SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE WITH WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

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Statement of Problem

Immigration Changes

America, as a land of immigrants, is a common phrase widely accepted on face value. "Give me your tired, your poor...Send these, the homeless, tempest, tost, to me..." (Kessner Caroli 1982:7), however, are lyrics carved on the base of the Statute of Liberty which did not apply equally to all populations. It is only in the last two decades that Americans have witnessed hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Asia, South and Central America, and the Caribbeans. This period and its immigrants have been referred to as the new wave, new immigrants, and the new populations (Bryce-LaPorte 1972, Foner 1987, Kraly 1987). The recognition of this migration movement as new is inextricably related to the social and political changes in the United States during this period which became the catalyst for major immigration reform effecting, most notably, people of color.

On the heels of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the signing by President Johnson of a new immigration law on 10/3/65 (Kessner & Caroli 1982:3) ushered in a era of accessibility for new populations and ethnics. These amendments to the immigration laws were a major policy shift for the United States towards a more equitable policy worldwide. The principle of national origins was rejected outright and immigrant visas were to be issued on a first come first served basis according to a visa preference system. This era reflected the climate of the optimistic spirit of the 60's which fostered a belief in the commitment to a respect for differences, an attack on exclusivity, and a permissiveness to developing nations. It was the culmination of enormous pressure for a more humane process that reflected equity and justice under the law commensurate with the national ideals of America. For the first time populations from Asia, Central and South America, and the Caribbean Islands were afforded easier access to America.

West Indian Immigrants, the subject of this study and a major segment of the new populations as a result of the immigration changes, are a subculture of Blacks born in one of the English-speaking Caribbean Islands who subsequently immigrated to the United States. Theses Islands consist of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago, Antigua, St. Croix, and others and extends from the coast of Florida in the north to Venezuela in the south (Brice 1982:123). Social work values emphasize the need for heightened sensitivity to cultural variables and racial differences. West Indians present real challenges to the social work

profession if they are to become full participants in a democratic society.

Impetus for Study

A high concentration of reports of suspected child abuse and neglect and foster care placements in a large northeastern city, ranking number 4 out of 59 community districts for findings of maltreatment and number 5 in the number of children entering foster care (City of New York 1984), in an area heavily represented by West Indians was the precipitous for the design of a preventive social service program. The findings from a survey of the West Indian families receiving services at the preventive agency suggest an understanding of the cultural distinctions of this population could provide a framework and guidelines for more effective and culturally responsive social services (Thrasher & Anderson 1988).

The identification of the need to understand the cultural specificities of West Indians as a subculture of Blacks is based on the premise there is not a monolithic Black culture but there are subcultures and diversity within the common history of African ancestry. Although there has been a budding of ethnic awareness in the last decade, it is still viewed within the framework of the White Protestant and middle-class American family with even less about the family life and child rearing patterns of ethnic groups (Mindel and Habenstein 1976). The extension review by Staples and Mirande (1980) corroborates this perspective as they found the assumption of superiority of the Anglo-Saxon culture and devaluation of other groups (Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and Native American) prior to the 1970's. Even though the last decade has brought some positive aspects of ethnic groups to the surface, there continues to be a gap in focusing on the ethnic minority group as a unit rather than comparing it with the dominant culture (Staples & Mirande 1980). The West Indian Immigrant family is a subculture of Blacks which is widely ignored in the professional literature. Many authors (Foner 1986; McLaughlin 1981; Bryce-LaPorte 1972; Couch 1979; Schlesinger 1968) underscore the paucity of empirical research and the magnitude of unanswered questions regarding this Caribbean population and concur on the need to understand the culture variables and family patterns which influence the immigrant's adaptability to the new environment.

Ethnographic interviews with West Indian families, particularly the parent-child relationship, became the focus of this research project. The findings were used to implement a workshop for practitioners for incorporation in their practice in delivering social services to this population.

