married Nova Scotia mothers. In contrast with the married group, a larger proportion of the unwed mothers had no religious affiliation and were from a minority group--Native Indian, Metis or black. A large proportion of single mothers were from families that were disrupted by divorce, separation, death or illegitimacy (p. 51). By the age of 16, one-third of the single mothers did not reside with their natural parents and, for the majority of their children, one-quarter were not raised by both natural parents. Education and employment, for the target group, were limited. Only 20 per cent of the unwed mothers had completed high school and 80 per cent were without any job training.

Similar results are evident in surveys conducted in Vancouver, Toronto, and Red Deer, Alberta. The 1970 Toronto study involved 10 pregnant adolescents under 17 years of age. The primary findings indicate confused family relationships. Education was equally disrupted with only one teen motivated to complete even her current school year (Gordon, 1970). Poulos' Vancouver study (1969) focussed on problem areas perceived by a sample group of 52 single mothers. Most difficulty was seen in day care, income management and personal adjustment. Although over half the sample was not self-supporting, employment and job training were low priorities.

O'Hanlon's Red Deer questionnaires were completed by 89 single mothers during September-December, 1982. The single teen mother is described:

> This young woman, often a minor, with a dependent child, is more frequently living with her parents or other relatives than the whole sample. The information indicates that she had made frequent moves and has a history of frequent jobs. This would seem to reflect the transient nature of the entire family. The woman is most often unemployed. (p. 14)

What appears important in considering class and pregnancy factors is the concentration of research on U.S. welfare cases. These populations generally appear to perceive fewer options in life and education is not a priority. For most of these teens, pregnancies are carried to term rather than abortions being arranged as seems more typical of the employed and goal-oriented segments of the population. Similar trends appear in the very limited Canadian research.

Family Dynamics

Family difficulties may lead a teenager to seek emotional reassurance outside her family according to many writers. Phipps-Yonas (1980), reviewing descriptive studies,

comments: "Some adolescents see motherhood as a means of escape from an unhappy family life or a means of resolving their own sense of deprivation and dependency" (p. 410).

Pauker (1970) interviewed pregnant and non-pregnant teens. Although no data is cited, he found that a greater number of pregnant adolescents came from families where one parent was deceased than did the nonpregnant girls. Over three times as many of the pregnant group's homes were broken by separation or divorce in comparison with the nonpregnant group. Specific complications of the one-parent family have been noted by other writers (Barglow, Bornstein, Exum, Wright and Visotsky, 1968; Hertz, 1977; Kinch & Kruger, 1970; Sugar, 1976; Zongker, 1977).

Several writers cite disruptive relationships between teens and their mothers as possible causal factors of adolescent pregnancy (Abernethy et al, 1975; Babikian & Goldman, 1971; Hatcher, 1973; Hertz, 1977; Josselyn, 1965; Miller, 1971; Sugar, 1976; Young, Berkman & Rehr, 1975). This difficulty is likely most often found with early and middle teens.

Young et al (1975) interviewed 15 young, pregnant teens, finding "a very significant relationship (p<.01) between pregnant unmarried girls' attitudes and plans and that of their mothers" (p. 390). Because of this relationship, the researchers recommend community support to the mothers, first to assist them in their efforts to help their daughters and secondly, to involve both mothers and daughters in dialogue.

Father absence, as a precursor to pregnancy is reinforced by other reports (Barglow et al, 1968; Hertz, 1977; Sugar, 1976; Zongker, 1977). The dynamic is described by Zongker: "The traditional . . . view concludes that deprivation of a male parental relationship within the family impels a daughter toward seeking compensatory masculine attention, as through sexual behavior" (1977; p. 480). Father absence also implies a greatly reduced amount of parental attention. Absence of a male authority figure and reduced parental control could influence the development and behavior of adolescents, providing impetus and opportunity for risky sexual activity, particularly with early and middle teens.

Limited research (Rogel, Zuehlke, Petersen, Tobin-Richards, & Shelton, 1980; Vincent, 1969) suggests that teen pregnancy may be an overt or covert form of

modelling. Vincent (1969) discovered a recurrent pattern of illegitimacy from grandmother to mother to daughter in a group of lower socioeconomic blacks. Rogel et al (1980) interviewed 120 girls from a cross-section of socioeconomic strata. Aged 12 to 19, all attended a family planning clinic or were pregnant. The authors view many girls as having models for pregnancy and childbearing. Over 80 per cent of this population had close friends who had been pregnant and all knew someone close who had been pregnant out-of-wedlock.

What appears important in the family dynamics of teen pregnancy are disruption in the family of origin through death or separation, ambivalence toward one or both parents with resultant emotional and communicative distance, and modelling provided by friends or family. The families of teen mothers generally appear caught up in their own personal difficulties to the extent that many girls perceive little support from parents or siblings.

<center>The Putative Father</center>

"In many ways the unmarried father resembled the unmarried mother . . . Frequently, he too had personal and social problems with which he needed assistance (Juhasz, 1974, p. 268).

Limited research has been either attempted or completed with putative fathers as they are difficult to contact. The young man is often in an ambiguous position: he may be considered the villain; his parents and the mother's parents are unsure how to treat him; he has no legal rights to the infant but is financially responsible; and, often, the relationship is called into question, at least temporarily. The putative father's reaction to the pregnancy varies: guilt, fear, hostility, denial or responsibility, indifference, desire to marry, avoidance, reluctant financial assistance (Lorenzi, Klerman & Jekel, 1977).

The most comprehensive research project involving putative fathers was undertaken by the Vista Del Mar Child-Care Service in Los Angeles. In the study, 106 fathers were interviewed and 57 of them, over 21 years of age, were assessed with the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) and an experimental instrument developed by Jessor.

Pannor, Massarik and Evans (1971), authors of the Vista Del Mar project, summarize the unwed fathers' results on both the CPI and Jessor's test:

1. They tended to be . . . defensive, rebellious, guileful, immature, disbelieving,

influenced by personal bias and uncontrolled and impulsive in behavior;

2. Ninety-five per cent of the unmarried fathers had fantasies concerning their abilities and self-image . . . sexual experience represented an effort by the unmarried father to prove his masculinity;

3. Eighty per cent of the unmarried fathers saw all their wants in life as attainable (suggesting) a fantasy orientation toward life. (p. 101).

Pregnant teens who wish to complete school are less likely to marry the putative father to resolve their difficulties. On the other hand, the older single mother who has had an opportunity to complete her education and who has work experience is more likely to marry the father as he, as well as she, probably has stable employment (Furstenberg, 1976).

Furstenberg and Crawford (1978) note that where teen couples are encouraged to stay together, they often do not disengage from the parental domicile. Pregnancy may interfere with separation from family and parents may offer strong incentives to rely on their assistance. These factors tend to reduce the teens' commitment to marital or common-law relationships. Researching teen marriages, Gordis, Fassett, Finkelstein and Tayback (1968) found that the pregnant teen frequently hopes that the putative father will marry her. Often the result is a single-parent family. When marriage does result, it is frequently unstable with three-quarters of such unions ending in divorce. These statistics, however, are similar to teen marriages where parenting issues are not involved. The youngsters' developmental immaturity appears the main factor.

Pannor et al (1971) summarize not only their own findings but the conclusions of other researchers with their comment on unwed young parents:

When neither sexual partner possesses a strong identity, and when neither is responsible and mature, each reinforces the other to satisfy personal needs with little regard for the consequences of the act . . . Perhaps an individual becomes an unmarried parent when he or she is involved with a partner whose attributes foster immature, sexually-charged relationships. (p. 122)

Peer Influence

There is a limited amount of empirical evidence regarding the influence of peers on teenage sexual behavior. Reiss, Banwart and Foreman (1975) propose that sexual and contraceptive behaviors of 12-18 year old adolescents are more directly influenced by peers than adults. Their study outcomes, substantiated by earlier research (Settlage,

Baroff & Cooper, 1973) establish that the relative influence of peers increases with age. Johnson (1974) and Osofsky and Osofsky (1978) perceive peer influence as a vital factor in many teen pregnancies. Both report peer pressure to engage in intercourse which is compounded by an inability or unwillingness to use contraceptives effectively.

In Kimball's experience (1969) unwed mothers have little faith in their ability to gain affection or respect from others (p. 285). Klein (1978) agrees; perceiving pregnant adolescents as lonely, isolated and alienated, typical of early teen emotional status. It appears if teens have few friends and these are pregnant or teen mothers, there can be a tendency for modelling, with the girls unaware of the difficulties involved.

Jorgensen et al (1980) comment, "This direct influence of peers is understandable in view of the evidence that peers are generally a more consistent face-to-face source of sex and birth control information than are family members" (p. 144). This perception is borne out in Connell and Jacobson's (1971) study with teens who had recently delivered a baby. Forty-eight per cent of them stated that they had learned about sex from a girl friend. The other sources were boy friends (25 per cent), school nurse or teacher (22 per cent); only 5 per cent listed parents or relatives as their primary source of sex information.

According to Honig (1978), the greater the barriers and resentments between an adolescent and her family, the more salient the peer group becomes. Lasseigne (1975) agrees. Her studies in 1964 and 1974 focused on the influence of parents and peers on adolescent moral beliefs. She reports, "While parents gained in terms of the influence they wielded upon adolescents, it was still the higher court of peers who exercised the final authority" (p. 230).

Both Honig (1978) and Meikle et al (1981) suggest that, because of peer influence, group counselling with early and middle teens may be an effective method of supplying information regarding sexuality.

Contraceptive Use

Researchers are generally agreed that teens do not use contraception effectively. (Bolton, 1980; Dembo & Lundell, 1979; Honig, 1978; Jorgensen, King and Torrey, 1980; Rogel et al, 1980). Only one in five sexually active teenage females uses contraception consistently. Three in ten of these teens become pregnant with result that sixty per cent

of all unwed mothers are adolescents (Honig, 1978).

Dembo and Lundell (1979) summarize teen interviews undertaken during the 1970's. The most common reason for not employing contraception was lack of information. The teens believed they would not become pregnant because they were too young, had intercourse infrequently, or had intercourse at what they considered a safe time. Goldsmith, Gabrielson and Gabrielson (1972) report that although many of the females they interviewed had discussed birth control with their parents or had sex education in school, they were very ignorant regarding intercourse and its consequences.

The Meikle et al (1981) study had similar findings to those apparent in the 1970's research. The incidence of coital activity among Calgary youths varied from almost 17 per cent of 13 year olds to about 67 per cent of 18 year olds. Prevalence varied with parental educational level, but overall intercourse was 32.4 per cent. More than one-quarter of the sexually active respondents had intercourse by age 13. Contraceptive use, however, was sporadic. One-third of the study population was sexually active but two-thirds of this group were risking pregnancy.

Chilman (1977) views contraceptive usage as a deliberate act which may interfere with a female's self-esteem and perception of femininity. If society has reinforced the female for passive behavior, she must be "hard to get" and must not plan sexual relationships. If she must be "swept off her feet by passion", this attitude is incongruent with deliberate contraception. A number of researchers support Chilman's hypothesis. Goldsmith et al (1972), Sorenson (1973), and Shah, Zelnik, and Kantner (1975) found that their studies' female respondents reacted negatively to planning because contraception interfered with pleasure, spontaneity, convenience and made it seem as if they were anticipating intercourse.

Pregnancy, as an accident, may result from the personal fables held by teenagers (Elkind, 1967) which contradict what they have learned to be true. Although she understands the relationship between intercourse and pregnancy, a teenager may believe she cannot become pregnant because she has not made a conscious choice to do so (Babikian & Goldman, 1979). The implication is that the level of cognitive development of some adolescents is not adequate to understand the possible outcomes of their behavior.

There is some evidence that effective contraceptors are more internal in their locus of control and better problem solvers than are teens who do not use contraceptives (Steinlauf, 1979). A study by Jorgenson et al (1980) indicates that the less interpersonal power and influence a teenager has in a heterosexual relationship, the greater the pregnancy risk she faces as a function of both increased frequence of sex and decreased use of contraception. Relevant to this finding are studies by Campbell and Barnlund (1977) and Reiss, et al, (1975) which demonstrate that effective contraceptors tend to be more effective communicators, able to express sensitivity, directness, control, and clarity.

Research into contraceptive usage seems to suggest that practice of birth control acknowledges to the adolescent that she is actually engaged in intercourse. Since such behavior may bring disapproval, there may be guilt and ambivalence (Dembo & Lundell, 1979).

Education and Future Plans

The timing of the first birth is of crucial importance in the lives of young women because the babies' needs severely limit their ability to take advantage of opportunities which might improve their lives. McHenry, Walters and Johnson (1979) suggest that a pregnant adolescent has much of her life written for her in terms of truncated education, loss of employment opportunities, and dependence on welfare.

Furstenberg (1976) interviewed 404 Baltimore teens who became mothers at 17 years or younger and 301 classmates who postponed childrearing until later. He found that young mothers were far more likely to drop out of school, even though they wanted further education. They tended to be unemployed, poor, and welfare dependent. Eighty per cent of the girls who first became pregnant by age 17 never completed high school with pregnancy the most common cause of school-leaving.

Pregnancy appears the most common cause for school drop-out: more than twice as many adolescent females leave school because of pregnancy than for all other medical and physical conditions combined (Stine, Rider & Sweeney, 1964). Among pregnant teens who return to school, over half drop out again within one year (Hoeft, 1968).

Available research suggests that teen mothers who leave school are marginal students (Furstenberg, 1976; Osofsky, 1968; Keeve, 1965). It appears obvious that motivation to continue education must be high for the young mother to persist. Menken

(1972) found in studying 123 girls, that 101 expressed a desire to continue in school but only 34 persisted. In O'Hanlon's (1983) questionnaires, 79 per cent of the 89 respondents had completed grade 10 or less and 26 per cent of her entire group had no further educational plans.

Several researchers have noted that teen mothers are high risks for repeat pregnancies, some because they see no other options for themselves. The younger the woman at the time of delivery, the greater the susceptibility to subsequent pregnancies: "The typical girl who became pregnant in her teens and required welfare assistance might be expected to deliver nine out-of-wedlock pregnancies during her reproduction years" (Osofsky, 1973, p. 235). Two five-year United States studies corroborate this information. Sarrel and David (1966) found that out of 100 mothers, aged 17 or younger, 95 had at least one repeat pregnancy. In Furstenberg's (1976) study, 67 per cent of 404 teen mothers had at least one additional child within the research time span.

The short-term prognosis for adolescent mothers is equally bleak. Keeve (1969) reports that 60 per cent of his sample who delivered before the age of 17 were pregnant again before 19 years of age. Hutton (1968) surveyed Canadian teen mothers, finding 137 subjects who averaged one birth per year. Evans, Selstad and Welcher (1976) interviewed 113 young mothers and, on follow-up, discovered over eight per cent were again pregnant less than six months after delivery.

Although special academic programs have been instituted to provide pregnant teens and young mothers with schooling and job training, their effect has not been noticeable for all attendees. Dickens (1973) found that 42 per cent of the teens from one United States program were pregnant again within 30 months. Over half of this latter group were pregnant within 18 months. These figures are consistent with other U.S. studies (Barglow et al, 1968; Jekel, Klerman & Bancroft, 1973; Klein, 1974; McAnarney, 1978).

From these studies, it appears that many adolescent mothers are ill-prepared for adult responsibilities. The younger the mother, the greater the likelihood of repeat pregnancy and welfare status. Magrab and Danielson-Murphy (1979) perceive the difficulty as "a lack of future orientation and comprehension" (p. 123). Anomie, the feeling of rootlessness, lack of purpose, or existential vacuum posited by Frankl (1963), is

suggested by Goode (1961), Roberts (1966), and Meyerwitz and Malev (1973) to be related to pregnancy among adolescents. Frankl (1963) perceives anomie to be directly related to boredom and depression resulting from a lack of real meaning in life. He views it as a major cause of juvenile problems.

Phipps-Yonas (1980) views teen mothers as requiring on-going help: "Assistance from parents and other relatives has a major influence on the likelihood a teenage mother will finish her education and obtain a job" (p. 416). She found that the young mother's level of education, economic and family stability as well as emotional closeness are decisive factors in satisfactory outcomes of adolescent motherhood.

Keeping or Surrendering: Do these Teen Mothers Differ?

The focus of this study is teen mothers who keep or surrender their children; however, the research in this particular area is sparse, to say the least. Although, as is evident, there has been an almost overwhelming amount of investigation completed with teens who become pregnant and with single mothers who elect to raise their infants, only six studies relating to adoptive mothers are known to the author and available in North American literature.

Characteristics of Keepers

Festinger (1971) describes characteristics which are predictive of a Caucasian teen's decision to keep: marriage plans; desire to continue the relationship with the child's father; older in age; residence apart from family; parental approval; a broken home caused by separation or divorce; and/or the putative father being non-Caucasian. For blacks involved in this study, the decisive factors involved a long-term relationship and/or parental approval.

Characteristics of Adopters

Jones, Meyer and Borgatta (1966) investigated the characteristics of surrendering Caucasian mothers through interviews. They found that the teens tended to be non-Catholic, younger than 17 years and, compared with other whites who kept their babies, were better educated, more intelligent and independent, more stable emotionally, and less tense and anxious. Comparing this group with the earlier study findings, they characterized keeping teens as generally more immature, lacking ego strength, and more

submissive in their overall personality characteristics than surrendering mothers.

Writers such as Bernstein (1966), Kravitz et al (1966), and Pochin (1969) state that the more disturbed girls tend to keep their children. Juhasz (1973), commenting on such opinions, states: "It would appear that the very girls who could be the best mothers are the ones who surrender their babies" (p. 633).

Emotional Disturbance

Varying evidence on psychological disturbance is cited in two studies of adolescent mothers who either kept or surrendered their babies. Martin, Mazurkewich and Fischer (1976) found no significant difference in a small sample's self-adjustment in contrast with earlier case study findings (Kravitz, et al, 1966). The groups utilized by Martin et al were comprised of 10 women who kept their children and 9 who surrendered them. Instruments included the James I-E Scale, 16 PF Scales, E, H, and Q2, and the Bills Index of Adjustment and Values. The women who kept had a higher ideal self than the Adopters but the opposite result was evidenced on Factor E of the 16 PF. Keepers scored more humble, obedient, and conforming that Adopters. There were no significant differences between the two groups on the other dimensions investigated. The researchers summarize:

> Generally, it appears that both groups were equally able to cope with the effects of the pregnancy and the decision to keep or surrender the child is based on a personal conviction of what is best, rather than being indicative of one group being more disturbed than the other. (p. 69)

Vincent (1961) compared 71 unmarried mothers who surrendered their babies with 34 who kept them. On the basis of personality tests and interviews, he concluded that the mothers who gave up their children had strong positive identification with friends or relatives who conveyed traditional sex norms and the stigma of illegitimacy.

Socio-economic Status

A profile of Ontario single mothers emerged in one study consisting of 246 questionnaires completed by maternity home residents aged 14-42 years (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1980). The woman who keeps her child will tend to live in public housing or rented accommodation, on her own rather than with parents who are likely divorced or separated. She will likely have left school at a relatively young age and most of her friends will be single mothers in similar circumstances. The Keeper will likely have had some serious illness or handicap and is three times as likely to have received psychiatric

treatment than the Adopter. Involvement with the putative father is the rule rather than the exception. This mother has had involvement with social agencies in the past for financial support and plans to maintain contact in the future.

The single mother who intends to surrender her child is more likely to be attending school and planning to return following parturition. She will be living at home, in owned accommodation, in a two-parent unit. Her friends tend to be single and she is less likely to report medical or psychiatric problems. Financial payment to the maternity home will likely be provided by the parents who will also be involved in decisions regarding the baby's welfare. The putative father and his family tend not to be contacted and, generally, the only involvement with a social agency entails the infant's placement (p. 5-6).

Lightman and Schlesinger's (1980) findings are similar to those obtained in the United States by Grow (1979) who interviewed 210 white, single mothers, 182 of whom kept their children. She reports that keeping mothers tend to be non-students with less education, younger than the adopters, and they are more likely to be from broken homes. The Keepers are more likely to have maintained contact with the putative father, receiving support from him as well as family and friends. Grow hypothesizes that adoptive mothers reflect traditional values as they are more likely to attend church regularly, believe children should be raised in a two-parent family, and are less likely to have considered abortion as a solution to their pregnancies.

Summary

Teens are viewed by theorists (Konopka, 1973; Mitchell, 1979) as having specific developmental tasks which involve adjustment to physical, intellectual, social and emotional changes. If pregnancy occurs, progress through and mastery of these life-tasks are interrupted. Parturition and motherhood exacerbate the turmoil which the individual is undergoing. The adolescent's thought and behavior patterns may remain static instead of progressing or she may regress into an immature stage.

Adolescents pass through stages of development which are important to the understanding of teen pregnancy. Early adolescents are dependent upon peers for affirmation although also relying on parents for stability, emotional and physical support. Their thought pattern is egocentric and impulsive and they tend to block or deny information or experiences which are distateful.

The middle teen is more autonomous and introspective but still deals with very basic human issues including sexual identity, individuation, and recognition. She is both in conflict with and dependent upon her parents. Concurrently, she relies on her peers for status and is influenced by them to a significant extent. If pregnancy occurs within middle teen years, it is usually a result of peer pressure (Konopka, 1973) but it is also a message aimed toward the parents for greater recognition and support.

The late adolescent struggles primarily with identity issues but she generally is rational, logical in her thinking and less vulnerable to peer pressures. If she becomes pregnant, she may be hoping for marriage but is usually able to decide on a course of action which serves the infant's and her own best interests.

Many writers (Bolton, 1980; Hertz, 1977; Miller, 1971; Phipps-Yonas, 1980; Sugar, 1976; Young et al, 1975; Zongker, 1977) view the family of female adolescents as having a significant part to play in pregnancy. Parents are viewed overall as sexually permissive. Theorists view parents of pregnant teens as providing inadequate role models and nurturance and as being too strict or lenient. The most important conclusion one can draw from writers such as Osofsky and Osofsky (1978) and Bolton (1980) is that the basic parent unit is dysfunctional or fractionated in some way. It is important to note that all publications regarding family dynamics in teen pregnancy appear based upon clinical interview or researchers' opinions.

The evidence regarding emotional disturbance and lowered self-concept as causes of teen pregnancy is mixed and inadequate. Researchers perceive guilt (Dembo & Lundell, 1979) and submissiveness (Campbell & Barnlund, 1979; Jorgensen et al, 1980) as related to a teen's inability to use contraception effectively. They view these factors as major dynamics in teen pregnancy. The supposition that any of these conditions is a precurser to teen pregnancy appears to warrant further investigation.

Most research regarding socio-economic factors as a causal agent in adolescent pregnancy is based upon interviews with minority and welfare cases in the United States. Lightman and Schlesinger (1980) and O'Hanlon (1983) provide the most recent Canadian information, obtained through questionnaires completed by single mothers. The results indicate low levels of education, ambition and eventual dependence upon social assistance for a large segment of the population.

There has been very little work completed with putative fathers; however, Busby (1980) indicates that they are influential in black teens' decisions to keep or surrender. Pannor et al (1971) perceive them as being as socially and emotionally needy and as impulsive as many teen mothers. No research has been completed in Canada with this group nor their partners' perception of their assistance or hindrance.

Teen mothers appear (Jorgensen et al, 1980; Klein, 1978; Reiss et al, 1975) to be more influenced by their peers than adults. This is in line with Mitchell's (1979) and Erikson's (1978) perception of adolescent development. Friends appear to be the source of emotional support, affirmation and information, particularly for the early and middle teens who may be alienated, isolated and lonely (Kimball, 1969; Klein, 1978). For these groups, sexual involvement may seem a means of establishing intimacy and gaining peer approval.

Teen mothers, according to surveys, (Furstenberg, 1976; Keeve, 1965; Osofsky, 1968), appear to be marginal students academically. They may wish to complete school (Menken, 1972) but do not persist because of a tendency for repeat pregnancies (Evans et al, 1976; Hutton, 1968). Many, however, lack future plans (O'Hanlon, 1983) either for education or employment and this appears a possible area of real concern for educators and social workers.

There has been even less interest or research into the possible differences between teen mothers who keep and those who surrender although Lightman and Schlesinger (1980) and Mednick (1980) call for more study. There is conflicting evidence regarding the emotional and socio-economic status of teens who parent or adopt. Keepers, according to Festinger (1971), tend to be older and more independent than Adopters. Grow (1979) found completely different results. Jones et al (1966) interviewed Adopters, finding them to be younger in age than Keepers but more independent and emotionally stable.

Martin et al (1976) and Kravitz et al (1966) found differing results in the two types of mothers' emotional stability. While the former study discovered a significant difference in self-concept in favor of the Keepers, no other differences were apparent. Kravitz et al (1966), alternatively determined that Keepers had significantly more emotional difficulties than Adopters.

Lightman and Schlesinger's (1980) study is based entirely upon self-administered questionnaire data. The characteristics of the Keepers differ in some respects from results reported by Festinger (1971) and Martin et al (1976). The Ontario mothers appeared, from their self-report, to have had long-standing emotional and family problems as well as dependence on social assistance. Both O'Hanlon (1983) and Lightman and Schlesinger (1980) report education deficits for keeping mothers, the only consistent finding among available research in Canada and the United States.

Researchers, including Furstenberg (1976), Magrab and Danielson-Murphy (1979), and O'Hanlon (1983) perceive adolescent mothers as unprepared for motherhood and lacking in their ability to perceive their future. However, no actual studies have delved into this aspect of adolescent mothers' thinking.

Need for the Present Study

Teen pregnancy is seen as a very real social problem in the United States and Canada. The bulk of the interest and resultant research have been in the United States where welfare and minority populations have been primarily used. This research, however, appears generally descriptive and based upon sociological and psychological data with little firm empirical basis, upon case studies, or subjective opinion. Psychological investigation into the problem in Canada is lacking although the incidence is comparable with the United States. It is unclear whether extant findings are generalizable to the Canadian situation.

Studies, to date, have generally focussed upon discrete factors which might lead adolescents to become pregnant. Researchers appear to desire a unitary answer to a complex social, educational and financial problem. Definite gaps exist in research into teen parenting.

Lightman and Schlesinger (1980) and Mednick (1980) perceive professionals as adopting a laissez-faire attitude toward the teens who keep their babies when they should become more aware that perhaps the wrong mothers are parenting. They call for further research within the target populations of Keepers and Adopters. Both groups appear to require assistance in decision-making and planning.

There are indications when one surveys the literature that teen pregnancy and motherhood are involved issues. First, the adolescent's developmental stage and

emotional and behavioral characteristics common to her particular chronological situation appear salient. Her thinking and reactions as well as her planning ability and expectations will be affected by these qualities.

Consistent psychological factors which, from available research, appear to precipitate teenage pregnancy include lowered self-concept, alienation, family difficulties, and the perception of little personal control over events. However, there is mixed evidence whether teen parents, particularly those who keep their children, exhibit signs of emotional disturbance. One Canadian study (Martin et al, 1976) found no significant difference between Keepers and Adopters other than in self-concept; this is both confirmed and countered by United States studies completed with keeping mothers (Prather, 1981; Zongker, 1980). Further research in this area would be useful to personnel working with pregnant adolescents and those who decide to raise their infants.

There is also mixed evidence, mainly obtained from United States minority groups, regarding teen parents' ability to assume independence as well as their goal-setting and obtaining capacities. If indeed, teen parents cannot perceive future personal goals (Magrab and Danielson-Murphy, 1979), how could they possibly foresee parenting other than in the immediate sense?

Although researchers state that family composition is important in adolescent pregnancy, only Lightman and Schlesinger (1980) have actually attempted to discover whether keepers and adopters differ in this regard. Further information on this aspect would be most helpful to personnel offering support services—if teens who decide to parent are indeed without family support, they will require additional community support.

No researchers have actually questioned adolescent mothers regarding their rationales for keeping or surrendering their infants. No delineation of significant persons who influence choice factors is evident although Busby (1980) mentions that black putative fathers exert considerable persuasive powers and Scales and Beckstein (1982) suggest that both black and white putative fathers are influential in decision making. It appears important to describe support and influence factors in young mothers' lives in order to aid them in decisions which have long-term personal and societal implications.

Adolescent pregnancy and motherhood have definite social, educational and financial implications. Examination of questions regarding these young women's strengths

and difficulties will enable more thorough understanding of the areas in which they require assitance, whether it is in pregnancy prevention or increased financial or emotional assistance pre- and post-partum. Additionally, implications for the helping professions and educational considerations should become evident.

CHAPTER 3

Design and Methodology

Since the purpose of this study was to gain information about a number of facets of the lives of adolescent mothers in Alberta, it was decided to follow Allport's injunction that when you wish to know how people feel about something you should go and ask them. A questionnaire was designed which included demographic information. Personality indices, perception of control, and issues of personal concern in the form of standardized instruments were also employed.

The subjects in thtis study consisted of 72 teen mothers who were seen under the auspices of several organizations and individuals to be described later. Questionnaire interviews and standardized tests were administered by the writer on an individual basis during 1981-82. The descriptive material was then scored and prepared for computer analysis using computer programs available at the Division of Educational Research, University of Alberta.

The Sample

The subjects in this study consisted of 72 unwed adolescent mothers ranging in age from 14 to 21 years of age. Forty-eight of these mothers chose to raise their children and 24 surrendered their babies for adoption. All subjects were volunteers and obtained through the co-operation of the following sources:

Louise Dean School, Calgary, Alberta (32 subjects)

Terra Social Services, Edmonton, Alberta (27 subjects)

Edmonton General Hospital (4 subjects)

Alberta Social Services & Community Health (4 subjects)

Private referrals (5 subjects)

Nine single mothers over the age of 21 referred themselves, making a total of 81 interviews. These volunteers, who had learned of the project from colleagues, friends or family members, wished to contribute their experiences to the study. As these women

were older than the ages delineated for the study, their responses were not entered into the data analysis but their opinions, life experiences, and suggestions are included as an integral part of the discussion of single motherhood in Alberta.

Referral Sources

Louise Dean School, situated in Calgary, is operated under the auspices of the Calgary Board of Education with counsellor assistance provided by Catholic Family Services. There are two campuses, one attended by pregnant teens and those mothers who have surrendered their infants for adoption and the other for teens who have chosen to raise their children. Day care is provided in the latter setting.

Terra Association in Edmonton is a United Way project. Teaching staff is provided by both the Edmonton Public and Catholic School Boards. Counselling is provided by social workers from the Unmarried Mothers' Unit, Alberta Social Services and Community Health. In the Terra setting, girls who are pregnant, or who have delivered their children and either kept or surrendered, attend classes together. Often, however, teens who adopt return to their regular school setting immediately following parturition, particularly if it occurs at a semester break. Day care is also provided in the Terra setting.

Both Louise Dean School and Terra Association provide semi-structured educational settings for pregnant teens and young mothers. Counselling is provided to assist them in decision making regarding keeping or surrendering and in helping those who keep adjust to the realities of motherhood.

Initially, the writer submitted her proposal to pertinent personnel at Louise Dean Schools, Terra Social Services, and the Edmonton General Hospital. Discussions were then held with the various staffs and any questions or concerns were addressed. Additionally, at Terra School, the researcher met with the teens as a group and outlined the purpose of the research. All the mothers who were seen were familiar with the project aims and the time involved for interview and test administration. Nine referrals were made through individual social workers and private sources, including medical personnel and psychologists who were interested in the project.

Limitations of the Study

Some bias was introduced into the sample due to the fact that:

1. All subjects were volunteers. After the study was explained to them they were free to participate or refuse. To be willing to discuss your life history, personality traits and hopes and fears with a relative stranger requires a certain degree of openness and trust. Likely the three refusals to participate would fall in this area. No data was collected on the characteristics of the refusers.

2. Because the subjects were not randomly selected from a large population, the generalizability of study results to other Canadian or United States populations of teen mothers is limited.

3. Five of the teen mothers had reading and comprehension deficits severe enough that they could not adequately understand instrumentation questions. For these women, the researcher read the items aloud and the mothers completed each item with this modification of procedure.

4. The mothers' responses to the demographic questions were retrospective in nature and thus may have been coloured to some extent by time.

5. Three 16PF personality subtests were chosen because they had demonstrated usefulness in other research; however, the 16PF was designed to be administered in its entirety. The reliability of the particular subtest scores may have been reduced because of this short-term administration.

Delimitations of the Study

1. Information was obtained from teen mothers only, not from other family members including parents. The adolescents' views of their family circumstances may have been somewhat selective.

2. No attempt was made to focus on abortion issues other than as they arose in the context of the interviews. Thus, no information was sought on any previous pregnancies the teens may have experienced.

3. The age range selectedmay have delimited the results to some extent. Although statistics indicate that more single parenthood in the 21-30 year range is occurring, the focus of this study was on teens only.

4. Because subjects in this study were primarily from two sources, Louise Dean

Campuses in Calgary and Terra Association in Edmonton, caution should be exercized in generalizing results of this study to other populations.

5.   A further delimitation of the population was the focus on school attenders and the exclusion of the majority of teen parents. The latter appear to reside with their parents and do not attend school. they were difficult to contact regarding interviews and resistant to intervention of any sort.

In summation, the study may be biased in that it was comprised of volunteers who were open to interview and discussing their strengths and difficulties. They tended to be more aware of the necessity of education in changing their lives than are most teen mothers. To some extent, they were then better educated, better socialized and in better mental helath than their cohorts within the community.

Procedure

The subjects were interviewed by the researcher during which time the Questionnaire was completed. The participants also completed the Rotter I-E Scale, three scales from Form A of the 16 PF, and the Mooney Problem Check List. In total, the interview and test completion entailed approximately 90 minutes of each mother's time.

Five of the teen mothers had reading deficits severe enough that they could not adequately understand instrumentation questions. For these women, the researcher read the items aloud and the mothers completed each item with this modification of procedure. The time period for each of these teens was approximately two hours.

Instrumentation

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix B) assesses areas which are viewed as relevant in adolescent development and motherhood (Hatcher, 1973; Lightman & Schlesisnger, 1980; Washington, 1978). The questions embodied in this particular questionnaire are based upon items identified by Washington (1978) as important in her ongoing research with adolescent mothers. Items highlighted by Lightman and Schlesinger's (1980) study of 246 single Ontario mothers were incorporated as well. Questions seen by interviewed social workers and health personnel as pertinent to the Alberta situation were also included.

The demographic questionnaire consists of 60 open-ended items which involve the following areas identified as significant in adolescent pregnancy literature: family relationships, awareness of pregnancy and child care, the putative father, academic plans, friends and support systems, and goal setting.

The 21 family relationship questions focus on issues such as stability of the family, parent education and occupation levels, support of the teen mother, family members', influence on the teen's decision to keep or surrender, and religious affiliation. As is evident from available research and surveys (Hertz, 1977; Lightman & Schlesinger, 1980; O'Hanlon, 1983; Phipps-Yonas, 1980), these factors appear important in teen pregnancies but little is known whether or how the dynamics of the family actually affect the teen mother.

Fifteen questions deal with the teen's awareness of the pregnancy process, her rationale for using or not employing contraception, and her cognizance of the responsibilities involved in child care. This awareness appears crucial, first to the pregnancy itself, and then to the decision to keep or adopt the infant. Programs for teen parents such as offered by the Terra Association in Edmonton and Louise Dean Schools in Calgary focus upon these issues as do programs offered in the United States (Busby, 1980; Washington, 1978). Workers such as the foregoing perceive a lack of ability in teen mothers in these areas but no research has substantiated whether the two groups of mothers differ in their awareness of responsibility.

The influence of the putative father on the teen's decision to keep or surrender has received little attention as has the man's willingness to support the mother and child emotionally and/or physically. Yet, it appears logical as Busby (1980) and Pannor et al (1971) report that the father must have some bearing on the decision-making process, the teen's perception of her own and the baby's future as well as the place of the child's father in their lives. Seven items in the questionnaire explore the putative father's involvement with the teen and her decision to keep or surrender.

Several authors, including Furstenberg (1976), Lightman and Schlesinger (1980), and O'Hanlon (1983) perceive single mothers as having academic deficits either prior to the child's birth or following parturition because of the constraints which motherhood places on their lives. Without an education or even plans for obtaining employment skills, it

appears that teen mothers face a bleak future of welfare dependency. It is important then to focus upon this issue to determine whether teens who keep or surrender differ in this regard. Nine questions are related to academic issues in the demographic questionnaire.

Kimball (1969) and Klein (1978) perceive single mothers as lonely, isolated and alienated and thus, it appears significant to focus upon friendship patterns and emotional support providers. Four questions in this regard focus upon the nature of the support and the supplier.

Finally, the ability to set goals and foresee the likelihood of their fulfillment will be investigated through four items. Elkind (1977) and Magrab and Danielson (1979) view teens as unable to adequately perceive the consequences of actions. Due to their developmental characteristics, as a group they tend to make impulsive plans which may have far-reaching implications for their own or their infants' futures. It appears important to determine whether any difference exists between the two groups of teens in their ability to orient themselves realistically to the future.

Of importance in this study are standardized tests (Balzerman et al, 1974) which focus upon particular personality constructs viewed as important to parenting skills, namely: locus of control, dominance, guilt, self-concept, and issues of concern identified by teen mothers through the Mooney Check List.

Rotter I-E Scale

The Rotter I-E Scale, reviewed in previous studies (James, Woodruff & Werner, 1965; MacDonald, 1970; Segal & DuCette, 1973) is viewed as measuring internal and external locus of control.

In proposing the locus of control concept, Rotter (1966) argues that individuals' beliefs about causality can be arrayed along the locus of control dimension with "internals" tending to believe that outcomes are caused by their actions and "externals" tending to believe outcomes are caused by luck, chance, or fate. An individual with an internal locus of control is viewed as assuming responsibility for her actions and perceiving events as being under her control. Alternatively, the person with an external locus of control is seen as feeling that the arbitrary decisions of others control events and that one can do little to effect changes.

Locus of control refers to the individual's belief system regarding responsibility for events that happen to the self. It has no necessary relationship with reality but is merely a reflection of individual perceptions.

Although Rotter (1966) views internality as the more positive state, Janzen and Beeken (1973) see externality as having some desirable aspects. They summarize the positive attributes of external locus of control: a more realistic appraisal of what influences us; a greater tolerance for unpredictable situations; a less overt desire for power; and more liberated interpersonal relationships.

For Rotter (1966) and Lefcourt (1976), internal control supposes self-determination whereas externality is akin to fatalism. Both types of control have been attributed to parenting techniques, parental reactions, instructor style, social class, and initial school experience (Crandall, Katkovsky & Crandall, 1965; Hess & Shipman, 1975).

Positive behavior has a potential for positive self-esteem if the person perceives herself as responsible for the action. Stevens and Jones (1976), Taylor and Koivumaki (1976), and Zuckerman (1979) have demonstrated that attributions for success are generally internal (ability and effort) and those for failure are usually external (luck).

Suppositions and expectations are important determinants in the formation of both attributes and locus of control. Male success and female failure tend to be attributed to ability—or lack of it. The reverse situation is attributed to chance or luck. This sexual differentiation is true even at the elementary school level (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978).

Segal and DuCette (1973) studied locus of control and pre-marital high school pregnancy using samples of black and Caucasian girls. They hypothesized that internally-oriented girls would be more likely to use contraceptive devices following MacDonald's earlier (1970) findings. In the middle-class white school, externally-oriented girls were or had been pregnant. In the black school, internally-oriented girls were or had been pregnant. Results were interpreted as the girls' understanding of their respective environments. For white girls, pregnancy was an unwanted, undesirable event. Internally-oriented girls prevented pregnancy. The black teens, in these writers' opinion, viewed birth as socially acceptable and status raising. Both sets of adolescents were seen as "controlling their actions in a manner they perceive will be most adaptive in their

respective environments" (p. 890).

Using a sample of 19 unwed mothers, Martin et al (1976) administered the James I-E Scale to both those who kept or surrendered. No significant difference was found in the groups' scores but, unfortunately, the authors do no state on which end of the dimensions the groups' scores fall.

Rogel et al (1980) interviewed 120 adolescents, aged 12-19, using a health-related locus of control (HLC) instrument developed by Wallston, Wallston, Kaplan and Maides (1976). The sample's mean score was 37.8 indicating a somewhat external orientation.