Research Design and Methodology

Theoretical Orientation

The Ethnographic Research Design and Methodology of this project follows the Developmental Research sequence as conceptualized by James Spradley (1979), a cultural anthropologist, which uses a cultural anthropological approach in language decoding. The goal is grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world...Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people" (Spradly 1979:3). Ethnography is based on the concept of culture as the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret their world and their behavior which is closely akin to the theory of symbolic interactionism from sociology which seeks to explain human behavior in terms of meaning (Spradly 1979). This theory says that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them, that the meaning of things arise from the social interactions that humans have for each other, and meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process used by the persons dealing with the things encountered. This perspective of culture in the context of people interacting is the reason there are so many interpretations for the same phenomenon.

Ethnographic research is also based on a relational theory of meaning which asserts that culture is a system of meaningful symbols which arise out of the social interaction that one has with others (Spradly 1979:95). Cultural knowledge becomes an intricately patterned system with language as a primary symbol that encodes cultural meaning and the meaning of any symbol is its relationship to other symbols in a particular culture. Language is peculiar to each social group and is fully understood only by its members and there can not be an assumption that we understand precisely what a person from a particular group means.

The task in ethnography is to discover the nature of the relationships of the language by decoding the cultural symbols and identifying the underlying decoding rules for the particular culture. The researcher becomes the student in learning the concepts that the informants use to classify and define their experiences directly from them in their own terms rather than imposing preconceived categories and hypotheses.

Collection and Analysis of Cultural Categories

Data collection or interviewing and analysis occur simultaneously so as to begin searching for relationships among the symbols and terms used by the informants of the culture. The analysis is a search for the parts of the culture, the relationship among the parts, and their relationship to the whole as described by the informants. Domains are the larger categories of cultural knowledge which include other cultural symbols and are the most important and first unit of analysis. Domains

are discovered by listening to and analyzing the semantic relationship of two or more terms linked together in a well-planned relationship to each other. The 9 universal semantic relationships the most useful in discovering domains are (1) strict inclusion, (2) spatial, (3) cause-effect, (4) rationale, (5) location for action, (6) function, (7) means-end, (8) sequence, and (9) attribution (Spradley 1979). These relationships, however, may not be expressed directly but are imbedded in the larger sentences and must be extrapolated. In the discovery of domains, the first feature is the cover term which is the name for the category of cultural knowledge. Cover terms may be jargon words that are associated with a certain group, ordinary English words with a special reference, or certain words that stand out because they are unfamiliar or because they seem to have a special meaning for the person. These cover terms are linguistic guides to the cultural meaning the person has in his or her experience and is the language window to the cultural reality of another person. The second feature is that there are at least two included terms that belong to the category of knowledge named by the cover term in the folk language of the informant. The third feature of the domain is a single semantic relationship links a cover term to all the included terms in the domain. Finally, every domain has boundaries meaning there things that belong inside the domain and things that belong are outside or are not a part of that particular domain. Identifying domains is the most difficult task faced by the researcher because people talk in ordinary sentences and not domains even though they are experts about their culture. It is critical, therefore, to suspend and set aside preconceived categories and allow the domains to emerge from the interviews.

Taxonomic analysis is the next level of inquiry which investigates the internal structure of the domains and their subsets. This means interviewing widely over many topics and in depth into particular topics, in this instance the parent-child relationship.

Componential analysis is the third level of inquiry which focuses on multiple semantic relationships which could not be incorporated during the domain and the taxonomic analyses. Componential analysis recognizes these semantic relationships as the social, cultural, and psychological reality of the informants and shows them schematically in the paradigm.

Theme analysis is the final level of inquiry and is the overarching ethos of the culture recurring in a number of domains connecting domains to the culture as a whole and are captured in values, core symbols, and world views of the informants. A cultural theme is defined as a "postulate or position declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Spradley 1979:185). Themes are translated into cognitive principles which people believe as true and sometimes they are not expressed directly and remain tacit but are very much known by the informants as their cultural reality.

Research Sample

The ethnographic interviews and participation observation consisted of 10 West Indian families of 45 informants self-selected from a survey (Thrasher & Anderson 1988) of past or present recipients of a prevention program to avert the placement of children in foster care. At least one of the informants in each family constellation was under 18 years of age. Since anonymity was promised and identifying information to be held in strictest confidence, pseudonyms are used for family members rather than actual names and ages are in a range as a way of disguising specifics. The interviews and participation observation all took place in the natural environment of the homes of the informants during 1, 2, or 3 field visits depending on the number of informants in the family and the emerging data about their lives.