Seventy-five per cent of the sexually-active teens subsequently became pregnant and "those who became pregnant kept their babies under the influence of strong internal and external pressure" (p. 505). The authors' findings provided them with direction for intervention: improving knowledge, increasing the sense of options, and encouraging insight into teens' motivations for and consequences of being sexually active.

For the Rotter I-E Test (1966), test-retest reliability measures are reported by the author for varying samples and time periods from one to two months as ranging between .49 and .83. Internal consistency estimates of reliability have ranged from .65 to .79 with nearly all correlations in the .70s (Rotter, 1966).

The test consists of 23 question pairs, using a forced choice format, plus six filler questions. It takes about 15 minutes to complete. Internal statements are paired with external statements with one point given for each external statement selected. Scores range from zero (most internal) to 23 (most external).

16 PF Scales

Three scales from Form A of the 16 PF (Cattell, 1972) were employed. Trait (scale) E assesses submissiveness versus dominance. Trait O assesses untroubled adequacy versus guilt proneness. Trait Q_3 measures low self-sentiment integration versus high strength of self-sentiment. Ten to 13 items are provided for each scale. Three alternative answers are provided for each of the questions since the author views a forced choice format as forcing a distorted distrubtion. The 16 dimensions or scales on the 16 PF are viewed as essentially independent and correlations among them are small enough that each scale provides new information about the person being tested.

The 16 PF has been used extensively in research. Split half reliabilities for combined forms range from .71 to .93 and for the single forms from .54 to .87. For the 1969 edition, Trait E coefficients range from .77 to .88 over two to seven days and from .52 to .85 for females from 2 to 48 month intervals. Trait O coefficients range from .69 to .89 over 2 to 7 days and from .52 to .77 for the longer interval. Trait Q_3 coefficients range from .62 to .80 over the short interval and from .41 to .70 over the longer interval. Validity coefficients are as follows: Trait E: .63; Trait O: .71; Trait Q_3: .68. Validities were obtained by analyzing several thousand items obtained through assessments of diverse adult populations and retaining only those which were "good measures of the personality factors" (Cattell, 1972, p. 11).

Three specific scales of the 16 PF have been selected because of their apparent relevance to the personality characteristics to be studied. Martin et al (1976) found that Trait E discriminated significantly (p<.01) between Adopters and Keepers using a small sample of single mothers.

Trait E (Submissiveness versus Dominance)

A number of psychologists stress the need for dominance in coping with life. Dominance, generally perceived as controlling or mastering the environment, may be related to compensatory behavior which has several forms in adolescence: academic excellence, arts, athletics, or sexual behavior. It is viewed as involving assertiveness, independence, and self-confidence. An extreme amount of dominance may incorporate hostility, authoritarianism and punitiveness.

Submission is seen as involving three behaviors: assenting to others' expectations and wishes, docility, and conformity. Persons exhibiting this trait are seen as dependent, passive, and anxious for correctness. Submissiveness relates to being controlled by another. Mitchell (1979) states:

> By being sexually submissive (acquiescent) to the male, the female may find herself having several needs tended to at once: the need for intimacy, belonging, sexual expression, as well as her desire for submissiveness. (p. 170)

Unmarried mothers who participated in Martin et al's study (1976) scored significantly different results on these factors. Those who kept their babies were more submissive than those who surrendered.

Trait O: Untroubled Adequacy versus Guilt Proneness

Persons who are prone to guilt feelings tend to be depressed and to worry over what appear to others to be inconsequential matters. Such individuals do not feel accepted by others on either a personal or group basis and tend to reproach themselves for perceived inadequacies. The confident person tends to be placid, mature and accepting of her own decisions.

Guilt is seen by Gold and Douvan (1969) as irrevocable in family relationships "actively maintained by a mixed pot of motives that can include love . . . Guilt induction is not a central control mechanism in friendship as it often is in family interaction" (p. 171). Sears, Rau, and Alpert (1965) demonstrated that the growth of conscience, which involves a guilt component as well as stable personalities is related to warm, nurturant parent-child relationships.

Interviewers and researchers (Dembo & Lundell, 1979; Vincent, 1969) perceive guilt as a component in teen mothers' functioning, particularly with Adopters. The latter group, according to Vincent (1960), identify with traditional norms and perceive illegitimacy as stigmatizing. Martin et al (1976), however, found no significant difference between Keepers and Adopters on this dimension.

Trait Q_3: Low Self-sentiment Integration versus High Strength of Self-sentiment

High self-concept is indicative of emotional control and awareness of social expectations. Persons exhibiting this characteristic generally act consistently with their own self-images and are not overly affected by others' opinions. The person who scores low on this dimension tends to be undisciplined, acts impulsively and is unconcerned with social demands or others' needs.

Self-concept is "a configuration with characteristics of its own, more than the sum of its parts" (Gold & Douvan, 1969, p. 341). Sex-role definition and self-concept appear stable from childhood on and are incorporated from the perceptions of significant others. The adolescent's effectiveness in attaining goals is also a factor in self-concept development and maintenance. Generally, adolescents and their parents rate teenagers positively on most qualities but adolescents tend to misinterpret parental evaluations, thinking them more negative than they actually are.

Early research indicates that boys' and girls' self-esteem depend upon different components. While boys tend to perceive self-esteem as related to competence and assertiveness, girls derive esteem through social, interpersonal adequacy (Kagan, 1964).

Zongker (1977) studied a group of teenage mothers in an attempt to compare their self-concepts with that of adolescents who had never been pregnant. Several findings highlighted this research: the pregnant teens exhibited a low self-concept in most areas, including self-identity, family, and social relationships but they had accepted the presence of these feelings. School failure was a common occurrence. Pregnant adolescents were dissatisfied with their looks, bodies and physical performance and on the whole, had disturbed body images when compared with the control group.

These three traits were chosen because they appeared relevant to the objectives of the study; however, selecting subtests from a total battery such as the 16PF may affect the overall reliability and validity of the instrument. The results, therefore, should be interpreted with caution. These teens' total personalities were not assessed, only a limited number of traits. Trat Q_3, however, is a composite score with identificalbe items which when combined yields a trait relevant to the study.

<u>Mooney Problem Check List</u>

It appeared important to this study to obtain an objective measure of the difficulties perceived by the young mothers. The Mooney Problem Check List, High School Form was selected for this purpose as it was originally developed for the age group predominant in this study.

The Problem Check Lists were originally developed during the 1940's to "help students express their personal problems" (Mooney & Gordon, 1950, p. 3) in an effort to assist school counsellors in pinpointing pupil concerns. Students are asked to read through the Check List and underline problems which are of concern to them, circle those which are most important and, if desired, write a summary statement.

The High School Form consists of 330 items, 30 in each of 11 areas: Health and Physical Development; Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment; Social and Recreational Activities; Social-Psychological Relations; Courtship, Sex and Marriage; Home and Family; Morals and Religion; Adjustment to School Work; The Future: Vocational and Educational; and Curriculum and Teaching Procedure. The High School Form was

developed from an item pool of 5,000 items and a population of 5,000 students.

Mooney and Gordon (1950) comment "The 'Problem Check List' is not a test. It does not measure the scope or intensity of student problems in such a way as to yield a test score" (p. 3). Although counsellors might be tempted to treat the number of items underlined as a score, the authors perceive it as a census of each individual's difficulties, affected by her awareness of her problems and her willingness to reveal them.

Mooney and Gordon (1950) cite the usefulness of the Check Lists as encompassing five areas. It is useful as a reporting device between client and counsellor, provides teachers and counsellors with a greater understanding of students, provides group data for research, planning and assessment of services, and identifies those in need of individual services.

The 1950 manual provides no data on reliability except for the stability of area ranking of pooled results for groups. The rank order coefficients range from .90 to .95. The authors view changes in an individual's life as accurately reflected in the number of items checked during retest.

Data in the 1950 manual suggests considerable concurrent validity but the authors comment, "A single over-all index of the validity of the check lists would be quite meaningless" (p. 7). Buros (1965) suggests that the Mooney Problem Check List's popularity is well-deserved. The advantages of this particular instrument are that clients find it helpful and non-threatening, and counsellors gain useful data in a short timespan.

In summary, this study investigated several variables to determine whether differences exist between teen mothers who keep their children and those who surrender them for adoption. The demographic questionnaire consists of 60 open-ended questions grouped into six areas which include:

> Family relationships
> Awareness and acceptance of responsibility
> The putative father
> Academic and employment issues
> Friends and support systems
> Goal-setting

Standardized tests were also employed in this study in an attempt to discriminate between the two groups of adolescent mothers. The Rotter I-E Scale (Rotter, 1966) was utilized to determine whether either group was acting from an internal or external locus of control. This test consists of 23 question pairs and six filler questions.

Three scales from Form A of the 16 PF (Cattell, 1972) were administered. Trait (scale) E assesses submissiveness versus dominance. Trait O assesses untroubled adequacy versus guilt proneness. Trait Q_3 measures low self-sentiment integration versus high strength of self-sentiment. Ten to 13 items, each of which has three alternative answers, are provided for each scale.

The Mooney Problem Check List (Mooney & Gordon, 1950) was employed to obtain an objective measure of the difficulties each mother perceived. The High School Form of the Mooney Check List consists of 330 items, 30 in each of 11 areas. The respondent underlines an item if it is a relevant, personal problem. The areas include:

Health and Physical Development
Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment
Social and Recreational Activities
Social-Psychological Relations
Courtship, Sex and Marriage
Home and Family
Morals and Religion
Adjustment to School Work
The Future: Vocational and Educational
Curriculum and Teaching Procedure
Personal Problems

Collection of Data

Seventy-two adolescent mothers who volunteered to participate in the study were interviewed by the researcher during the months of October, 1981 to May, 1982. An additional nine older single mothers who contacted the researcher participated in the study, supplying information and comments regarding single motherhood.

Each of the 72 teen mothers completed the demographic questionnaire which was administered orally as open-ended questions. The respondents also completed the Rotter I-E Scale, three scales of the 16 PF and the Mooney Problem Check List.

Research Questions

The review of the literature pertaining to adolescent sexuality and motherhood resulted in four research questions.

Research Question 1: The first part of this study examined the demographic characteristics of the two groups of adolescent mothers in relation to the following variables:

Family background
Awareness of pregnancy process and parenting

Putative father
Academic plans
Emotional support
Future orientation

This particular question was exploratory as no definite research questionnaire pertinent to the study was available.

Research Question 2: This portion of the study focussed upon the adolescent mothers' perception of their control over events in their lives. In an attempt to discriminate differences in this dimension between the two groups of parents, the Rotter I-E Scale was employed.

Research Question 3: In order to ascertain whether the two types of Alberta mothers differed in personality dimensions, three scales of the 16 PF were administered. These included Trait E (submissiveness versus dominance), Trait O (untroubled adequancy versus guilt proneness), and Trait Q_3 (low self-sentiment versus high strength of self-sentiment).

Research Question 4: Because it appeared important to obtain an objective assessment of the type of difficulties perceived by the two groups of young mothers, the Mooney Problem Check List, High School Form, was selected for inclusion.

Analysis of the Data

All data collected pertaining to adolescent mothers was processed at the Faculty of Education Computing Centre. Individual scores were employed in the data analysis so that a maximum amount of information could be obtained. The population distribution was assumed to be normal (Hays, 1963, p. 352).

For all of the demographic questionnaire items as well as the Rotter I-E Scale, the three 16 PF Scales, and the Mooney Problem Check List, X square and t-tests were used to compute the significance of means between the two groups of mothers.

Twelve variables which had attained an alpha of 0.001 indicating significant differences between Keepers and Adopters were employed in further analysis. This analysis consisted of a factor analysis of responses of both groups followed by a discriminant function analysis of the factor scores. While this analysis organised the data clearly and concisely, it must be viewed as exploratory and will require replication.

CHAPTER 4

Results of the Study

Introduction

Eight-one single mothers were interviewed. The responses of 72 adolescent mothers were included in the study, 48 who kept their children (Keepers) and 24 who surrendered (Adopters) their babies. The results of the demographic questionnaire and three assessment instruments, including the Rotter I-E Scale, three subscales of the 16 PF and the Mooney Problem Check List, are included in this chapter.

Section I includes item tabulations relating to the four research questions:

Question 1. Are there any differences in the demographic characteristics of the two groups of adolescent mothers;

Question 2. Are there differences in the teen mothers' perception of control over events as indicated by mean scores on the Rotter I-E Scale;

Question 3. Are there differences in personality traits between the two groups of mothers as indicated by mean scores on three subscales of the 16 PF;

Question 4. Are there differences in the mean numbers of perceived problems through items identified on the Mooney Problem Check List.

Section II of this chapter involves exploratory analysis of results selected as significant in the foregoing presentation.

Section I - Item Tabulations

Because a large number of questions were posed to a relatively small number of subjects, a protected form of confidence interval was selected to ensure against Type I error. Bonferroni's inequality (Morrison, 1967) was followed. An experimentwise error alpha of 0.05 was chosen and the individual alpha was calculated on the basis of 47 independent comparisons. This yielded a nominal alpha of 0.001 for each independent comparison, the level chosen as an indication of statistical significance.

A number of results not reaching this level of significance are reported because of their potential interest to future investigators.

Question I. Are there any differences in the demographic characteristics of Keepers and Adopters in relation to the following variables:

6. Family background
7. Awareness of pregnancy process and parenting
8. Putative father
9. Academic plans
10. Emotional support
11. Future of orientation

Examination of responses is presented for each of the six demographic factors.

(1) Family Background

Similarities. No significant differences between the two groups of teen mothers were found on the following variables: age, religious affiliation, and family reaction to pregnancy and childbearing (p>.05).

The mean ages of the two groups were 17.54 years for the Keepers and 17.0 years for the Adopters. The Keepers' ages ranged from 14 to 19 years and the Adopters from 15 years to 19 years. An equal portion of each group was split among Roman Catholic, Protestant and no religious affiliation with the greatest percentage of each group reporting occasional or no attendance at religious services. Keepers reported 81.24 per cent occassional or never attending. Adopters reported 89.16 per cent occasional or no attendance.

Differences. Differences between the two groups of teen mothers were apparent on several dimensions of family background. These are discussed in order.

(a) Birth Order

The teen mothers were questioned regarding their birth order within their families of origin. Responses were coded into the following categories:

1 = youngest in family
2 = middle in family
3 = oldest in family

A difference in birth order pattern was noted as is illustrated in Table 1. A greater

proportion of the Adopters fell within the youngest category.

Table 1

Birth Order

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
K	2.23	0.83		
A	1.79	0.65	2.43	0.02

(b)   Primary Care Provider

The mothers were also questioned about their primary caretaker during their early years as to whether it was a natural parent (mother or father) or someone else. The coding employed in this item represents the degree of genetic difference in the care provider:

1 = mother / father
2 = relatives
3 = other

The response pattern is found in Table 2.

Table 2

Primary Care Provider

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
K	2.52	2.07		
A	1.25	1.03	3.47	0.001

A significantly greater proportion of the teens who kept their babies were raised by other than a natural parent during their formative years. These persons included grandparents, aunts and siblings (category 2) and foster parents or institutional care (category 3).

(c)   Advice Providers

The mothers were questioned regarding provision of advice or emotional support prior to and following pregnancy. Again their responses indicated differences between

the two groups' response patterns, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Advice Providers

Advice Before Pregancy

	Keepers N	%	Adopters N	%	N	%
Immediate family	16	33.4	21	87.5	37	51.4
Others	6	12.5	3	12.5	9	12.5
Nobody	26	54.2	0	0.0	26	36.1
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 13.29$ 2 df p<0.03

Advice after Pregnancy

	Keepers N	%	Adopters N	%	N	%
Immediate family	25	52.1	19	79.2	44	61.1
Others	5	10.4	1	4.2	6	8.3
Nobody	18	37.5	4	16.7	22	30.6
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 4.94$ 2 df p>0.05

The mothers who kept their babies indicated relatively little support within their families prior to pregnancy. Following pregnancy, however, their families were viewed more positively. Conversely, mothers who surrendered perceived a lessening of support within their families following parturition.

(d) Current Residence

Information regarding current permanent residence of the teen mothers was obtained. The responses indicated that a greater number of Keepers were living on their own or with boyfriends while the mothers who surrendered generally resided with their parents. A small percentage of each group was in care, including residence in foster homes. Results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Current Residence

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Parents' home	17	35.4	19	79.2	36	50.0
Independent	20	41.7	3	12.5	23	31.9
With friends	8	16.7	1	4.2	9	12.5
Other	3	6.3	1	4.2	4	5.4
Total	48	100.1	24	100.1	72	99.8

χ^2 = 13.63   3 df   p<0.008

(e) Current Marital Status

The marital status of the mothers' parents was investigated by asking the teens whether their parents were married and living together, apart through separation, divorce or death, or never married. Table 5 presents the findings.

Table 5

Parents' Marital Status

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Married	16	33.3	15	62.5	31	43.1
Separated / divorced / death	18	37.5	6	25.0	24	33.3
Never married	14	29.2	3	12.5	17	23.6
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	48	100.0

$\chi^2 = 5.79$ 2 df $p<0.05$

As can be seen, the adopting teens' parents were more likely to be married and living together than a teen who kept her child.

(f)   Parent Socio-Economic Status

Parent status was questioned regarding four factors: (1) mothers' education, (2) mothers' type of employment, (3) fathers' level of education, and (4) fathers' type of employment. The responses are as follows (see Table 6).

Table 6

Parent Socio-Economic Status

<u>Teens' Mothers' Education</u>

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grades 0-8	22	45.9	3	12.5	25	34.7
Grades 9-11	16	33.3	7	29.2	23	31.9
Matriculation	6	12.5	5	20.8	11	15.3
College/University	4	8.3	9	37.5	13	18.1
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 14.23$ 3 df $p<0.001$

<u>Teens' Mothers' Employment</u>

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Homemaker	19	39.6	7	29.2	26	36.1
Secretary/Sales	23	47.9	6	25.0	29	40.3
Managerial/Professional	6	12.5	11	45.8	17	23.6
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 10.09$ 2 df $p<0.006$

Teens' Fathers' Education

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grades 0-8	30	62.6	6	25.0	36	50.0
Grades 9-11	10	20.8	3	12.5	13	18.1
Matriculation	7	14.6	6	25.0	13	18.1
College/University	1	2.1	9	37.5	10	13.8
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 23.77$ 3 df $p<0.001$

Teens' Fathers' Employment

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Laborer	19	62.6	2	8.3	21	29.2
Trade/Technical	26	54.2	6	25.0	32	44.5
Managerial/Professional	2	4.2	16	66.4	18	25.0
Don't know	1	2.1	0	0.0	1	1.4
Total	48	100.1	24	99.7	72	100.1

$\chi^2 = 35.24$ 3 df $p<0.001$

As can be seen in Table 6, the teens' parents' levels of education and types of employment were significantly different between the two groups of adolescents.

(g)   Parental Reaction to Pregnancy

The reaction of both sets of pregnancy was similar in both circumstances: initial shock and disbelief, followed by acceptance and assistance. The teens, however, perceived their influence on the decision to keep or surrender in a very different light. Their responses indicated that for the Keepers there tended to be either no influence exerted i.e. the decision was the teen's or there was strong pressure to keep from one or both parents. For the Adopters, the teens perceived a strong message to surrender the child. Table 7 indicates the significantly different responses.

Table 7

Parent Influence on Decision

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Own decision	10	20.8	5	20.8	15	20.8
Joint decision	7	14.6	2	8.3	9	12.5
Surrender	4	8.3	16	66.7	20	27.8
Keep	27	56.3	1	4.2	28	38.9
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 31.43$ 3 df   p<0.001

(h)   Single Parenthood in the Family

Finally, in the family background section, the young mothers were asked whether anyone else in the family had experienced single or unwed parenthood. Results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Single Parenthood within the Family

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single parents	28	58.3	4	16.7	32	44.4
No single parents	20	41.7	20	83.3	40	55.5
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	99.9

Raw χ^2 = 11.25   1 df   p<0.001

Corrected χ^2 = 9.63   1 df   p<0.001

Teens who kept their children identified other relatives who were or had been single parents: mother, sister(s), aunt, grandmother. The four Adopters who had single parenthood within the family all identified a sister as the unwed parent.

(2)   <u>Awareness of Pregnancy and Parenting</u>

In this portion of the Questionnaire, items centred around the following issues: was a baby desired; was contraception utilized; were the teens aware prior to pregnancy of the amount of responsibility involved with child-rearing; and, their experience in caring for young children. With the exception of contraception usage, the teens' results differ significantly. Results for the contraception question are found in Appendix A (Tables I and II).

(a)   <u>Desire for Infant</u>

In this question, the mothers' responses were coded as follows:

1 - yes, an infant was desired during adolescence;

2 - no, an infant was unwanted.

The mothers' responses are illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9

Desire for Infant

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	1.52	0.50		
Adopters	1.83	0.38	-2.93	0.001

Mothers who kept their infants were more likely to report that they had wanted a baby prior to pregnancy and that motherhood during adolescence was a positive state than were teen mothers who had surrendered their infants. Their reports differed significantly.

(b)   Awareness of a Mother's Responsibility

For this item, the mothers were requested to review their perceptions, prior to their children's births, of the amount of care and attention an infant or toddler required. They were asked to respond "yes" or "no" to whether they felt they had been aware of the time and energy commitments involved. The coding pattern was:

1 - yes, the mother had been aware

2 - no, she had been unaware

The responses are provided in Table 10.

Table 10

Awareness of Responsibility

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	1.79	0.41		
Adopters	1.41	0.50	3.16	0.001

Mothers who raised their babies reported limited awareness of the amount of care and time infants involved prior to the children's births; conversely, those who surrendered, reported that they had been knowledgeable regarding infant nurturance. The mothers' perceptions of awareness differed significantly.

(c)   Amount of Caretaking Prior to Children's Births

The mothers were asked to describe the amount of babysitting and childcare which they had undertaken prior to their own motherhood experiences. They then chose from a four-point scale which category they felt expressed their personal experience:

                1 - much
                2 - some
                3 - little
                4 - none

For example, if a teen reported that she had cared for several children over a summer's duration or had worked in a daycare situation, her experience would fall within the first category. If she reported she had babysat only sporadically and seldom, she generally chose the third category. The mothers' responses are shown in Table 11.

Table 11

Amount of Caretaking

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	3.37	1.23		
Adopters	2.12	1.48	3.56	0.001

Mothers who kept their infants tended to choose categories 3 and 4 (little or no experience with children prior to the infants' births) while mothers who surrendered tended to place their experience within the first and second categories (much or some experience). Overall, the mothers' views of the amount of experience with childcare differed.

(3)   Putative Fathers

The mothers responded to items regarding the fathers' ages, their impact on decision-making regarding the baby and the type of support (financial and emotional) which was provided. Neither group foresaw a long-term relationship with the infants' fathers (p>.05). Both Keepers and Adopters were alike in their perception of emotional support: only one-third of each group was aided emotionally by their partners (p>.05).

. (a)   <u>Age Differences between Fathers and Mothers</u>

For the Keepers, the fathers' reported ages ranged from 16 to 26 years with a mean of 21.7 years. (The writer was informed by staff that the latter father's age was actually 36 years.) In the Adopting group, the mean age of the fathers was 18.33 years with a range of 15 to 25 years. The discrepancy between the ages of the males with whom the two groups of mothers were involved was significant (p>.001) as is demonstrated in Table 12. The comparisons involved matching the individual partners by age groupings using the following codes:

1 - father's age within 1 year of mother's age

2 - father 1-3 years older than mother

3 - father more than 3 years older than mother

Table 12

Differences between Putative Fathers' and Mothers' Ages

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	2.68	0.96		
Adopters	1.71	0.86	4.01	0.001

The mothers who maintained contact with the putative fathers relied on them for emotional support. The Keepers who received financial support generally were in two subgroups: they lived with the fathers who were employed or they or their social workers had taken legal action to obtain recompense. Table 13 shows the numbers of teen mothers receiving support from the babies' fathers.

Table 13

Financial Support from Babies' Father

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Receiving support	19	39.6	1	4.2	20	27.8
Not receiving support	29	60.4	23	95.8	52	72.2
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0

Raw χ^2 = 10.00   1 df   p<0.002

corrected χ^2 = 8.32   1 df   p<0.004

The number of mothers receiving financial support from the putative fathers differed, with Keepers more likely to receive assistance than mother who surrendered; however, the difference did not reach the confidence level selected as statistically significant.

(c)   Putative Fathers' Attitudes toward Infants

As can be seen in Table 14, a substantial number of the putative fathers were seen as influential in the young mothers' decisions to parent or surrender.

Table 14

Fathers' Attitudes

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mother's decision	9	18.8	5	20.8	14	19.4
Keep infant	19	39.6	1	4.2	20	27.8
Surrender infant	8	16.7	13	54.2	21	29.2
Abortion	5	10.4	0	0.0	5	6.9
Don't know	7	14.6	5	20.8	12	16.7
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 17.84$ 4 df $p < 0.001$

Mothers who surrendered perceived the infants' fathers as primarily reinforcing the decision to place the babies for adoption (54.2%). Keepers, alternatively, viewed the fathers as having a diversity of opinions. Although many seemed to reinforce the decision to raise the infants (39.6%), others left the decision to the mother (18.8%), advised adoption (16.7%) or abortion (10.4%), or were unaware of the child's birth (14.6%).

(4)   Education and Employment

Teen mothers responded to items regarding their current grade in school, if attending, and their plans for further education. They were also questioned regarding the type of employment they eventually envisioned for themselves. The results are shown in Table 15.

Table 15

Education and Employment Plans

Current Education Program

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Junior High Program	4	8.3	0	0.0	4	5.6
Matriculation Program	10	20.8	16	66.7	26	36.1
Diploma Program	26	54.2	8	33.3	34	47.2
Vocational Program	2	4.2	0	0.0	2	2.8
Not attending	6	12.5	0	0.0	6	8.3
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0

$\chi^2 = 16.77$ 4 df   p<0.002

Plans for Further Education

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
High School completion	20	41.7	7	29.2	27	37.5
NAIT / SAIT	7	14.6	7	29.2	14	19.4
College / University	4	8.3	10	41.7	14	19.4
Complete current year	9	18.8	0	0.0	9	12.5
Don't know	8	16.7	0	0.0	8	11.1
Total	48	100.1	24	100.1	72	99.9

$\chi^2 = 20.06$ 4 df $p < 0.001$

Perceived Future Employment

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Secretarial	11	22.9	1	4.2	12	16.7
Technical	8	16.7	7	29.2	15	20.8
Professional	4	8.3	12	50.0	16	22.2
Remain at home	6	12.5	0	0.0	6	8.3
Don't know	19	39.6	4	16.7	23	31.9
Total	48	100.0	24	100.1	72	99.9

$\chi^2 = 22.70$ 4 df $p < 0.001$

It is evident that teens who chose to adopt their children were more academically oriented than their keeping peers. They tended to be enrolled in matriculation programs (66.7%) and oriented toward post-secondary education (70.9%). Keepers appeared to have chosen a less strenuous diploma program (54.2%) and viewed high school graduation (41.7%) as a goal. The mothers' employment perceptions were also discrepant with Adopters oriented toward professions (50.0%) and Keepers viewing themselves as office (22.9%) or technical employees (16.7%) or undecided regarding the future (39.6%).

It is evident that teens who chose to adopt their children were more academically oriented than their keeping peers. Their future educational plans were discrepant as were their employment proceptions.

Although in interview both groups of mothers were aware of the amount of study and work involved in completing an education, the Adopters appeared far more motivated to pursue this personal goal.

(5) Emotional Support: Friends and Support Systems

In this portion of the Questionnaire, the mothers answered items regarding their friends' emotional support and whether it had changed in any manner since the children's births. They also responded to whether any of their friends had been single mothers and their peers' counsel in the decision to parent or surrender. A subsidiary question in this section involved the current emotional support system.

(a) Mothers' Friends' Pregnancies

The teen mothers were questioned regarding friends' pregnancies and their decisions to raise or surrender the children. Friends of Keepers who had been pregnant had kept their children although a small proportion were reported as having later turned over the children to relatives to parent or had surrendered them for adoption. Friends of Adopters who had been pregnant tended to surrender their children at or soon after birth. The responses for this question were coded into two categories:

1 - yes, friends were single parents

2 - no, friends had never been single parents

The responses are seen in Table 16.

Table 16

Mothers' Friends' Pregnancies

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	1.48	0.51		
Adopters	1.83	0.38	-3.32	0.002

(b)   Friends' Advice

The mothers responded to items relating to their friends' advice and influence regarding the decision to parent or adopt. The advice was significantly different according to the mothers' perceptions as is shown in Table 17.

Table 17

'Mothers' Friends' Advice

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Keep child	34	70.8	4	16.7	38	52.8
Surrender child	1	2.1	8	33.3	9	12.5
Teen's own decision	5	10.4	8	33.3	13	18.1
Unaware of pregnancy	8	16.7	4	16.7	12	16.7
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.1

$\chi^2 = 26.05$ 3 df   p<0.001

Whereas the Keepers perceived their friends as almost overwhelmingly reinforcing a parenting decision, the Adopters viewed their friends as either reinforcing surrender or the necessity of personal decision-making.

(c)   Friendship Patterns Following Pregnancy

In this portion of the Questionnaire, the teens were requested to comment on the quality of their friendships and emotional support and whether these had changed since the babies' arrivals.

Table 18

Friendships After Pregnancy

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Friends as supportive	25	52.1	8	33.3	33	45.9
Friends more supportive	12	25.0	16	66.7	28	38.9
Friends less supportive	1	2.1	0	0.0	1	1.4
No friends	10	20.9	0	0.0	10	13.9
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.1

$\chi^2 = 15.07$ 3 df   p<0.01

Teens who surrendered their infants perceived their friends as generally more supportive and helpful following their pregnancies. Although the mothers who kept their babies tended to view their friends as of assistance, over 20 per cent reported having no friends. Although the results of this table do not reach statistical significance, the latter data is of concern to those working with single mothers.

It was important to referring staffs to ascertain whom the teens viewed as supportive in their lives. Counselling of pregnant teens and mothers was offered in all referral situations by social workers, teachers and/or psychologists. The personnel wished information as to the perceived effectiveness of it and the extent to which the teens depended upon the counsellors for assistance. The Adopters and Keepers viewed the support staffs as much less important than peers (Keepers) and parents and peers (Adopters). What is most salient for the Keepers is their relative isolation as 33.3 per cent

viewed no one as supportive. Table 19 illustrated the mothers' responses.

Table 19

Support Providers

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mother	4	8.3	9	37.5	13	18.1
Father	1	2.1	1	4.2	2	2.8
Sibling(s)	1	2.1	3	12.5	4	5.6
Grandparent	2	4.2	0	0.0	2	2.8
Social Worker / Counsellor	0	0.0	3	12.5	3	4.2
Girls at school	24	50.0	8	33.3	32	44.4
No one	16	33.3	0	0.0	16	22.2
Total	48	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.1

$\chi^2 = 26.91$ 6 df   p<0.001

(6)   Future Orientation

In this final portion of the Questionnaire, the mothers were asked what they thought they would be doing in two years and then five years time spans. They were also requested to rate their chances of achieving their particular goals.

(a)   Predictions of Future

Table 20

Two Year Predication

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Attending school	11	22.9	19	79.2	30	41.7
Employed	16	33.3	4	16.7	20	27.8
At home	11	22.9	0	0.0	11	15.2
Don't know	10	20.8	1	4.2	11	15.2
Total	48	99.9	24	100.1	72	99.9

χ^2 = 22.50   3 df   p<0.002

Five Year Predicition

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Attending school	3	6.3	9	37.5	12	16.7
Employed	13	27.1	11	4.8	24	33.3
At home	19	39.6	1	4.2	20	27.8
Don't know	13	27.1	3	12.5	16	22.2
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100.0

χ^2 = 23.07   3 df   p<0.001

In five years, mothers who kept their babies perceived themselves in the work force (27.1%) but many saw themselves as housewives (39.6%) or were unclear about their futures (27.1%). Mothers who surrendered overwhelmingly saw their futures as including further education (37.5%) or employment (45.8%). The groups' perceptions of their futures were discrepant.

(b)   Perceived Chances of Success

The mothers were requested to rate their chances of achieving their particular goals. Their responses were coded into the following four point scale:

1 - very good

2 - good

3 - fair

4 - poor

The responses are shown in Table 21.

Table 21

Perception of Success

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	2.96	1.23		
Adopters	2.20	1.10	2.61	0.01

Keepers, when commenting on their goals (school, employment, marriage/relationships), were less likely to perceive success than mothers who surrendered their children. Keepers' responses tended to include "fair" to "poor" whereas Adopters' views generally encompassed "good" to "fair" categories.

Summary of Question 1

There are several key findings relating to Research Question 1. Teens who kept their children tended to be from families separated by death or divorce or raised by single mothers. Their responses indicated they were cared for by other than a natural parent for some portion of their childhoods and they seemed less bonded to family members than the Adopters.

The mothers of Keeping teens appeared to have less education than employment status than Adopters' mothers. Keeping and Adopting teens' fathers were dissimilar in both educational attainment and employment levels. Both types of parents appeared, from the responses, to exert influence on decision-making.

Teens who kept their infants reported less experience with child care prior to the babies' births. Both groups of mothers were alike in contraceptive usage. It was employed sporadically and without real awareness of personal consequences.

For Keeping mothers, the putative fathers tended to be older and when contact was maintained, they were reported to be relied upon for emotional support. For both groups, the child's father was viewed as important in deciding to keep or surrender.

The two groups of teens were discrepant in their educational and employment plans as well as their visions of their futures. Over one-third of these Keeping mothers had no educational plans or contemplated completing only their current school year. Their perception of future employment was fuzzy.

As far as emotional support systems were concerned, the Adopters' reports were more positive. These teens viewed their friends as helping them through a difficult time of life; however, they also had others such as parents and siblings on whom they could rely. An important aspect of support systems was the mothers' perceptions that other teens in Terra and Louise Dean Schools were helpful in providing emotional back-up.

Question 2.

(Locus of Control) This question focussed on the teen mothers' perception of control over life events. To this end, the Rotter I-E Scale was administered. The results indicate that the mothers' perceptions did not differ significantly. Both groups perceived an internal Locus of Control over events.

Table 22

Locus of Control

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p.
Keepers	10.52	4.30		
Adopters	9.58	3.40	1.07	0.29

Question 3.

(Personality Traits) Three scales of the 16 PF were administered in order to ascertain whether the two groups of mothers differed in the following personality traits:

(1) Submissiveness/Dominance (Trait E)

(2) Adequacy/Guilt (Trait Q)

(3) Self-concept (Trait Q₃)

The results of the three tests indicate no statistically significant difference between groups, as is demonstrated in Table 23.

Table 23

Differences in Personality Traits

Trait E Results				
Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	10.04	3.5		
Adopters	10.21	3.7	-0.18	0.85

Trait O Results

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	13.46	3.44		
Adopters	14.96	3.38	-1.76	0.08

Trait Q_1 Results

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	12.21	2.70		
Adopters	11.46	4.01	0.83	0.41

Research Question 4.

(Perceived Problems) An objective assessment of the difficulties perceived by the two groups of teen mothers was obtained through the individuals' completions of the Mooney Problem Check List, High School Form. Each respondent's number of checked items was totalled and this number was used to calculate possible differences between the two groups of mothers. The total numbers of problems perceived by the mothers were statistically significant, as is shown in Table 24.

Table 24

Numbers of Problems Perceived by Mothers

Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Keepers	69.96	30.81		
Adopters	48.71	17.59	3.31	0.001

Teen mothers who kept their children reported significantly greater numbers of problems than did those mothers who allowed their infants to be adopted. The area of greatest concern for both groups involved Personal Problems.

Although the demonstrated means are within "normal" limits for adolescents, what is significant with these two groups of mothers is the greater number of difficulties reported by Keepers than Adopters.

Section II - Exploratory Analysis

A further analysis was conducted using results which achieved the confidence level selected as significant for this study (p<.001). It must be cautioned that this analysis is exploratory and further research with other populations of single adolescent mothers is recommended to replicate the findings.

Twelve variables from the Demographic Questionnaire which had attained an alpha of 0.001, indicating differences between Keepers and Adopters, were employed in the first stage of the exploratory analysis. The recoding which was necessary for data analysis and the resultant means are reported in Table III, Appendix A. This recoding resulted in 14 variables for the analysis. A principal component analysis (Morrison, 1967) was performed on the correlation matrix of these 14 variables.

The scree test (Cattell, 1966) was employed to determine the number of factors. Three factors which accounted for 52.2 per cent of the variance were selected for rotation. These factors were rotated to simple structure by the varimax criterion (Kaiser, 1958). The resulting factor structure matrix is presented in Table 25. All loadings of I.30 were considered as significant for interpretation of a factor.

Table 25

Factor Structure Matrix

	h²	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
1. Primary care	.41	.21	-.06	.60
2. Residence	.23	.48	-.04	-.07
3. Mother's Education	.60	-.76	-.15	-.03
4. Father's Education	.53	-.68	-.04	-.26
5. Nonlaborer / laborer	.60	.76	.12	.10
6. Nonmanagement / management	.67	-.77	-.22	-.18
7. Single parent	.62	-.06	-.13	-.77
8. Responsibility	.54	-.06	-.51	-.52
9. Age difference	.37	.46	.36	-.19
10. P.F. support	.31	-.35	-.08	-.54
11. Further Education	.39	.25	.55	.15
12. Employment	.67	-.06	.72	.38
13. Plans	.68	-.03	.75	-.34
14. Career	.65	.26	.77	-.04

These loadings can be interpreted as correlations. The higher the absolute value of the loadings, the greater the relationship between the original variable and the particular factor.

Interpretation

These factors are readily and coherently interpretable as groupings of the original variables. They have been labelled as:

       Factor I - Family status

       Factor II - Plans and future orientation

       Factor III - Family constellation

Factor I - Family Status

The most important variables which define this first factor include the level of the teen's parents' education, the father's type of employment, the teen mother's residence, and the age of the putative father. For teen mothers with high scores on this factor both parents tended to have low educational attainment, fathers were more likely to be laborers, and teens were more likely to be living away from home and to have become involved with an older man. Conversely, for low scorers on this factor both parents tended to have high school or post-secondary education, the father was less likely to be a laborer and more likely to be a manager or professional. The teen mother was more likely to be living at home and have been involved with an age peer. This factor is related to the family status of the parental home and the teen's relationship to it.

Factor II - Future Orientation

This factor is related to the teens' perceptions of the amount of care that children necessitate, their plans for education and/or employment, and their views of themselves in five years. Low scorers have realistic perceptions of their responsibilities and definite plans to continue their education or to seek employment. They view themselves in careers in five years. On the other hand, high scorers do not realize the scope of their responsibilities. They intend to quit school. They have no plans to seek employment and see themselves as housewives in five years or are uncertain about their future status.

Factor III - Family Constellation

The variables which load on this factor are related to issues in the teen's family including the nature of early care, single parenthood within the family, responsibility for caretaking and the putative father's support. High scorers tended to have had primary care from relatives or others, were more likely to have had siblings or relatives who were single parents, were more likely to have support from the putative fathers, and were less clear about their responsibilities as parents. Low scorers were raised in the home, had no single parents in the family, were more likely to understand the responsibilities of their situation and were less likely to have the putative fathers' support. This factor is tentatively labelled "Family Constellation."

Discriminant Function Analysis on Factor Scores

As a further step the scores on the three factors for the two groups were compared via a discriminant function analysis. Table 26 shows weights on the three factors which produce a single variable which most clearly separates the Keepers from the Adopters. In Table 27 these weights are expressed as correlations.

Table 26

Discriminant Pattern Matrix

Correlation	.76040
I - Family status	1.09640
II - Future Orientation	.70279
III - Family Constellation	.80084

Table 27

Discriminant Structure Matrix

I - Family Status	.7172
II - Future Orientation	.4597
III - Family Constellation	.5238

This discriminant function shows that Keepers tended to be high scorers on all three factors (with the first factor being the most important). Conversely Adopters tended to have lower scores on all three factors. This presents the picture of the Keeper as a member of a low socioeconomic status family who was less likely to have been raised by the natural parents and more likely to have encountered a similar situation to her own within the family. She likely became involved with an older man who provides support. They believed that they would become housewives or were uncertain about their future. They regarded parental responsibilities lightly.