The informants were from the English-speaking Caribbean Islands of Jamaica, Antigua, Guyana, and Trinidad.

TABLE 1
RESEARCH SAMPLE OF FAMILY UNIT
N-10 FAMILIES
N-45 INFORMANTS
N-58 MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD

Head of Household	Children Under 18	Children Over 18	Other Household Members
1. Ms. Reed (35-40)	2 (10-13) 1 (13-16) nephew		
2. Ms. Ray (35-40)	2 (12-16)		
3. Mr. Hall (45-50) Mrs. Hall (45-50)	1 (12-17)	2 (18-25)	1 (brother of Mr. Hall)
4. Mr. Evans (45-50) Mrs. Evans (45-50)	2 (13-17)	1 (18-25)	
5. Ms. Jones (40-45)	2 (13-17) 1 (14-17) nephew		2 (parents of Ms. Jones) 1 (brother of Ms. Jones
6. Ms. Dale (40-45)	3 (10-17)		1 (sister of Ms. Dale)
7. Mr. Cross (40-45) Mrs. Cross (40-45)	4 (4-16)	2 (18-20)	2 (boarders - West Indian)
8. Mr. Clark (45-50) Mrs. Clark (45-50)	1 (13-17)	1 (19-23)	1 (friend of adult child)
9. Mr. Rufus (45-50) Mrs. Rufus (45-50)	3 (8-15)	2 (18-25)	
10. Ms. Lewis (45-50)	3 (12-17) 1 (infant grandchild)	1 (18-23)	

Major Cultural Themes

Sharing and Caring

Martin and Martin (1978:1) define a Black extended family as a "multigenerational, interdependent kinship system which is wielded together by a sense of obligation to relatives; is organized around a family base household; is generally guided by a dominant family figure; extends across geographical boundaries to connect family units to an extended family network; and has a built in mutual aid system for the welfare of its members and the maintenance of the family as a whole." Their definition encompasses the the West Indian Family constellation before, during, and after immigration as the household in the United States and the household in the Islands become interdependent, functioning as one family unit. The usual immigration pattern is one in which an adult, usually a female, comes unaccompanied to the United States and becomes the core or dominate member to begin the chain of migration for sponsoring spouses, parents, siblings, and children. This arrangement becomes a mutual helping network system and the household compositions reflect a pattern of multigenerational households in the new country.

As the adult member prepares to emigrate, other family members support the move by becoming the caretakers for the children who are to remain in the home land until a future date. After the move, both children and adult family members are provided for in the homeland by the immigrant as monetary and material gains are made in the new country. Even after the children of the immigrants join their parents in the United States, the other family members who remain in the Islands continue to receive, goods, services, and money from the emigrating adult. There is a strong responsibility for sharing any prosperity or wealth with relatives back in the Islands and the relatives continue to remain caretakers for the emigrating children during summer and vacation periods.

The core member or dominant figure who initiated the immigration process for the entire family plays a major role in reinforcing kinship bonds. Ms. Ray relates her experiences in this role:

> In 1969 I sent a vacation letter for my brother. Then I filed again for my sister who ended up living with me for I think 9-1/2 years. She was 14 at the time when she first came over. She went through high school here. Then when she finished high school she went to Manhattan Community College. After I got my sister here, then I fixed the papers for my mother and another younger brother...So, after my mother came she sponsored the other two girls--my sisters...I started a whole generation here...I have one brother in Jamaica who is my oldest brother...He is so set in his ways. He has not shown any special interest in coming to live here, only just to visit...After my mother got my sisters over, they were able to get their children because they had married in

Jamaica...My mother is back in Jamaica living now and she is remarried after my father died.

I still help my sisters with their children when I can. Just last week my niece went to a wedding and she called to see if I could help her get the dress as she is singing in the choir...I know they appreciate it and they always take advice. I tell Sam and John whatever you have should be shared with one another because that is how we grew up. When I left home my sisters were small and I usually sent them things...So, I practically took care of them when they were smaller with going to school and everything...They get together and buy me something real nice during holiday and birthday time. And I say why do you want to spend so much money on me and they say you deserve it because you have been like mother and father to us...In a way they all look up to me. Because if anything happens, they call me and say you have to come and talk to so and so. When there is a problem they always want me to call a meeting and talk it over. I always have to be there and my brother from Jersey--always going to solve their problem.