Alternatively, Adopters appeared to come from middle class nuclear families and understood clearly their responsibilities. They knew where they wanted to be in five years and it appeared that single parenthood would not stand in their way.

Table 28

Significant Test of Group Separation

Distances	D-Square	F	P
Keep/ Adopt	5.9972	31.071	.000

Table 29

Classification Matrix Based on Discriminant Function

Twoway Cross Tabulation

Classified		Actual	
		Keep	Adopt
Keep	46	43	3
Adopt	26	5	21
Total	72	48	24

64 / 72 = 88.9% correct classification

Table 28 shows that the difference between groups is a significant one and Table 29 shows that group membership can be well predicted by this single discriminant function. It would be important to obtain cross-validation with further samples to ensure the valididty of this analysis.

Extension Analysis

As a final stage in the exploratory analysis the scores on the Rotter I-E Scale, the three 16 PF scales, and the Mooney Problem Check List were correlated with the three factors resulting from the initial analysis. The correlation matrix is shown in Table 30.

Table 30

Correlation Matrix of Personality Traits and Factors

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
Rotter I-E	.14380	.2944*	-.05340
16 PF - Trait E	-.13700	.07250	-.2329*
16 PF - Trait O	-.16670	.2346*	.17650
16 PF - Trait Q,	-.09820	-.03500	.17650
Mooney	.2646*	.3301*	.2886*

* .2319 or higher is significant at the .05 level.

The Rotter I-E Scale is a measure of an individual's perception of control over life events. Although overall the mothers have an internal Locus of Control, there is a low (r=.29) but significant correlation with Factor II, Future Orientation. This may indicate that perception of control is related to the ability to plan for the future in terms of education and career.

A low but significant relationship exists between Trait E of the 16 PF (dominance / submissiveness) and Factor III labelled Family Constellation (r=.23). Although both groups of mothers scored at the dominance end of the Trait, those who were raised by others, had single parents in the family, and were going to have support from the babies' fathers were more submissive.

There is also a low but significant correlation between Trait O (adequacy / guilt) and Factor II which encompasses the mothers' plans and future orientation (r=.23). Both groups scored within the adequacy end of this Trait but those with definite plans tended to have higher adequacy scores.

Both groups of mothers scored positively on Trait Q, (self-concept) but there is no significant correlation between this dimension and any of the three factors. This particular test also appears to be a poor discriminator between groups on its own.

The Mooney Problem Check List correlated positively with all three factors. Fewer personal concerns seem related to optimal family status and support as well as the ability

to plan for the future.

These results tend to be coherent. When these variables are correlated with the discriminant function, however, only the Mooney Problem Check List is significantly related to the decision to keep (see Table 31). In other words, a significant discriminating variable between Keepers and Adopters is the increasing numbers of personal and social problems reported.

Table 31

Correlation Matrix with One Factor

Variable	
Correlation	
Rotter I-E Scale	.21050
Trait E	-.18700
Trait O	-.05270
Trait Q,	.00590
Mooney Check List	.4927*
N=72 Df=70	

* significant at 0.01 level

Summary of Findings

Examination of the tabular findings and the results of the exploratory analysis lead to the same conclusions regarding the two groups of teen mothers.

1.   Teens who surrendered their children tended to be from intact, two-parent families. Their parents were reported as employed in managerial or professional positions and although they were viewed as supportive, parents and siblings were seen as reinforcing a decision to surrender.

Mothers who kept their infants generally were from families which had experienced death, divorce or single parenthood. Many of these teens were raised out of the natural family for some portion of their childhood. They did not view their families or parents as particularly supportive but they perceived keeping the infants

as the parental preference.

2. The Keepers reported that teen pregnancy and motherhood were tiring but satisfying. Unlike the Adopters, their awareness of parental responsibility and their experience in tending small children had been minimal.

3. Whereas teens who kept their infants apppeared to be involved with males older than themselves, mothers who surrendered were similar in age to the infants' fathers. Ongoing financial support appeared to be garnered only by keeping mothers who took legal action to procure it.

4. The two groups were discrepant in their current educational programs as well as further academic and employment plans. A substantial proportion of teens who elected to raise their children had a limited view of the future.

5. Although both groups of teen mothers relied on their friends for support, the Adopters appeared to have more steadfast friendship patterns. Fewer of their friends had been pregnant when contrasted with the Keepers. Their friends reinforced the individual's responsibility in deciding whether to parent or adopt where the Keepers viewed their friends as overwhelmingly promoting parenting. It seems relevant that throughout the Questionnaire, many Keepers reported having few or no persons on whom they could rely for support.

    The two groups also demonstrated significant differences in the number of problem items delineated on the Mooney Problem Check List. Teen mothers who kept their children reported greater numbers of problems than did mothers who surrendered their children.

    In addition, it was found that 14 variables significantly predicted group membership in Adopter or Keeper categories.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Discussion & Implications

The purpose of this study was to investigate areas of difference between single adolescent mothers who keep or adopt their infants. Although the birth rate among unwed adolescents appears to have stabilized over the past two to three years, the number of younger teens who opt to keep their infants is increasing. This is of concern because of the long-term social, educational, and financial implications.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 72 mothers between 14 and 21 years of age. An additional nine mothers over the target age were interviewed because of their interest and wish to participate in the study. All younger mothers were provided through the auspices of cooperating agencies and individuals with the largest segments from Louise Dean School in Calgary and Terra Association in Edmonton.

The interviews consisted of a demographic questionnaire and standardized test items which were comprised of the Rotter I-E Scale, three subscales of the 16 PF and the Mooney Problem Checklist.

The data from these interviews was transferred to punch cards and the relevant statistical tests were conducted using the Educational Research Services at the University of Alberta.

The information derived from the interviews and tests as reported in Chapter IV fall into four general categories:

1. Demographic Variables and unwed mothers
2. Single mothers' perception of personal control
3. Adolescent mothers' personality variables
4. Problems reported by teen mothers

1. Demographic Variables

The sample was divided into various demographic and sociopsychological variables. Chi-square analysis and t-tests were performed on the scores to determine if there were any significant differences between the two groups of teen mothers. Although an initial goal of the study was to determine whether there were any differences on these variables according to the mothers' ages, this analysis was futile. There were few participants in the under 15 category--six keepers and two adopters. Due to younger teens' shyness and resultant reluctance to participate, it was impossible to obtain a truly representative sample of teen mothers in the various age categories.

There was no significant difference between the two groups of mothers in regard to religious affiliation and church attendance. Most were non-attenders although they tended to report belonging to one of the major denominations. This finding is consistent with MacDonnell's (1981) findings of Nova Scotia single mothers, most of whom reported no religious support system. It may also reflect concurrence with Harrison's hypothesis (1974) where church attenders were viewed as less "promiscuous" and therefore less prone to out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

The mothers also did not differ significantly in their use of contraception. Generally, neither Keepers nor Adopters employed birth control effectively although most were sexually active. The exceptions were two rape victims among the adopters and three of the youngest keepers who informed the researcher, "It was my first time, I didn't think it would happen."

A great number of teens had sought medical assistance but told their physicians they needed "something" to control menstrual flow, thinking the term was a euphemism for birth control. What they obtained was medication but not contraception. Others employed oral contraception erratically, ceasing usage if they had quarreled with their boyfriends. Many trusted to luck which offered no protection.

The teens who thought they were using "the pill" and, in fact, were not poses a problem for medical practitioners. On the one hand, many physicians feel bound to inform the parents if a girl under 16 seeks contraception and teens seem quite cognizant of this. They likely present the euphemism of menstrual difficulties out of embarrassment, hope that the doctor will prescribe an oral contraceptive but not tell their parents because it is

not technically for the purpose of birth control. On the other hand, physicians do not appear to inquire closely enough into teens' needs (Wrenn, 1981).

The rationales for contraceptive failure confirms Elkind's position regarding cognitive immaturity (1967). The bulk of interviewees reported some form of sex education at school or in the home but just could not visualize pregnancy. Common statements were "I knew it happened to other girls. I never thought it would happen to me" and "I don't do it very often so I didn't think I'd get pregnant." In other cases, even planning an appointment to obtain contraception somehow made it safe to have unprotected intercourse.

Contraceptive failure among the older interviewees also resulted from naivety. For two-thirds of these women, oral contraception had not been available and they were dependent upon their partners to use condoms. The males used no protection although the women assumed they were. Two of these women had been informed that their partners were sterile and paternity was denied later.

The following demographic categories showed significant differences between the teen mothers:

(ii). Family Constellation

A significantly greater number of teens who kept their infants were raised or cared for by someone out of their immediate family unit during their early years than were the Adopters. These teens had been placed with relatives or had been in foster or institutional care. The apparent lack of bonding with the natural parents may have influenced these girls' decisions to become sexually active and later to keep the children. Both rationales could be viewed as the teen attempting to ensure a caring relationship with someone, in line with Zongker's (1977) and Bargow et al's (1968) suppositions.

Whereas adopting teens tended to have intact families, teens who kept their children were likely to a significant degree, to come from families which were fractured by divorce, death, or separation. Many were the products of unwed mothers and would have had models for single motherhood as posited by Rogel et al (1980) and Vincent (1969). In families where divorce had occurred, nine teens had little or no recollection of their fathers. A pattern for these young mothers was a series of common-law fathers and transient male authority figures. Although the findings are not statistically significant due to

the small sample in this portion of the study, the trend is for these youngest, keeping teens to have been impregnated by older males in line with Zongker's thinking (1977).

The nine post-teen mothers presented a somewhat different picture. Only two families had experienced divorce or death but the remainder described their parents' marriages as unhappy with common themes of constant arguments and/or alcohol problems. The parents of these single mothers appeared, from the daughters' descriptions, to have been caught up in their personal difficulties to such an extent that the children perceived emotional neglect.

Adopting teens viewed their families as emotionally supportive before and following pregnancy. Mothers or sisters were designated as advice and support providers. Teens who kept their infants reported to a significant extent that no family members were of assistance before pregnancy occurred. Although the trend was for these teens' families to be seen as more helpful following birth, the two groups of mothers remained disparate in the amount of nurturance provided. These figures confirm views held by writers such as Hertz (1977), Sugar (1976), and Abernethy et al (1975) who cite disruptive mother-daughter relationships as possible factors in teen pregnancy. For these writers, the teen whose mother and family are viewed as nonsupportive is more likely to keep her child to satisfy her own emotional needs.

According to both United States studies (Bernstein, 1971; Klein, 1978; Vincent, 1961) and Canadian research (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1981; MacDonnell, 1982; O'Hanlon, 1983), socio-economic status is a determining factor in unwed pregnancy. This factor appears valid in the mothers' decisions to parent or adopt. In this study, mothers who kept their children tended to be from families where maternal and paternal education and employment differed significantly from those of adoptive mothers.

All mothers of adopting teens were employed in middle or upper management positions or in professions such as education or social work. These mothers, without exception, had some form of high school education and over one-third were university or college graduates.

The mothers of keeping teens demonstrated lower education levels with several having obtained elementary school education only. One was illiterate. The employment picture for these women was split between homemaking and employment. Those who

worked outside the home had most commonly obtained clerk or stenographer positions although four were professionals and employed as teachers and youth workers.

Mothers of Adopters likely viewed both education and careers as necessary for their daughters and would have provided this type of model in their own lives. The mothers of Keepers seem not to have stressed the value of school or satisfying employment as desirable life goals. The picture which these teens present is definitely linked with O'Hanlon's (1983) findings of Red Deer, Alberta families where minimal education and job expectations are the norms in illegitimacy.

The teens' fathers' education and employment levels were highly discrepant. This is possibly related to the daughters' decisions to place the babies for adoption since, according to Mednick (1980), mothers from affluent families surrender their children or have abortions. Factors involved in the surrender of children from these families likely reflect feelings of guilt or shame as well as concern for the families' and teens' social position.

The mothers were questioned regarding family influence on the decision to either keep or adopt the infants. The responses were discrepant with Adopters perceiving a consistent message from their parents to surrender the children. Educational factors appeared the chief parental concern but the mother's age, the infant's welfare, and social considerations also appeared salient.

The Keepers' decisions seemed complicated rather than simplified by familial influences. Although approximately half of these mothers reported the decision was theirs alone, on closer examination divorced parents played a significant part. Where the natural father or a step-father was involved, the parents seemed to take adversarial roles. A common theme was for the mother (or father) to state the girl could not raise the child with the other parent promising financial and emotional assitance. Often where one parent was firmly advocating surrender, the other parent would set up the girl in his or her home and apparently sabotage the other's influence.

Another common pattern among the under-fifteen keepers was for the teen to beg the parents for permission to raise the child. Several stated they "nagged" or "bugged" their parents until they finally acquiesced. On further questioning, in most instances the grandparents appeared to be rearing the child.

The above two types of decisions reflect on parents who have not achieved a firm sense of adult responsibility. In split marriages, the parents seemed unable to develop a united front because their marital differences were unresolved. The teen thus was able to play one against the other. In the second instance, the parents were unable to withstand the teen's pressure and resolutions which concerned both the mother's and infant's ultimate welfare were set aside. Several keepers reported that the decision to raise the infant was made after the baby's birth. Parents who had been quite firm regarding surrender gave in to their daughter once they saw the baby. Birth is a highly emotional event in any family. For impulsive teens, it appears very necessary that the parents remain as objective as possible. This was an impossibility for these grandparents.

Teens who kept their infants appeared to have many models for single parenting. One was a fourth-generation single parent, informing the researcher that in her family it was traditional to give the first child to the grandmother. Over half the Keepers stated they were like their mothers because the older women had either been single parents or were pregnant prior to marriage. For these teens, single motherhood was not an isolated event: there were several models within the extended family and perhaps a covert message that teenage parenting was acceptable and, in a sense, normal. These teens were not necessarily from the lower socio-economic strata as Vincent (1969) found in his study and yet they demonstrated a similar pattern of familial illegitimacy.

A further indication of family difficulty may be found in the teens' pattern of reporting pregnancy to their parents. As might be expected, the youngest group of mothers, whether Keepers or Adopters, had the most difficulty disclosing their condition. The Adopters, however, all informed their mothers during the first trimester. The Keepers without exception waited for their mothers to ask them if they were pregnant. Common statements included, "I thought I was too young," "I didn't think I could be pregnant, I kept hoping I wasn't," "I thought I was just gaining weight," "I kept waiting for Mom to guess." The result of this denial and delay was a shortened time span for decisions on the part of the teen and the parents. An extreme example was two teens and their parents who had pregnancy confirmed during delivery. Several questions are raised regarding this phenomena: How healthy are the offspring of these mothers since the mothers reported constant dieting to lose weight; how emotionally stable are the infants of mothers who

were in constant states of fear and denial during pregnancy; how well-founded are

decisions made on last-minute and quite traumatic information?

According to Mitchell (1979), the primary defense mechanism of young teens is

denial and mother-daughter relationships tend to be strained at this stage, however, one

must question the qualities and amount of trust and communication in these particular

dyads. In viewing their situations retrospectively, the Keepers perceived themselves as

naive, fearful and unwilling to face reality. Once their mothers had confronted them, they

generally found their situations much easier than anticipated although shock and anger

were common reactions. From their reports, denial seemed more firmly entrenched as a

defense against reality during the early and middle stages of pregnancy.

(ii). Awareness of Pregnancy and Parenting

The two groups of teens were discrepant in their desire for an infant with Keepers

generally stating that the babies were positive influences on their lives. Although the

younger teens perceived the experience as somewhat premature, they viewed

motherhood before age 16 as beneficial since it enhanced maturation. This perception

may also involve denial. It was most common in the two settings where education and day

care facilities were provided, likely because these mothers had advantages unavailable to

many mothers: supportive instructors who were aware of their difficulties and staff who

tended the children for a portion of each day. An extreme view of early motherhood was

provided by a 16 year old who informed the researcher that she planned to have her next

child before she turned 21 because she would then be too old.

The Adopting mothers perceived motherhood as an interruption and an unwelcome

hiatus. They had not planned any such event until their educations were completed and

careers established. They were all, however, proud of having produced healthy babies and

of having made the most of a difficult time in their lives.

When questioned regarding their perceptions of the responsibilities of parenthood

and the amount of babysitting they had undertaken, the Keepers' and Adopters' responses

were significantly discrepant. Whereas Adopters were aware of the constraints of

parenting, the Keepers initially, according to their reports, saw babies as delightful. Many

seemed unable to envisage their own infants as "terrible twos" or obnoxious four-year

olds even though they were cognitively aware of developmental processes through

courses provided at Terra and Louise Dean Schools. Again, denial seemed typical. Other children go through phases but their own children would somehow be different.

Mothers who surrendered their children reported extensive caretaking of younger children, either siblings or other relatives, babysitting or experience in day care situations. As a group, their comments indicated that motherhood was a full-time occupation which they were not prepared to undertake. In contrast, Keepers reported scanty, occasional exposure to infants, toddlers and pre-schoolers. Two of the youngest Keepers had no experience with children.

From the mothers' statements, it seemed that the adage "experience is the best teacher" held true for the Adopters. Several stated that they likely would have kept their children if they had not been aware of how much time and care youngsters entailed. Because they were aware of the constraints, the choice, although painful, was clear.

The Adopters primarily fell within the middle teen group but their realistic appraisal of parenting and themselvers as individuals would appear to place them within late teen cognitive and emotional functioning. Likely the experience they had undergone hastened maturation. The Keepers appeared responsible in their concern for their offspring but they could not anticipate the difficulties which the Adopters foresaw and denied any potential problems with childrearing. Although both groups viewed the experience as growth-enhancing, the Keepers remained more typically young or middle adolescent in thought.

(iii). Putative Fathers

Significantly different responses were recorded by the two groups of teen mothers on items entailing the fathers' ages and their financial support of mothers and children. It is not surprising that the putative fathers are significantly older than the mothers who keep their children since these are the teens who as a group lack father figures. According to theorists, (Barglow et al, 1968; Hertz, 1977; Sugar, 1976; Zongker, 1977), girls who do not have male attention within the home compensate through seeking it via sexual involvement. These teens possibly may have been more at risk with older than younger males because they needed validation from father figures. A concern is the fact that these men did not employ contraception and did not, according to the mothers' reports, really care whether pregnancy resulted. This tends to reinforce

Pannor et al's (1971) perceptions of the unmarried father as an individual who is immature, impulsive and fantasy-oriented. These characteristics appear to apply as well to the men who impregnated the Adopters since 50 per cent of both groups were deserted by the babies' fathers.

Although both groups relied on the putative fathers for emotional support, only a minority of the Keepers were obtaining financial assistance. It is a common experience in social work for mothers to deny knowledge of the putative father or his whereabouts. These men, termed "The Shadows" by Schlesinger (1982), are protected by their partners. Reasons for this protection involve male pressure of two types: the male may be living with and partially supporting the mother who is receiving social assistance or he may be providing some support and threatening to withdraw it if authorities are informed. In either case, the mother may perceive her relationship at risk through identifying the putative father to her social worker. A number of mothers knew the partner's location but feared that he would obtain visitation rights if he were forced to provide support. They declined to identify him, choosing to rear their child without his involvement.

A number of Keepers maintained occasional contact with the children's fathers. In these cases, the male babysat sporadically or appeared on birthdays or Christmas with gifts for the child.

For both groups of teens, the putative fathers who remained involved reinforced decisions to adopt or surrender. The support offered appeared to be in terms of agreeing with the mothers' decisions. There did seem to be pressure from men involved with Keepers for abortions, usually when pregnancy was too well established. In these instances, the mothers refused to have any further contact with the impregnators.

Many of the partners initially denied pregnancy, telling the teens it could not have happened, that they must be mistaken. A small percentage for both groups totally denied responsibility for the event and blamed the mothers. Their thought patterns appear as typically adolescent as the young mothers'.

Approximately 50 per cent of each group was deserted by the putative fathers, either deliberately once pregnancy was established or unwittingly. Two Adopters were rape victims but the other sexual encounters appeared to have occurred with casual boyfriends who changed residence when their families moved or who had obtained

employment in other provinces. The latter males were unaware of the babies' arrivals and the mothers were unwilling to identify them or to have social workers contact them for support.

It appears that the male partners in many instances were as impulsive and naive as the sample described by Pannor et al (1971). They were reportedly unwilling to assume responsibility for contraception and convinced the girls that nothing would happen. Even males in their twenties were described by the mothers as uncaring regarding possible consequences which suggests a fantasy orientation toward life. When confronted with reality, a substantial number deserted the mothers. Others who assumed the paternal role with the Keepers also ensured that the mother and child would obtain social assistance by remaining in the background, denying their presence and financial support. Although likely these males would benefit from counselling and child development courses provided by social work agencies and the two school settings, it is a highly unusual occurrence for the young men to come forward voluntarily. To do so would be an overt admission of responsibility which appears difficult for these males to undertake. They may be frightened of the consequences in terms of financial culpability but also, according to Lorenzi et al (1977), there are feelings of blame, guilt and shame with which most do not wish to deal. Like most teenagers, they tend to perceive helpers as authority figures and do not wish to become involved in such a situation.

(iv). Support Systems

Teens who become pregnant are viewed by theorists as lonely, alienated individuals who rely on their friends for affirmation of worth (Klein, 1978; Kimball, 1969). To date, no interviews have focussed upon this aspect of teen motherhood and it therefore appeared a relevant topic in discerning possible differences between Keepers and Adopters.

In this study, teens who kept their babies tended to have inadequate support systems. The parents were relied upon in only a small percentage of cases, confirming the family disruption in illegitimacy cited by Abernethy et al (1975), Hertz (1977), and Young et al (1976). Siblings were also seen as nonsupportive. Although counsellors and social workers view their involvment as necessary with these particular adolescents, unfortunately few mothers were in agreement, possibly because they viewed them as

authority figures and reacted in a typically adolescent fashion: opposition.

The Keeping teens who attended the two schools identified other mothers as their primary sources of support which is understandable in view of Honig's contention (1978) regarding the saliency of peer influence in disruptive families. Mothers who relied on peers reported that they were the only people who understood their difficulties and the sole persons who could offer valid assistance. Like most adolescents, they seemed to have discarded adult help or advice as irrelevant and relied upon their classmates for validation.

Of real concern to personnel is the large group of mothers, including those who did not attend school, who saw no one as sympathetic or helpful. Although they admitted to the researcher that they were lonely, they seemed to trust no one except perhaps their infants. They presented generally as emotionally needy adolescents. Although the school groups tended to reject adult intervention and assistance, they were possibly the mothers who most benefitted from attendance and monitoring of behaviors. Those at home, most of whom were being seen by counsellors or social workers, likely would have been assisted by such programs but they had rejected them outright as adult interference.

The Adopters' support systems were in striking contrast with those perceived by the Keepers. Mothers of Adopters were viewed as the most significant providers of assistance, a finding which confirms that these particular families may be less disrupted than the Keepers'. Also, these teens appeared to be within late adolescent development when there is less friction between mothers and daughters. Siblings and fathers were also depended upon to a lesser extent as were social workers and counsellors. This group of teens, like the Keepers, named their peers as significant supporters. On questioning, they named other Adopters, not Keepers, as assistance providers.

In the school situations, there was a definite gulf between teens who had carried through on either choice. Whereas the Keepers termed the Adopters "selfish" for surrendering their children, the Adopters viewed the others as short-sighted and as thinking only of their own welfare, not the children's. When the mothers designated their support group, it tended to consist of like-thinkers.

Advice or assistance from friends prior to making the important decision was discrepant as well. Adopters reported their friends had stressed either surrendering or

the importance of the individual's own choice since the mother was the person most affected by it. A small percentage of friends either were unaware of the pregnancy or thought the teen should parent the child. Whatever the advice, these mothers stated their friends had maintained the relationships and had remained supportive. Because the choice to parent or adopt was taken by the mother as her personal responsibility, she felt her friends had become more caring. Many stated this closeness and the stronger family ties were a positive aspect of the childbearing experience.

The Keepers reported receiving a strong message from their friends to keep the children, complete with promises of assistance. Often these friends were single parents. Very few peers counselled surrender or the necessity of the individual's choice. Because there had been such enthusiasm prior to and following birth, these mothers reported they felt abandoned when their peers discovered more novel pastimes than babies. They overwhelmingly stated that they had discovered who their real friends were and these tended to be others in similar situations. This abandonment is understandable in light of adolescent implusivity and short-lived enthusiasms. Babies and children would soon lose their appeal to teenagers who were unattached and relatively free of responsibilities.

In viewing both Adopters and Keepers in terms of emotional support providers, the former group appeared to have more extensive resources. They were able to perceive adults, specifically their mothers, positively. The Keepers appeared to have fewer options since they viewed most adults as rather unhelpful or nonunderstanding at best and interfering at worst. They perceived only teens in similar circumstances to their own as emphathetic and capable of sound advice.

(v). Education and Future Plans

Society generally views adolescents as requiring marketable employment skills and academic training at least at a high school level. Personnel such as teachers and social workers perceive teen mothers as a group as particularly in need of attention in these areas if long-term welfare dependency is to be avoided. It seemed important then to ask the teen mothers what they felt was important as far as education and employment were concerned. Open-ended questions were also posed regarding what they perceived themselves doing in two and five year time spans, their hopes, plans, fears, etc.

Not surprisingly, many of the teens who chose to raise their children were caught up in the current and very basic motherhood issues including the babies' health, sleeping patterns, need for intellectual stimulation and so on. These young women were determined to be excellent mothers with many commenting they would be better mothers than their own had been. What was surprising were their very limited personal life goals and their concentration on motherhood to the neglect of themselves. Many could not envisage any situation beyond their immediate circumstances. Those who were at home had no academic plans even though grade nine was the highest completed grade. A minority of the Keepers envisioned some form of post-secondary education and were determined to become independent of welfare or their families' assistance.

The majority of keeping mothers' perceptions of themselves as dependent individuals appears consistent with other Canadian findings (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1981; MacDonnell, 1981; O'Hanlon, 1983). Because it was difficult for them to perceive themselves in any but a mother role, over 50 per cent reported in two and five years they would be at home or they did not know what they would be doing. Most of these teens felt they would be married with other children and did not seem aware that many men would hesitate to take on a ready-made family. The most surprising common theme which these mothers disclosed was a wish for a cottage on an acreage, complete with horses and dogs, and surrounded by a white picket fence. Asked how they would accomplish this dream, all replied they would get married. They were oblivious to the fact that this life style is an impossibility for nearly everyone unless both partners are employed.

These mothers were questioned regarding future employment status. The common responses included "don't know" and "welfare." For a small percentage of single mothers, social assistance seems to be expected as a right because they report they are raising children for Canada. When their teachers or counsellors remonstrate that taxpayers might feel otherwise, particularly during a recession, they become quite hostile and defensive. This attitude appears more prevalent in school situations where the Keepers reinforce each other in their expected rights but the reverse is also true. In the two schools, there were teen mothers who were determined to be independent and who foresee a life for themselves and their children apart from social assistance. These particular young women appeared able to project themselves into the future and had definite career plans, usually

involving the helping professions.

Characteristics of late adolescence include the acceptance of personal responsibility, establishment of relationships, and the ability to formulate personally relevant goals. The Keeping teens who were able to perceive themselves as educated and / or employed in five years appear to possess the attributes of the late adolescent although several were only 16 or 17 years of age. The experience of motherhood seemed to have hastened emotional and cognitive maturation as these young women could project themselves into the future. Those with ill-defined goals who projected or denied responsibility and expected ongoing assistance appeared more typical of young or middle adolescence. It is sobering to contemplate that these latter mothers are indeed children raising children.

Adopting mothers appeared to have a very definite future orientation with over 70 per cent planning post-secondary education and professional or technical employment. An interesting phenomena was the concentration on the helping professions, including social work, psychology, education and family law. These teens perceived themselves as having survived an ultimate test of character and felt it had strengthened them to the extent that they wished to assist others, teens in particular.

Overall, the two groups of mothers' attitudes toward themselves were in distinct contrast. Generally, the Keepers were caught up in parenting to the extent they could not anticipate the future. The majority of Keepers seemed to hope for or expect rescue by a male rather than developing independence, a task of adolescence. For many, reliance on parental support or social assistance was lengthening the process of adolescence rather than resolving it.

The Adopters, in contrast, focussed on personal goals. Although most reported relationships with boyfriends, these did not appear to be the primary focus of their lives. These mothers reported their experiences had left them with regret but not guilt. This is likely due in part to their inner convictions but also to their families' support and the counselling received through agencies and schools.

(vi). Influences on Decision-Making

The two groups of teen mothers were asked what influences were most important in their choice to parent or adopt. The teens who kept their infants seem typical of young

and middle adolescent thought in their perception that their friends' opinions had the most
influence on their decisions. At these developmental stages, friends' advice carries more
weight than adults' and even though many of these teens were supported wholly or in part
by their parents, the peers were seen as more significant. This is likely one reason for the
anger and abandonment many Keepers felt when their friends later neglected them.
Possibly it is important for schools and agencies to be more aware of the teens' need for
peer approval and their susceptibility to pressure. If a teen has few friends other than her
immediate peer group, most of whom are keeping their infants, she is in a vulnerable
position. Her decision may be based upon immediate emotional concerns with little thought
of the long-term implications.

Although parents were named as the second most influential source of advice, it is
significant that many of these adults had also experienced single parenting and would not
likely offer the expectant mother an alternative. The adversarial stance taken by separated
parents would also influence the type of advice provided and accepted by the mother.

Putative fathers were nominated as the third most influential source, either
because they were enthusiastic over parenting or they were providing emotional and/or
financial support.

Although other rationale for keeping infants were far less important than advice
provided by significant others, they provide insight into the mothers' self-perceptions.
Several felt a sense of ownership toward their babies. Because they had borne the
children, some mothers felt they belonged together, that they were a unit which could not
be separated.

Although one mother deliberately planned to become pregnant before setting out
to do so, others who were involved in ongoing relationships perceived pregnancy as
inevitable. There was no alternative to keeping the infants as they were termed "love
children."

Other young mothers concentrated on personal, idiosyncratic considerations
informing the researcher they had kept the children because a) the surrender process
would be too painful; b) parenting would relieve otherwise boring or lonely lives; c)
pregnancy was the mother's fault, not the babies' and they should not be punished by
being surrendered; d) the child might be angry with the mother at a later date if it were

surrendered; e) social assistance was available for mothers who kept their infants. The mothers who presented these reasons for keeping their children seemed to be primarily concentrating on their own needs and seeking to alleviate problems in their own lives.

For the adopting group, the parents were the most influential factors in their decisions to surrender. Although these reports suggest that these young mothers did not have much choice in the matter, other considerations indicate they in fact did. The next most important factor was their age and the perception that parenting is an adult task, not an adolescent one. The putative fathers' influence as well as friends' support were the next considerations. Other factors which received considerable weight included a) the baby needed two loving parents; b) the teen needed to complete her education; c) it was the best decision for both child and mother; d) finances precluded raising children as they deserved. These mothers appeared able to balance the infants' needs with their own.

In contrasting the two groups of teens, the Keepers' choices seemed based primarily on emotional issues whereas the Adopters took a rational view of their situations. The babies appeared to fill personal gaps for many Keepers including lack of friends and a sense of purpose. They provided a sense of self-esteem especially as most were beautiful and thriving. Despite the somewhat shaky rationales for raising infants, these mothers were absolutely determined to make a success of parenting. Those who had the assistance of their parents and the school systems seemed to be doing relatively well. Those who were at home generally lacked both friends and family support systems and presented as emotionally needy adolescents.

2. Perception of Personal Control

A non-significant difference between the two groups of teen mothers was apparent on the Rotter I-E Scale. The results for both Keepers and Adopters were in the direction of internal control indicating a personal decision would be based upon perceived control. This is in contrast with results in other studies where the pregnant teens demonstrated external locus of control (Rogel et al, 1980; Segal & DuCette, 1973). The results are consistent with Martin et al's (1976) study which employed the James I-E Scale. These authors do not state whether their sample exhibited internal or external locus of control, however.

There are two possible reasons for the nonsignificance between the current groups' results. First, although the Rotter I-E Scale is the best established instrument of its type, it appears to be formulated for adults. Therefore, it may not be touching on adolescent issues. Second, the fact that the interviewed mothers had made their decisions and were well established in accepting responsibility for them may have enhanced internality. This is certainly reflected in all the participants' statements throughout the interviews, "I can't believe how much I've matured. I'm so different now."

3. Adolescent Mothers' Personality

Variables

The mothers' results of the 16 PF, Trait E (submissiveness/dominance) did not differ significantly on this particular dimension. This result is at variance with Martin et al's (1976) results where small groups of Keepers and Adopters differed significantly in this trait. One reason for the larger groups' similarity again may relate to maturity and assumption of responsibility. The mothers in the former study were seen pre and post-partum at three months which may have not been sufficient time for the more submissive Keepers to work out some basic personal parenting issues. Since the children in this particular study ranged from two months to three years, the concerns which the participants in the earlier study may have been dealing with may have differed from these demonstrated by the current group.

There was no significant difference between the mothers' results on Trait O (adequacy/guilt) of the 16 PF although the adoptive group showed a greater tendency to guilt-proneness. This is in accordance with the thinking of theorists such as Dembo and Lundell (1979) and Vincent (1969) who perceive guilt and assumption of traditional norms as characteristics of surrendering mothers. Although guilt was not particularly evident in the adoptive teens' self-reports, it was a noticeable trend in the personality results demonstrated in Trait O.

The guilt may possibly arise from two sources. First the teens may have viewed themselves as having in some way disappointed their parents, families and themselves. Second, they may have had some residual regrets over surrendering the children even though they stated and perceived cognitively that the decision was best for mother and child. Louise Dean counselling personnel perceive the surrender process as containing

elements of a grieving process which requires time to resolve. The interviewed mothers may have not had sufficient time to work through their feelings.

There was no significant difference in the mothers' self-concepts as evidence by results on Trait Q, (self-sentiment) of the 16 PF. Both Adopters and Keepers demonstrated high self-sentiment of this particular scale in contrast with Zongker's perceptions (1977). The fact that much of this current sample was from two school situations which offer counselling and where all personnel actively attempt to enhance the mothers' self-concepts is a plus factor. These interviewed teens may be quite different from a group of other single mothers which would be seen in a community setting.

4. Problems Reported by Single

Mothers

The total number of problems identified by the two groups of mothers on the Mooney Problem Checklist were significantly at variance (p<.001). Additionally, the numbers of items underlined in 10 of the 11 categories also differed significantly. Interestingly, Keepers who denied problems during the interview portion of the session, admitted to them on the Mooney.

The mothers were alike in identifying Personal Problems as their area of greatest concern. The Keepers, however, identified greater numbers of items and thus presented as more troubled adolescents than the Adopters. The common items chosen by the Keepers as problem areas include moodiness, discouragement, lack of self-confidence, etc. The Adopters tended to focus on indecision and worry as common concerns. Although the teens presented similar responses in the self-concept portion (Trait Q,) of the 16 PF, the difficulties presented in this portion of the Mooney demonstrate their real worries and tend to validate Zongker's perceptions (1980) of the pregnant teen as an individual who feels unworthy and who is dissatisfied with herself.

Although the Keepers' and Adopters' total number of responses on the Adjustment to School Work category differed significantly, this was an area of real concern to both groups. The Adopters appeared disturbed that they had not been able to complete their schooling as originally planned. Many of the Keepers had been, to an extent, coerced into attending school by their social workers; otherwise, financial asistance would not have been provided. These mothers, some of whom had not been at

school for several years, found studying an unfamiliar task. It appeared that many were unmotivated to complete courses but were urged to do so by adults. In effect, they were caught in a bind. They wished to be at home with their children and to fulfill mother roles and yet were forced by circumstances to be students during the day and mothers at noontime and night. It is little wonder they worried about their marks and courses.

The third apparent area of concern for both groups involved Home and Family. Again the number of responses were discrepant with the Keepers expressing more concerns than the Adopters. The types of items underlined by the respondents illustrate differences in the two groups' perceptions of themselves and their parents. Whereas the Adopters tended to present responses which indicated they were worried about family members and viewed their parents as having to accept too much responsibility because of the unplanned pregnancies, the Keepers' items centred on young and middle adolescent issues: too little freedom, parents giving too much advice or criticism, a sibling being favored, clash of opinions, etc. Many of these mothers, according to their responses, felt unloved, to a certain extent excluded from their families, and ill-prepared to live independently. It appeared that issues, typical of young and middle adolescence, had not been mastered with the Keepers perceiving themselves in two roles, mothers and daughters, and unable to resolve the dilemma.

The areas of least concern for both groups of mothers involved "Courtship, Sex and Marriage," "Social and Recreational Activities", and "Curriculum and Teaching Procedures". With regard to the first and second categories, both groups of mothers seemed to have set aside the interest in dating which appears typical of most teens. For the Keepers, the infants' welfare seemed the primary concern. The Adopters appeared to centre on educational objectives. Perhaps their experiences had lessened both Keepers' and Adopters' interest in male attention and had made them realize that other goals were worthwhile. Also, many mothers in both categories indicated they did not feel ready for dating, indicating their adjustment to parenting and/or grieving were incomplete.

The perceived unimportance for both groups of "Curriculum and Teaching Procedure" is interesting when contrasted with the mothers' expressed concerns in the "School Work category". The former section involves statements regarding teachers' fairness, discipline, freedom, grades, etc. The students enrolled in both Louise Dean and

Terra Schools seemed to view their teachers more positively than would be typical of most teens. Possibly bacause both situations offer individualized programs, much personal attention, and encouragement, the staffs are perceived favorably and there are few concerns expressed by either group.

Prediction of Group Membership

Analysis of the data indicated that it was possible to predict group membership on the basis of the mothers' background characteristics but not their scores on objective measures such as personality tests. The criteria for group membership appear to fall into three factors: Factor I: Family status; Factor II: Plans and Future Orientation; Factor III: Family Constellation.

Factor I: Variables included in this category include the level of the teen's parent's education, her father's employment status, her residence and her dating pattern.

It may be hypothesized that the employment level of the teen's fathers influences pregnancy, first, and decision-making second, by the expectations which these parents have of their daughters. The teens in the Adopter group may be expected to remain at home with more supervision than would be typical of either independent living or many institutional settings. Dating for these teens involves males of similar ages and emotional maturity rather than the discrepancies reported by the Keepers.

If the parents have interpersonal problems and the father has an ayerage or less than average standard of employment, the mother will likely keep her baby. Earlier studies confirm this finding. Teens whose parents perceive few options in life and poor employment prospects tend to keep their children (Bernstein, 1971; Klein, 1978; Vincent, 1961). Teens from affluent families tend to have abortions or surrender their infants at birth (Mednick, 1980).

Perhaps because the parents of the Adopters tend to have at least average or above average educational attainment, the teens have had reinforcement within the home to direct themselves toward careers. The parents of these teens because of their greater education may not only be more aware of life choices for their daughters but the constrictions which single-parenting places upon an individual's life-style.

Factor II - Future Orientation: While the Adopters in this sample appeared to have no difficulty in perceiving their immediate and long-term goals, the Keepers appeared to think mainly of their present situation. This is in line with the suppositions of Magrab and Danielson (1979) and Elkind (1977) who view teens as unable to adequately perceive the consequences of actions. In a sense, the decision to parent may have been based upon faulty views of the demands of parenthood. This could be due partially to the feelings of omnipotence characteristic of adolescence but as well to denial of reality. Most mothers of newborns could not foresee their babies as other than helpless infants; those who had toddlers could not project into the future to imagine their children as kindergarteners or adolescents. Their plans for themselves were also constricted because they were unable to formulate personal goals. This difficulty may be also partially due to the type of parenting these mothers experienced and their parents' expectations (Lightman & Schlesinger, 1980).

Factor III - Family Constellation: Keepers reported having been raised by someone other than a natural parent during their formative years but Adopters were more likely to have had either parent as the primary caretaker. Bonding between parents and children may influence pregnancy and Keeping if the teen has experienced insufficient nurturance.

Keepers appear to have had models for single parenthood within their families but Adopters were far less likely to report this influence. This is consistent with interviews conducted by Rogel et al (1980) where 80 per cent of the population had friends or relatives who had been pregnant out-of-wedlock. Vincent (1969) discovered a cycle of illegitimacy in single parent families. It appears that many teens who become pregnant and decide to parent have models within their families or friends in similar situations who encourage them to keep the babies. Teens who choose to raise their children appear to have family consent for so doing.