The extended family in the sharing of functions, however, was not without its problems in the parent-child relationship when the parent immigrated to the United States and the other family members became primary caretakers for the children. The prolonged separation of parent and child often created tension in the relationship upon reunification. It took Mrs. Cross nine years before she was able to reunite her four children born in the Islands in one household in the United States. Mrs. Cross relates the difficulties she is experiencing with Larry who lived with his grandparents for age 3-12 when Mrs. Cross brought him to America:

I am worried about Larry. He does not talk about what is bothering him. He has never really had an easy time of things since he's been here. With my working and with the babies I am very busy. He is still not used to this country. I have no problem with him at home. He is quiet and he likes to fix and putter with things...I know it has not helped this thing of him being in special education. I don't know why he took this butcher knife to school..He says the kids bother him and he is afraid for them here in these streets...This is a puzzle to me...There is no fighting that goes on here...I do know he misses his grandmother but we call and write.

In speaking to Larry the sadness of the separation from his grandmother and the homeland are apparent:

At home you can be outside all the time. Sometimes I can just walk and walk, day and night...My grandparents have a farm and you can just cook and eat outside...Susan helped me write a letter to my grandmother and I sent her $2 from my job and I told her to have a good meal...Yes, I did want to be here with my mother.

With God's Help

The theme of a strong religious orientation with a full range of expression was a guiding framework for inculcating family values and a part of the child-rearing practices. In some instances there was a formal church membership with accompanying rituals and procedures ascribed by the families. Even in those instances where regular church attendance and membership were not adhered to, a spirituality and religiously were acknowledged as significant components for family functioning as related by Mrs. Evans:

I was able to get my whole family here with God's help. I didn't go to parties but just saved my money...I worked seven days a week...My family and I are very close...I work hard and stay together and pray together...I always try to walk with God...I have been to a church here occasionally but not regularly do I belong or have a membership, but we pray together here. Every Sunday morning we have services here at home. We did this back home and we have it right here. This is the way of worship that we started and we still worship God.

Jan, teenage daughter of Ms. Dale, talks openly about her church involvement as a positive alternative to the activities she witnesses on her block:

I do everything not to be on this block because I don't like the way the people on this block act. For instance like the people next door, they don't do anything-like their girls don't have ambition. It's like a drug block around here all of a sudden. It's like everywhere you turn you see them either pregnant or they already have a child and stuff like that...We go to the summer day camp at our church where they have a bus and take us on trips and fun things...I teach in the Sunday School. I have been a Sunday School teacher for a long time and I really like it...Lee, John, and I play music for the church with our instruments. We learned from our father...My mother sometimes sings along with us and so do the elders of the church.

Seen and not Heard

Respect, obedience, and silence in the presence of parents and other authority figures emerged as core values in the childrearing practices for West Indian children. A respectful physical distancing, possible because of the spacious environment of the Islands, served as boundaries for the parent-child relationship to discourage an egalatarian status and merging of roles between the parent and the child. The frustration of the inability to maintain this physical separation and role differentiation in the closer living quarters of the city is revealed by Ms. Jones in her comments:

It is important for children to know their place in the presence of grownups. If adults are having a conversation you don't have children present, listening and talking. But it is hard to do that here. For instance you and I are sitting here talking in the living room and the kids are in the bedroom doing what they have to do. But if they have to go to the kitchen for something or to the bathroom they have to come right through here. At home they would have the yard and all the space to be doing all their things away from us.

Similarly, Ms. Lewis states:

My people feel that people should be respected, especially by children. They feel children should be seen and not be heard around grownups. Children must know their place--you are a child and you must be a child--not try to grow up faster than you are or try to act like an adult. Grown people--you and I are here sitting and talking--you don't have children sitting around listening and talking with you...The people back home don't stand for back talk. I know I have to bend a little, but I am not about to let myself falter by the wayside and let them be disrespectful. You show respect by being quiet around grownups. My kids know I will not have this loudness, talking, and laughing around grownups which shows no respect. Not me.

Ms. Dale corroborates the same theme of respect and obedience by the child to an adult even when there is conflict between the families:

You don't talk back to nobody. And even if myself and another family have a problem and even if we go to court my kids are not allowed to pass that family on the street and never say good morning to them. The other family would eventually say to me, "You know what happened Mrs. Dale, we are not on speaking terms but I don't think Lee had a right to pass me on the street as an adult and not speak to me." And I would say "Lee did that". And I would give Lee a thorough spanking and let him know that is disrespectful.

Don't Spare the Rod

The child-rearing practice of the disciplining of children by hitting which is culturally sanctioned by West Indian families is a complex phenomenon and poses a dilemma for the families and the dominant culture. The conflicts inherent in this process and its perception by the larger society is expressed by Ms. Ray:

It is hard to discipline kids and in the first place you have to love them. Let them know you love them and when you discipline them, when you are hard on them it is not because you do not love them. It is because you love them and you want them to make

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something of themselves. That's why you have to be overly hard on them, sometimes you have to push them a little more.

Ms. Ray continues by saying:

Children shouldn't have to be hit all the time to do things right but sometimes it is necessary. But, I think the children come here and they find out that they can get away with murder, practically. They can curse children out and nothing happens. Sometimes they can curse the teacher out and nothing happens. They get three days suspension and they are right back in school. And what do the parents do? If the parents beat them, here they take them up on charges for child abuse. So, the kids end up getting away with a lot of stuff. I know a kid where the father beat the child, she was 13 and she went to school and told how the father beat her up and don't you know the next day the social worker rang the door bell--hardly smiled and they almost put him up on charges of child abuse. So, how is the child going to learn? I am saying that if the government steps in and they do all of these things. Don't they know that parents have to discipline the child? As old as Eric is, 15, if he gets out of hand I will take a belt to him right now.

Ms. Lewis articulates a similar dilemma:

Kids are going to say, "Well, if you hit me I can call the cops on you and I can file child abuse and you will be in trouble." And then you know they use that as a weapon. They do use that as a weapon, and there again you don't want to hit because they'll throw you in jail for child abuse. I mean, you know, West Indian people are afraid of jail. My people don't want to hear about jail and courts, and all of that stuff. So, I try to avoid it as much as possible. And so you don't want to end up where you have to sleep behind bars and all of that. I don't want to go to jail.

Although child abuse and neglect has been identified as a social problem and there is an extensive body of literature on this phenomenon, there is continuous debate about its definition and etiology with little consensus and often conflicting, ambiguous, or all-encompassing frameworks (Gil 1970; Williams & Money 1979; Smith 1984; McMurtry 1985; Plotkin et al 1981). This state of the art has not been conducive to the West Indian's adaptation to the new environment.

Education is the Way

The high value of education for West Indians, both adults and children, was a consistent theme articulated by the informants. There is an awareness of opportunities here not available in the Carribeans as expressed by Ms. Ray:

> I did not have much education back home and I was hungry for it. My father had a dream of wanting me to be a Postmistress...That's a big thing in our country. My father could not read. I felt more or less that I disappointed him and that's why when I came to this country I went to school often. I went to North High School in New Jersey and I went to Medley High School for typing. Everywhere they had a free program I was there...And you just have to get out there and do a little more--especially Black people. You need to get everything you can get and it's here, it's free. This is what I am saying...America, this is freedom. The school is here and it is free. You don't have to pay for it. In my country you go until about 13-1/2 to 15 and that's it unless your parents have the money to send you to a secondary school. So you have to take advantage of it here...That's why I push my children and I also tell my sister to push her children.

Although the adults portray high expectations of success and academic accomplishment for their children, this has become an elusive goal and the children are experiencing a myriad of educational problems. Others (Telman 1985; Cummings et al 1983) have also highlighted some of these problems.

Mr. Rufus says:

> I have been up to that school four times and I am not going anymore. His mother will have to go. I know Carl can do the work. I can tell you stories about the things he was able to do when he was just three years old and I know he's not dumb. He can do it if he wants to.

Mrs. Rufus continues in a distressed tone:

> I keep telling Carl he has to listen. I have been trying to do everything they ask me to do at the school. I took him for tests like they say I must do. When I ask Carl what happens that he gets mad it is never the way they say it happens. I know Mrs. Young told the Program that Carl started the fight and threw the chair and now he has to stay home for three days because of the suspension. I keep him in the house and his father gives him reading to do...This is just a big problem.