If the putative father was older than the teen and is supporting her financially, she tended to keep their child. This finding confirms Hatcher's (1973; 1976) hypothesis of emotionally needy teens being drawn toward older males because of the attention derived. Part of the reasoning for the current sample's decision to parent may involve an emotional bond between the mother and her partner whose older age lends an aura of stability and support to the relationship. The Adopters, however, mentioned financial considerations as

an important factor in surrendering their children. Perhaps if they had received financial assistance from an older male, their decisions may have differed.

Educators and counsellors can utilize these predictive criteria to delineate areas which require most intervention. The counsellor's role is viewed as offering support to the pregnant teen or young mother and helping clarify the decision-making process. Through awareness of the characteristics of Keeping and Adopting teens, extra assistance may be provided to both groups and counselling strategies developed. For example, if an individual possesses several of the characteristics of a Keeper, the counsellor should be additionally aware of her family dynamics and emotional support system. The teen may require what appears to be an overwhelming amount of support and practical parenting experience so that she can make the best decision for herself and her child. Alternatively, if a teen decides to surrender her child, it would be helpful for the counsellor to determine who is assiting in the decision, the support provided and whether the decision is truly the teen's or partially the result of family pressure. Extra counselling during the grieving period would be beneficial for these mothers.

An important part of assistance for pregnant teens and single parents involves future orientation and planning for mothers and babies. Many of the Keepers in this study not only seemed unaware that parenting is a life-long role but their perception of their own future was limited. Many wanted freedom in the sense that they resented parent rules; however, they were unprepared to assume financial independence and had no awareness of vocational readiness. It seems important in the counselling process to assist teens in developing a sense of future so that the cyclical process of single parenthood perceived by Vincent (1961) and more latterly, MacDonnell (1981), is not perpetuated indefinitely.

Summary

In this study, the teen who chose to surrender her child appeared healthier emotionally than the mother who kept her child. The Adopters tended to perceive their parents and siblings as supportive. Their parents were firm in advocating surrender and the necessity of an education. There appeared to be little incidence of single parenthood in the immediate and extended families and the mothers firmly believed an infant needed two

parents for optimal nurturance.

The Adopters also had friends who were aware of their situation and who supported their decision as a personal responsibility. These teens perceived more support following pregnancy than before the event.

As a group, these mothers were directed toward personal goals, including education and careers. They were able to perceive a future for themselves, which did not include immediate motherhood, because they were to some degree aware of the constraints of parenting. They did not view single motherhood as a viable personal choice because of their backgrounds, their experiences and goals and because they had significant others who reinforced decisions to surrender.

The teen mothers who kept their babies, in contrast, appeared to have tenuous support systems and to some extent, appeared to feel the babies bolstered their sense of self-worth. Their extended or immediate families provided single parenting models as did their friends. These mothers depended upon their peers more than their parents and valued their advice regarding the decision to parent or surrender. Their presenting rationales for keeping appeared based primarily on emotional issues involving self-welfare rather than the infant's well-being.

The Keepers as a group were oriented toward parenting issues and not toward personal, long-term goals involving eduation or employment. Most of the interviewees who were involved in either of the two school situations had some difficulty resolving their mother-student roles. Most also were involved in adolescent-parent conflicts with their own parents, particularly if they were residing in the family home.

Both groups of teens were alike in their relationships with the putative fathers. Half of the latter were emotionally supportive at the very least but fifty per cent had abandoned the mothers or were unaware of their parent status.

While the Keepers generally did present during interview as emotionally needy in terms of denial of difficulties, inadequate support systems, their perceptions that mothherhood would be a totally happy state and their inability to see beyond the present except in a very idealized fashion, they also had several strengths. They genuinely cared about their children. They wanted to be good mothers and were eager to learn about child development and gain parenting skills. Those in school were attempting to ameliorate their

situations. They tended to view their peers positively and wanted to assist other teens so they would not become single parents. Like most teens they were ambivalent about adults, perceiving them alternately as interfering and helpful; however, they were able to rely on counsellors in the school situations during stress and recognized support services.

Whether their decision was to parent or surrender, all mothers agreed it was the most difficult choice they had ever made. Their common advice to other teens was, "Don't get pregnant. It's not worth it." One adopting mother who requested that the researcher include her letter to her baby, felt it might be helpful to other teens who were pregnant or to young women who thought pregnancy was a simple solution to their problems.

Dear Daughter,

I am writting you this letter so that you will be able to understand the reason why I gave you up for adoption.

I was 18 years old when I had you, there was alot of thinking put into my decesion, I tried talking to your father to see what he wanted to do for you but all I got from him was phone me at this time or I do not have a way to see you, so I had to do this on my own (and belive me, it was not easy to do) people were always telling me what to do, but I had to do this for myself and find out what my hopes were in keeping or giving you to someone who could give you that things that you need, I could not give you very much in return.

has been very hard for me to carry you for 9 months and just let go of you just like that, when I am old and gray I will still wander if I did the right thing for you or for me. There will be times when I see some child or teenager on the street if you are my little girl. If I was to keep you, you would not be very happy because it would be very hard on the both of us, my sister has a little boy and she is having a hard time in bringing up that little boy and I do not want to see you that way if I can help it. I am sure that you will be able to understand what I am trying to tell you. You will find it hard to deal with something like this, but I am sure if you turn out like me or your dad you will be able to handle anything that comes your way in life its self. Here is something for you to remember if you find it hard to deal with someone or something:

LIFE

LIFE is something people take for grandted, some have to stay in the hospital others may have a handycap but the only way you are going to get ahead of yourself is to become what you are today and fight for what you belive in as a person, there will be times that you wish you were not put on this earth at all, just remember that someone loves you or cares for you out there somewhere in the big old world.

(After an initial surrender, this young woman decided to raise her child.)

Implications

Although the sample was small and somewhat select as previously outlined, several possibilities for future study and interesting implications have arisen.

1. Early Identification of a Population

If a goal of our society is to assist our youth to become educationally, financially and emotionally independent, is it not important that we ensure that all young women as well as young men have that opportunity? It may be possible to identify those girls who are most at risk for single parenthood and attempt intervention through school and community programs to reduce the incidence of 'children raising children.'

As part of the schools' counselling program, those girls, for example, who have family members who are single parents, who have difficulty forming friendships, or who cannot perceive any future for themselves other than motherhood might receive extra attention. Group counselling might offer alternative life-styles, facilitate peer relationships, and focus on personal goal-setting.

Peer counselling and community speakers, including single mothers, could possibly assist 'at risk' teens to perceive current and future options. Since teens tend to discount adult experience (Mitchell, 1979), personal reports from girls who have undergone pregnancy might have far more impact on junior high and high school students and help prevent further incidents.

Many of the interviewed mothers, both Keepers and Adopters, reported they were eager to help other girls. It appears that they could be an available community resource to school counsellors and community workers such as public health nurses who were interested in reaching young women before pregnancy occurred.

2. Developmental Programs

Programs which enhance children's self-concepts, communication skills and assist in developing independent thinking and acceptance of responsibility are fairly common in elementary school settings. The particular needs of adolescents and the incidence of problems during this lifestage indicate a necessity for ongoing programs, through junior high school at least.

Teens are viewed by theorists such as Mitchell (1979) and Konopka (1973) as having difficulties with parents in establishing independence and communication skills. Their values fluctuate as do their feelings of worth and success. They tend to rely on peers for validation but basically feel misunderstood and unloved. Ongoing developmental programs which would assist teens in understanding themselves more fully would benefit everyone, not just a particular target population.

Ideally, a program for teens would also focus on the assumption of responsibility in interpersonal relationships so that both boys and girls would benefit. Decision-making skills, another important component of adult functioning, are seldom taught or practiced by educators of teens. A developmental program for adolescents should provide proficiency in this area. It would enable the participants to weigh the pros and cons of activities, perceive consequences from actions, and reinforce thinking about the future.

Although career days are common in junior high and high school settings, the usual procedure is to have awareness activities during a one-week or even one-day period. The responses of the Keeping mothers indicate a need for on-going career planning which could possibly be incorporated into a developmental program. Components of career awareness might include student perception and acceptance of abilities and interests as well as cognizance of the employment market. Although most Canadian men and women must be employed to maintain a basic family standard of living, a great percentage of Keeping mothers seemed unaware of this fact. It seems imperative that they realize that parenting is not the only responsibility that adulthood entails.

A further component of developmental programming for teens which might prove helpful involves mandatory work experience. Even one semester of part-time experience in a daycare setting would likely prove beneficial for all teens but particularly those in the high risk category. Since adolescents appear to learn most from immediate, practical

experience, participation in such an activity would enable a more realistic view of the rigours of child rearing. Young women who subsequently became pregnant and decided to keep their children would at least be making well-informed choices.

3. Longitudinal Research

It is a perception of several Canadian writers that single teen mothers have an increasingly difficult time with parenting as their children mature (MacDonnell, 1982; Poulos, 1969; Schlesinger, 1982). They are viewed by social workers as having ongoing problems in establishing adult relationships and independence and as prone to child neglect or abuse. None of these perceptions has actually been borne out because; to date, longitudinal research has not been undertaken. It seems important to follow-up on groups of keeping mothers to determine their long-term needs, difficulties, satisfactions and successes. It would be worthwhile to obtain sufficient samples (to allow for attrition) of young, middle and older teen mothers and arrange to contact them at three to five year intervals until their children have attained adult status. Only through this type of investigation can the current stereotyping be proven or disproved.

The children's long-term welfare is also a concern for the helping professions but little research has occurred with this population. Further longitudinal investigation should determine the numbers and percentages of children who are later surrendered by keeping teens. The variables which appear salient include the children's ages, sex, and rationales for surrender as well as the mothers' ages at birth and surrender. If, for example, the babies of 18 months are stressful for teen mothers and they are surrendering them, it would be important for these mothers to work with toddlers of this age on a 24 hour basis before they decide to keep their newborn infants.

Another area of longitudinal research which could prove helpful is to determine the later academic, social and emotional status of the children of single teen parents. Both social workers and teachers perceive these children as having very real difficulties; however, married status does not ensure a happy home and academic success, neither does a single parent family presume problems. An important aspect of the well-being of these children would include determining the person(s) who has/have assumed primary care status. Does the mother remain the major influence or does some other person or agency assume responsibility?

The same questions and longitudinal research might possibly be considered for adopted children.

4. Services to Unmarried Mothers

Two-thirds of single, pregnant teens reside in rural areas but services such as Terra and Louise Dean Schools and the Unmarried Mothers Unit are in urban centres. There appears to be a need to extend support services such as homes for pregnant teens and academic opportunities into the larger centres in outlying areas. Social workers view these teens as wanting to continue their education but as fearful of being stigmatized in their small communities and way of placement in large cities.

The greatest concern of keeping mothers as reported to social workers, is finances, yet this support is constrained to mothers under 18 years of age. There may be a need for futher assistance for this age group in terms of independent or communal living (e.g. group homes for teens and their infants) and incentives related to mastery of school subjects, Life Skills programs, or parenting courses.

It appears important to continue to attempt the involvement of the putative fathers before and after the infants' delivery, particularly if they are influential in the mothers' choices to parent. Involvement of the teens' parents also appears necessary. From the keeping mothers' reports, some parents have a bias in counselling them to rear the children and this needs to be clarified before the teen can make her decision objectively.

Involving the teen mother in the adoption process in strategies similar to those provided by the Department of Human Resources in British Columbia could possibly assist some teens who are fearful of surrender because they perceive it as a loss of power. If these mothers could choose the type of parents and family they wish for their children, some mothers might view adoption as a more suitable alternative.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abernethy, V. (1976). Prevention of unwanted pregnancy among teenagers. *Primary Care, 3*(3), 399-406.

Abernethy, V., Robbins, D., Abernethy, G.L., Grunebaum, H., & Weiss, J.L. (1975). Identification of women at risk for unwanted pregnancy. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 132*, 1027-1031.

Abramson, L.Y., Seligman, M.E.P., & Teasdale, J.D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 87*, 49-74.

Adams, B.N. (1976). The pregnant adolescent: A group approach. *Adolescence, 11*, (44), 467-483.

Babikian, H.M., & Goldman, A. (1971). A study in teenage pregnancy. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 128* (6), 111-116.

Baizerman, M., Sheehan, C., Ellison, D.L., & Schlesinger, E.R. (1974). A critique of the research literature concerning pregnant adolescents. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence, 3,* 61-75.

Balswick, J., & Macrides, C. (1975). Parental stimulus for adolescent rebellion. *Adolescence, 10,* 45-51.

Barglow, P., Bornstein, M., Exum, D.B., Wright, M.K., & Visotsky, H.M. (1968). Some psychiatric aspects of illegitimate pregnancy in early adolescence. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 38,* 672-687.

Baum, D.J. (1980). *Teenage Pregnancy.* Don Mills, Ont.: General Publishing.

Bernstein, R. (1966). Are we still stereotyping the unmarried mother? In R.W. Roberts (Ed.), *The unwed mother.* New York: Harper & Row.

Bernstein, R. (1971). *Helping Unmarried Mothers.* N.Y.: Association Press.

Bolton, F.G. (1980). *The pregnant adolescent: Problems of premature parenthood.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Bowerman, C.E., Irish, D.P., & Pope, H. (1966). *Unwed motherhood - Personal and social consequences.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

Burnell, G.M., & Norfleet, M.A. (1979). Women who place their infants up for adoption: A pilot study. *Patient Counselling & Health Education, 1,* 169-172.

Buros, O.K. (1965). *Mental measurement yearbook,* (Sixth Edition). Highlands Park, N.J.: Gryphon Press.

Busby, D. (1980). *Innovative ways to provide support services for teen parents in differing communities.* Resource person. American Orthopsychiatric Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, April.

Campbell, B., & Barnlund D. (1977). Communication patterns and problems of pregnancy. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 47,* 134-139.

Cattell, R.B. (1966). The scree test for the number of factors. *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 1,* 245-276.

Chilman, C.S. (1977). *Some policy and program implications of an overview of research concerning adolescent sexuality.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations, (San Diego, CA., October 12-15).

110

Clark, E.M.F. (1972). Selected personality characteristics of primapara and multipara unmarried and married lower class Negro women. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 33,* (1-B), 434-435.

Connell, E.G., & Jacobson, L. (1971). Pregnancy, the teenager and sex education. *American Journal of Public Health, 61,* 1840.

Connelly, L. (1975). Little mothers. *Human Behavior,* June, 17-23.

Curtis, F.L.S. (1974). Observations of unwed mothers. *American Journal of Nursing, 74* (1), 100-102.

Crandall, V.C., Katkovsky, W., & Crandall, V.J. (1965). Children's beliefs in their own control of reinforcements in intellectual-academic situations. *Child Development, 36,* 91-109.

Cvetkovich, G., Grote, B., Bjorseth, A., & Sarkissian, J. (1975). On the psychology of adolescents' use of contraceptives. *The Journal of Sex Research, 11* (3), 256-270.

Dembo, M.H., & Lundell, B. (1979). Factors affecting contraception practices: Implications for sex education. *Adolescence, 14* (56), 657-664.

Dickens, H. (1973). 100 pregnant adolescents: Treatment approaches in a university hospital. *American Journal of Public Health, 63,* 794-800.

Elkind, D. (1967). Cognitive structure and adolescent experience. *Adolescence, 2,* 427-434.

Elkind, D. (1977). Erik Erikson's eight stages of man, 17-28. In: *Readings In Human Development 77/78.* Sluice Dock, Guilford, Ct.: Dushkin Publishing Group.

Erikson, E. (1978). *Identity, youth and crisis.* New York: Norton.

Evans, J., Selstad, G., & Welcher, W. (1976). Teenagers: Fertility control behavior and attitudes before and after abortion, childbearing or negative pregnancy test. *Family Planning Perspective, 8* (4), 192-200.

Festinger, T.B. (1971). Unwed mothers and their decisions to keep or surrender children. *Child Welfare, 50* (4), 322-323.

Fielding, J.E. (1978). Adolescent pregnancy revisited. *New England Journal of Medicine, 299,* 893-896.

Fischman, S.H. (1975). The pregnancy-resolution decisions of unwed adolescents. *Nursing Clinics of North America, 10* (2), 217-227.

Fishman, S.H. (1977). Delivery or abortion in inner-city adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 47,* 127-133.

Frankl, V.E. (1953). *Man's search for meaning.* New York: Pocket Books.

Freud, A. (1958). Adolescence. *Psychoanalytic study of the child, 13,* 255-278.

Friedman, A.S. (1971). *Therapy with families of sexually acting out girls.* New York: Springer.

Furstenberg, F. Jr. (1971). Birth control experience among pregnant adolescents. *Social Problems, 19,* 192-203.

Furstenberg, F. Jr. (1970). Premarital pregnancy among Black teenagers. *Transaction, 7* (7), 52-55.

Furstenberg, F. Jr. (1976). The social consequences of teenage parenthood. *Family Planning Perspectives, 3* (4), 148-151.

Furstenberg, F. Jr., & Crawford, A.G. (1978). Family Support: Helping teenage mothers to cope. *Family Planning Perspectives, 10* (6), 322-333.

Furstenberg, F. Jr., Gordis, L., & Markowitz, M. (1969). Birth control knowledge and attitudes among unmarried pregnant adolescents: A preliminary report. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31* (1), 34-42.

Gispert, M. (1976). Sexual experimentation and pregnancy in young black adolescents. *American Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology, 126,* 459-466.

Gold, M., & Douvan, E. (1969). *Adolescent development.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Goldsmith, S., Gabrielson, M., & Gabrielson, I. (1972). Teenagers, sex, and contraception. *Family Planning Perspective, 4,* 32-38. ·.

Goode, W.J. (1961). Illegitimacy, anomie, and cultural penetration. *The American Sociological Review, 26,* 910-925.

Gordis, L., Fassett, J.D., Finkelstein, R., & Tayback, M. (1968). Adolescent pregnancy: A hospital-based program for primary prevention. *American Journal of Public Health, 58* (5), 849-858.

Gordon, C. (1970). A project in the area of unmarried parents. Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto. ·

Gottschalk, L.A. (1964). Psychosocial factors associated with pregnancy in adolescent girls: A preliminary report. *Journal of Nervous & Mental Diseases, 138* (6), 524-534.

Gouldner, A.W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review, 25,* 161-178.

Grow, L.J. (1979). Today's unmarried mothers: The choices have changed. *Child Welfare, 58,* 363-371.

Guyatt, D. (1974). Family planning and the adolescent girl. In B. Schlesinger, *Family Planning In Canada: A source book.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harrison, D.E. (1974). Premarital sexual standards of rural youth. *Journal of Sex Research, 10,* 266-277.

Hatcher, S.L. (1973). The adolescent experience of pregnancy & abortion. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence, 2* (1), 53-99.

Hatcher, S.L. (1976). Understanding adolescent pregnancy and abortion. *Primary Care, 3* (3), 407-425.

Heiman, M. (1961). Motivating the resistant client. *Child Welfare, 40* (11), 14-17.

Held, L. (1981). Self-esteem and social network of the young, pregnant teenager. *Adolescence, 16* (64), 905-912.

Herold, E.S. & Goodwin, M.S. (1980). A comparison of younger and older adolescent females attending birth control clinics. *Canadian Family Physician, 26,* 687-694.

Hertz, D.G. (1977). Psychological implications of adolescent pregnancy: Patterns of family interaction in adolescent mothers-to-be. *Psychosomatics, XVIII,* 13-16.

Hess, R.D., & Shipman, V.C. (1975). Early experience and the socialization of cognitive

models in children. In H.R. Stub (Ed.), *The sociology of education: A Sourcebook.* Homewood,Ill.: Dorsey.

Hildebrand, C.(1964). Casework with different kinds of unmarried mothers. *Child Welfare, 43*(1), 21-27.

Honig, A. (1978). What we need to know to help the teenage parent. *Family Co-ordinator, 27,* 113-119.

Hutton, M. (1968). A study of social factors affecting teenage multiparae. *Canadian Journal of Public Health, 59*(1), 10-14.

James, W.H., Woodruff, A.B., & Werner, W. (1965). Effect of internal and external control upon changes in smoking behavior. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 29* 184-186.

Janzen, H.L., & Beeken, D. (1973). Analysis of the applicability of the locus of control construct. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 19,* 295-302.

Jekel, J., Klerman, L., & Bancroft, R. (1973). Factors associated with rapid subsequent pregnancies among school-age mothers. *American Journal of Public Health, 63* (9), 769-773.

Johnson, C. (1974). Adolescent pregnancy: Intervention into the poverty cycle. *Adolescence, 9* (35), 391-406.

Jones, W.C., Meyer, H.J., & Borgatta, E.F. (1966). Social and psychological factors in status decisions of unmarried mothers. In R.W. Roberts (Ed.), *The unwed mother.* New York: Harper & Row.

Jorgensen, S.R., King, S.L., & Torrey, B.A. (1980). Dyadic and social network influences on adolescent exposure to pregnancy risk. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 42* (1), 141-155.

Josselyn, I.M. (1965). The unmarried mother. In R. Slovenko (Ed.), *Sexual behavior and the law,* 356-378. Springfield, Ma.: Thomas.

Juhasz, A.M. (1974). The unmarried adolescent parent. *Adolescence, 9*(34), 263-271.

Kagan, J. (1964). Acquisition and significance of sex typing and sex role identity. In M.L. Hoffman, & L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), *Review of Child Development Research,* 137-167. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kaiser, H.F. (1958). The varimax criterion for analytic rotation in factor analysis. *Psychometrika, 23,* 186-200.

Kane, F.J. (1973). Adolescent pregnancy: A study of aborters and non-aborters. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 43,* 796-803.

Kane, F.J., Moan, C.A., & Bolling, B. (1974). Motivational factors in pregnant adolescents. *Diseases of the Nervous System,* 131-134.

Kantner, J.F., & Zelnick, M. (1972). Sexual experience of young unmarried women in the United States. *Family Planning Perspective, 4,* 9-19.

Keeve, J.P. (1965). Selected educational and medical characteristics of primiparous 12-16 year old girls. *Pediatrics, 36,* 394-401.

Kimball, C.D. (1969). (In discussion of Van der Ahe's paper). *American Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology, 104* (2),285-286.

Kinch, R.A., & Kruger, E. (1970). Some sociomedical aspects of the adolescent

pregnancy. *International Journal of Gynaecology & Obstetrics, 8* (3), 480-486.

Klein, L. (1974). Early teenage pregnancy, contraception and repeat pregnancy. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, 120,* 249-256.

Klein, L. (1978). Antecedents of teenage pregnancy. *Clinical Obstetrivs and Gynecology, 21,* 1151-1157.

Konopka, G. (1973). *Requirements for healthy development of adolescent youth.* HEW: Office of Child Development.

Kravitz, N., Trossman, B., & Feldman, R.B. (1966). Unwed mothers: Practical and theoretical considerations. *Canadian Psychiatric Journal, 11,* 456-464.

La Barre, M. (1969). The triple crisis: Adolescence, early marriage and parenthood, 9-21. In *The double jeopardy the triple crisis.* New York: National Council on Illegitimacy.

Lasseigne, M.W. (1975). A study of peer and adult influences on moral beliefs of adolescents. *Adolescence, 10* (38), 227-230.

Lefcourt, H.M. (1976). *Locus of control: Current trends in theory and research.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlabaum.

Lightman, E.S., & Schlesinger, B. (1980). *Maternity homes and single mothers: Three profiles.* Presentation, American Orthopsychiatric Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, April.

Lorenzi, M.E., Klerman, L.V., & Jekel, J.F. (1977). School-age parents: How permanent a relationship? *Adolescence, 12* (45), 13-22.

MacDonald, A.P. (1970). Internal-external locus of control and the practice of birth control. *Psychological Reports, 27,* 206.

MacDonnell, S. (1981). *Vulnerable mothers, vulnerable children.* Halifax, N.S.: Nova Scotia Department of Social Services.

Magrab, P.R., & Danielson-Murphy, J. (1979). Adolescent pregnancy: A review. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology,* 121-124.

Martin, R.D., Mazurkewich, S., & Fischer, D.G. (1976). Pre- and post-parturition personality factors in 'Keep' versus 'Give' unwed mothers. *Canadian Counselor, 11,* 68-70.

Mathis, J.L. (1976). Adolescent sexuality and societal change. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 30,* 433-440.

McAnarney, E. (1978). Obstetric, neonatal and psychosocial outcome of pregnant adolescents. *Pediatrics, 61* (2), 199-205.

McHenry, P.C., Walters, L.H., & Johnson, C. (1978). Adolescent pregnancy. *The Family Coordinator, 28,* 17-28.

McKay, M.J., & Richards, H. (1973). Personality differences between one-time and recidivist unwed mothers. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 122,* 207-210.

Mednick, M. (1980). The plight of the adolescent mother. Discussant, American Orthopsychiatric Association Annual Meeting, Toronto.

Meikle, S., Pearce, K.I., Peitchinis, J., & Pysh, F. (1980). *Parental reaction to contraceptive programs for teenagers.* Calgary, Alta: Foothills Hospital.

Menken, T.C. (1972). Teenage childbearing: It's medical aspects and implications for the

U.S. population. In C. Westcalf & R. Parks, *Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Miller, A.D.G. (1972). Pressures toward deviance: The case of unwed mothers. *Dissertation Abstracts International*,

Miller, W.B. (1981). Psychological vulnerability to unwanted pregnancy, 350-354. In F. Furstenberg, Jr., R. Lincoln, & J. Menken, (Eds.), *Teenage sexuality, pregnancy & childbearing*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Mitchell, J.J. (1979). *Adolescent psychology*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston,

Monsour, K., & Stewart, B. (1973). Abortion and sexual behavior in college women. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 43*, 804-814.

Mooney, R.L., & Gordon, L.V. (1950). *The Mooney Problem Checklists*. New York: The Psychological Corporation.

Morrison, D. (1967). *Multivariate statistical methods*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Myerowitz, J.H., & Malev, J.S. (1973). Pubescent attitudinal correlates antecedent to adolescent illegitimate pregnancy. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 2* (3), 251-257.

Osofsky, H.J. (1973). Adolescents as mothers: An interdisciplinary approach to a complex problem. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 2* (3), 233-247.

O'Hanlon, L.A. (1983). *An examination of data from the unwed mothers background data sheet*. Unpublished manuscript, Red Deer, Alberta.

Osofsky, H.J. (1968). *The pregnant teenager*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.

Osofsky, J.D., & Osofsky, H.J. (1978). Teenage pregnancy: Psychosocial considerations. *Clinical Obstetrics & Gynecology, 21*, 1161-1173.

Pannor, R., Massarik, F., Evans, B. (1971). *The unmarried father: New approaches for unmarried young parents*. New York: Springer.

Pauker, J.D. (1969). Girls pregnant out of wedlock. In M. LaBarre & W. LaBarre (Eds.), *The Double Jeopardy, the Triple Crisis Illegitimacy Today*. New York: National Council on Illegitimacy.

Phipps-Yonas, S. (1980). Teenage pregnancy and motherhood. *American Journal of Orthopsychology, 50* (3), 403-431.

Pochin, J. (1969). *Without a wedding ring*. London: Anchor Press.

Polley, M.J. (1979). Teen mothers: A status report. *Journal of School Health*, 466-469.

Polsby, G.K. (1974). Unmarried parenthood: Potential for growth. *Adolescence, 9* (34), 273-284.

Pomeroy, R., & Landman, L.C. (1972). Public opinion trends: Elective abortion and birth control services to teenagers. *Family Planning Perspective, 4*, 44-55.

Poole, C. (1976). Contraception and the adolescent female. *Journal of School Health, 46*, 475-479.

Pope, H. (1967). Unwed mothers and their sex partners. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29* (3), 555-567.

Poulos, S. (1969). *A problem inventory of single mothers*. Children's Aid Society of

Vancouver, B.C.

Bozsonyi, J. (1973). *A longitudinal study of unmarried mothers who kept their first-born children.* London, Ontario: Family and Children's Services.

Prather, F. (1981). Family environment, self-esteem and the pregnancy status of adolescent females. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42* (1A), 90.

Quay, H.C. (1981). Psychological factors in teenage pregnancy. In Scott, K.G., Field, T., & Robertson, E.G. (Eds.), *Teenage parents and their offspring.* N.Y.: Grune & Stratton.

Reiss, I., Banwart, A., & Foreman, H. (1975). Premarital contraceptive usage: A study and some theoretical explorations. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 37,* 619-629.

Renshaw, D.C. (1978). Sex and values. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry, 39* (9), 716-719.

Roberts, R.W. (1966). *The unwed mother.* New York: Harper.

Rogel, M.J., Zuehlke, M.E., Peterson, A.C., Tobin-Richards, M., & Shelton, M. (1980). Contraceptive behavior in adolescence: A decision-making perspective. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9* (6), 491-506.

Rotter, J.B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs, 80.*

Russell, B., & Schild, S. (1976). Pregnancy counseling with college women. *Social Casework, 324-329.*

Sarrell, P., & David, C. (1966). The young unwed primipara. *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, 65,* 722-725.

Scales, P., & Beckstein, D. (1982). From macho to mutuality: Helping young men make effective decisions about sex, contraception, and pregnancy. In I.R. Stuart & C.F. Wells (Eds.), *Pregnancy in adolescence: Needs, problems and management.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Schlesinger, B. (1979). *One in ten: The single parent in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto.

Schlesinger, B. (1982). *Canadian teenage pregnancy: Issues in the 1980's.* Address to: Teenage Pregnancy, a 1982 Perspective, Calgary, Alberta.

Sears, R.R., Rau, L., & Alpert, R. (1965). *Identification and child rearing.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Segal, S.M., & DuCette, J. (1973). Locus of control and pre-marital high school pregnancy. *Psychological Reports, 33,* 887-890.

Settlage, D., Baroff, S., & Cooper, D. (1973). Sexual experience of young teenage girls seeking contraceptive assistance for the first time. *Family Planning Perspectives, 5* (4), 223-226.

Shah, F., Zelnik, M., & Kantner, F. (1975). Unprotected intercourse among unwed teenagers. *Family Planning Perspectives, 7,* 39-43.

Shouse, J.W. (1975). Psychological and emotional problems of pregnancy in adolescence, 161-186. In J. Zockler (Ed.), *The teenage pregnant girl.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.

Singer, A. (1971). A program for young mothers and their babies. *Social Casework,* 567-577.

Smith, M.S.W. (1971). Development of sexual maturity. *Canadian Family Physician*.

Sorenson, R.c. (1973). *Adolescent sexuality in contemporary America*. New York: World.

Sorosky, A.D., Baron, A., & Panmor, R. (1978). *The adoption triangle*. New York: Anchor Press / Doubleday.

Steinlauf, B. (1979). Problem-solving skills, locus of control and contraceptive effectiveness of young women. *Child Development, 50*, 268-271.

Stevens, L., & Jones, E.E. (1976). Defensive attribution and the Kelley cube. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34*, 809-820.

Stine, O.C., Rider, R.V., & Sweeney, E. (1964). School leaving due to pregnancy in an urban adolescent population. *American Journal of Public Health, 54*, 1.

Sugar, E. (1976). At-risk factors for the adolescent mother and her infant. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 5* (3), 251-269.

Taylor, S.E., & Koivumaki, J.H. (1976). The perception of self and others: Acquaintanceship, affect and actor observer differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36*, 778-798.

Thompson, K. (1980). A comparison of black and white adolescents' beliefs about having children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 42*(1), 133-139.

Tietze, C. (1978). Teenage pregnancies: Looking ahead to 1984. *Family Planning Perspective, 10* (4), 205-207.

Timson, J. (1980). Teen sex. *Maclean's*, 39-46, March 31.

Tomney, P. (1979). *Adolescent pregnancy: A critical review of the literature*. Edmonton, Alberta: The City of Edmonton Health Department.

Vincent, C.E. (1969). Familial and generational patterns of illegitimacy. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31* (4), 659-667.

Vincent, C.E. (1961). *Unmarried mothers*. New York: The Free Press.

Wallston, B.S., Wallston, K.A., Kaplan, G.D., & Maides, S.A. (1976). Development and validation of the Health Locus of Control (HLC) Scale. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 44*, 580-585.

Washington, V. (1978). Teen parents project. Howard University College of Medicine. Unpublished questionnaire.

Wrenn, F. (1982). *Medical aspects of teen pregnancy*. Unpublished paper presented at Teenage Pregnancy, A 1982 Perspective, Calgary, Alberta, (November 12).

Wright, M.K. (1966). Comprehensive services for adolescent unwed mothers. *Children*, 170-176.

Young, A.T., Berkman, B., & Rehr, H. (1975). Parental influence on pregnant adolescents. *Social Work, 20* (5), 387-391.

Young, L.R. (1966). Personality patterns in unmarried mothers. In R.W. Roberts (Ed.), *The Unwed Mother*, 81-94. N.Y.: Harper & row.

Zelnick, M., & Kantner, J.F. (1977). Sexual and contraceptive practices of young unmarried women in the U.S., 1976 and 1971. *Family Planning Perspectives*, 55-71.

Zongker, C.E. (1977). The self-concept of the pregnant adolescent. *12* (48), 477-488.

Zongker, C.E. (1980). Self-concept differences between single and married school-age mothers. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9* (2), 175-183.

Zuckerman, M. (1979). Attribution of success and failure revisited, or: The motivational bias is alive and well in attribution theory. *Journal of Personality, 47,* 245-287.

Appendix A

Table 1

Contraceptive Usage by Females

	Keepers		Adopters			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contraceptives used	9	18.8	8	33.3	17	24
No contraceptives	39	81.3	16	66.7	55	76
Total	48	100.1	24	100.0	72	100

Raw   = 1.887   1 df   p>0.05

Corrected   = 1.164   1 df   p>0.05

Teen Mothers' Rationales for Pregnancy

	Keepers		Adopters	
	N	%	N	%
1. Never considered pregnancy	11	22.9	0	0.0
2. Didn't think would happen	5	18.7	8	33.3
3. Oral contraceptive too weak	6	12.5	6	25.0
4. Erratic use of oral contraceptive	10	20.8	3	12.5
5. Did not care	3	6.2	0	0.0
6. Planned to become pregnant	7	14.6	0	0.0
7. Thought boyfriend using condom	2	4.2	3	12.5
8. Condom failure	0	0.0	2	8.3
9. Rape	0	0.0	2	8.3

11 G

Table II

The Percentage of Teen Mothers Reporting Decision Rationale

	Keepers		Adopters	
	N	%	N	%
1. Parent influence	32	66.6	19	79.2
2. Friend influence	34	70.8	12	50.0
3. Putative father influence	28	58.3	13	54.2
4. "He / she is mine"	7	14.6		
5. Deliberate pregnancy	7	14.6		
6. Bonding at birth	5	10.4		
7. "My fault, my responsibility"	4	8.3		
8. Personal loss / hurt	6	12.6		
9. Alleviate boredom / loneliness	3	6.3		
10. Financial considerations	3	6.3	5	20.8
11. Mother was adopted	1	2.1	1	4.2
12. Love / hate child's father	2	4.2	2	8.3
13. Age / responsibility			14	58.4
14. Child needs two parents			8	33.3
15. Continue education			8	33.3
16. Best for child & mother			7	29.2
17. Loss of freedom			3	12.5

Table III

Recoding of Pertinent Variables

	Means	
	Keepers	Adopters
1. Primary care provider		
0 - mother / father	.42	.08
1 - other		
2. Residence		
0 - parents' home	.65	.21
1 - other		
3. Mother's education		
0 - less than high school	.21	.58
1 - high school / post secondary		
4. Father's education		
0 - less than high school	.17	.63
1 - high school / post secondary		
5. Father's employment		
0 - nonlaborer	.73	.29
1 - laborer		
6. Father's employment		
0 - nonmanagement	.04	.67
1 - management		
7. Single parents in family		
0 - yes	.42	.83
1 - no		
8. Perception of responsibility		
0 - yes	.79	.42
1 - no		
9. Age difference between mother and putative father		
0 - 3 years or less	.48	.17

1 - more than three years

10. Financial support from putative father

    0 - support   .60   .96

    1 - no support

11. Education plans

    0 - continue education   .35   .00

    1 - quit school/uncertain

12. Employment

    0 - employment plans   .52   .17

    1 - no employment plans

13. Future plans

    0 - definite plans   .27   .13

    1 - vague or uncertain plans

14. Career intentions

    0 - school or work   .67   .17

    1 - at home or uncertain

Appendix B

Teen Mothers' Questionnaire

1. Mother's age

2. Kept--surrendered

3. Baby's Age

Family Questions

4. Birth order within family

> Oldest (only) - 1

> Middle - 2

> Youngest - 3

5. Primary caretaker during childhood

> mother / father - 1

> Relatives - 2

> Other - 3

6. Raised by:

> Biological parents - 1

> Adoptive parents - 2

> Foster parents - 3

> Step-parents - 4

7. Marital status of parents:

> Living together - 1

> Separated / divorced / death - 2

> Never married - 3

8. Advice provider:

> Before pregnancy:

>> Immediate family - 1

>> Others - 2

>> Nobody - 3

> After pregnancy:

>> Immediate family - 1

>> Others - 2

Nobody - 3

9. Head of current household:

Parents - 1

Independent - 2

With friends (P.F.) - 3

Other - 4

10. Religion

Roman Catholic - 1

Protestant - 2

Other / none - 3

11. Religious service attendance

Frequent - 1

Occasional - 2

Never - 3

12. Mother's educational level

Grade 0-8 - 1

Grade 9-11 - 2

Grade 12 - 3

college / university - 4

13. Mother's occupation

Homemaker - 1

Secretary / sales - 2

Managerial / professional - 3

14. Father's educational level

Grade 0-8 - 1

Grade 9-11 - 2

Grade 12 - 3

College / university - 4

15. Father's occupation

Laborer - 1

Trades / technical - 2

Managerial / professional - 3

16. Parent and family attitude about pregnancy

    Anger - 1

    Acceptance - 2

    Supportive - 3

17. Other unwed pregnancies in family

    yes - 1

    no - 2

    If so, whom?

Pregnancy & Child Care

18. Before became pregnant, was a baby desired.

    yes - 1

    no - 2

19. Use of birth control

    yes - 1

    no - 2

20. When pregnant, awareness of responsibility / care involved with infant

    yes - 1

    no - 2

21. Past caretaking of young children

    Much - 1

    Some - 2

    Little - 3

    None - 4

Putative Father

22. Age difference between P.F. and mother

    Within 1 year of age - 1

    Within 3 years of age - 2

    More than 3 years difference - 3

23. Financial support from P.F.

    Receiving support - 1

No support - 2

24. Father's attitudes toward child

    Mother's decision - 1

    Keep infant - 2

    Surrender infant - 3

    Abortion - 4

    Don't know - 5

25. Mother / father still involved

    yes - 1

    no - 1

Academic

27. Currently in School

    yes - 1

    no - 2

28. Current education program

    Junior high - 1

    Matriculation - 2

    Diploma - 3

    Vocational - 4

    Not attending - 5

29. Plans for further education

    High school completion - 1

    NAIT / SAIT - 2

    College / university - 3

    Complete current year only - 4

    Don't know - 5

30. Job / career plans following school-leaving

    Secretarial - 1

    Technical - 2

    Professional - 3

    Remain at home - 4

Don't know - 5

Friends / support systems

31. Are any friends single mothers

yes - 1

no - 2 .

32. Mothers' friends' advice about baby

Keep child - 1

Surrender child - 2

Teen's decision - 3

Unaware of pregnancy - 4

33. Friendship / support system following pregnancy

Friends as supportive - 1

Friends more supportive - 2

Friends less supportive - 3

No friends - 4

34. Who is contacted for emotional support

Mother - 1

Father - 2

Sibling(s) - 3

Grandparent - 4

Social worker / counsellor - 5

Girls at school - 6

No one - 7

Goal Setting

35. Two year prediction

Attending school / post-secondary - 1

Employed - 2

At home - 3

Don't know - 4

36. Five year prediction

Attending school / post-secondary - 1

Employed - 2

At home - 3

Don't know - 4

37. Chances of success in obtaining goal

Very good - 1

Good - 2

Fair - 3

Poor - 4