Similarly, Mrs. Hall expresses frustration with the system:

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Chad's behavior is the problem. He keeps talking and not doing the work. He is no dummy, you know. Now they want to put him in a special education class with 5 other children. The only way out is to try this counseling...When I went to the school this social service tried to get in my business by asking me if Chad has his own room and if his father spends time with him...I keep telling Chad how to behave and act when he is there because the people in charge of the schools are White and they will protect themselves and not him. It's the same thing as on my job with the Blacks and Whites. I have been there for 12 years in that operating room and I see what happens. At first it was mainly Whites and there was no problem when something happened. It would be handled in an impersonal way and nobody was fighting with each other. It has now become mostly Black except for the people in charge and its different. When there's a problem among the Whites, they still keep it impersonal but if there is something wrong that a Black does the supervisor gives the person's name when it's reported and this person goes to the other person and they start fighting with each other and the supervisor is out of it because the two Blacks are fighting even though the supervisor started it by using names...I try to explain all this to Chad but he pays no attention...about the Whites being in charge. Chad has been in the highest reading level all the time...his teacher was upset because he said that shouldn't happen because Chad is not working.

Chad spoke freely of his school problems from his point of view:

My mother believes what the school tells her and she doesn't know what's going on. The Dean keeps pulling me out when we're in the hall even though there are a lot of other kids around...I admit that I talk but so do the others. Now they told my mother they want to put me in special education classes. I can show you my test with my high reading scores...I never do bad on those tests. Ellen has told me she is going to the meeting with my mother and me to fight this thing of me going into special education. It doesn't make sense what they want to do.

A sample of the voices of the children expresses strong feelings about the problems of low grades, fighting, suspensions, and racism in the school system:

I'm doing bad in my subjects. Like I'm failing--not all of them--some of them. It makes me feel bad. You get these deficiencies which are warnings that you are about to fail.

In school it goes like this--I am in the sixth grade and I got left back because I didn't want to go to summer school. I didn't tell my mother about the summer school...in fact she just never got the note they gave me at school...I don't care about being left back but the thing that bothers me is I'm in the same grade as my

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brother so I have to put up with him all day. If I was in my right grade I wouldn't have to put up with him.

I got suspended a lot in that other school. That's why I'm glad I'm no longer there. The kids used to bother me a lot and I would fight. But that school is prejudiced, I really mean prejudiced. There was a riot where this gang of White boys came with bats and chains and garbage can tops. It started by them hitting this Black girl first. But the next day the principal said that the Black kids started it which was not true.

When you come here they just put you back in your grade. They say they don't know what you learned in the Islands but that's just not fair. My cousin Tricia is smart and they put her back. I agree if they would give you a test or something but that's not how it works. You should see how smart Tricia is. We all know it, yet she is not in her right grade.

Practice Implications

1.   Although the focus of the project was the parent-child relationship, the findings suggest family-child relationship would be more accurate and descriptive in reflecting the child-rearing and socialization practices for West Indian children. This shared parenting and household functioning extend across geographical boundaries which brings into question the utility of the western model, with its emphasis on the nuclear family, as an appropriate prototype in understanding West Indian families.

2.   The immigration process of prolonged separation of parent and child have a significant impact on the parent-child relationship upon reunification in the United States.

3.   Respect, as a core cultural value, is used to maintain boundaries and role differentiation in relationships and manifests itself in the communication process by a distancing and quiet stance. This dynamic, however, may be antithetical to the clinical model which values interaction, openness, spontaneity, and a freedom of expression.

4.   An awareness of this distancing pattern as a cultural variable and not resistance provides a framework for use by a practitioner.

5.   Physical punishment, as a disciplinary technique, is culturally sanctioned and is in dissonance with the values of the dominant culture. This complex phenomenon requires a context of understanding by practitioners in the delivery of services to West Indian families.

6.   Education, one of the primary immigration reasons, is central for West Indian families and has the potential for entry and engagement of the population in addition to collaborative activities with the schools in the provision of services.

7. An awareness by practitioners of the strong religious orientation of the families has the potential for utility in establishing and developing relationships.

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