

Augsburg University

Idun

Theses and Graduate Projects

5-16-1995

Society's Response to a Social Ignominy - Unmarried Adolescent Mothers: a Policy Analysis of Welfare Reform Legislation for Parenting or Pregnant Minors

Monica J. Rudawski

Follow this and additional works at: <https://idun.augsburg.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social Work Commons](#)

SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO A SOCIAL IGNOMINY -
UNMARRIED ADOLESCENT MOTHERS:
A POLICY ANALYSIS OF WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION FOR
PARENTING OR PREGNANT MINORS

by

Monica J. Rudawski

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of
Augsburg College
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Social Work

Minneapolis, Minnesota

May, 1995

**MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA**

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

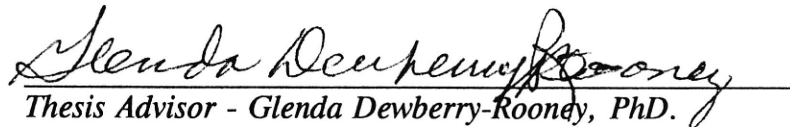
This is to certify that the Master's thesis of:

MONICA J. RUDAWSKI

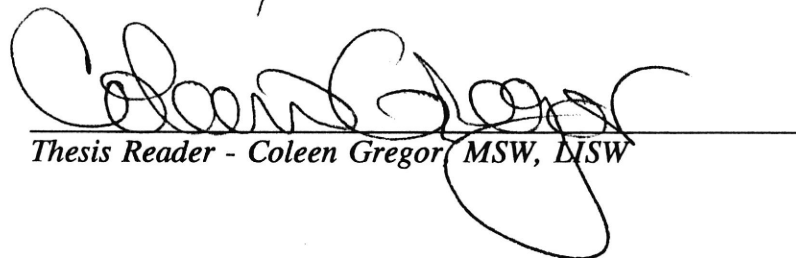
has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirements for the Master of Social Work Degree.

Date of Oral Presentation: Tuesday, May 16, 1995

Thesis Committee:


Thesis Advisor - Glenda Dewberry-Rooney, PhD.


Thesis Reader - Carol Kuechler, PhD.


Thesis Reader - Coleen Gregor MSW, LISW

DEDICATION

*To all those concerned about social justice,
inequity in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness;
To all working for change, trying to live without contradiction,
and committed to respecting and honoring others traditions;
To all who strive for world peace and harmony;
This thesis is for you.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My appreciation goes first to my advisor Glenda Dewberry-Rooney. Thank you, Glenda, for walking with me throughout a very difficult and challenging experience. Thank you for sharing your wealth of experience and wisdom. Thanks also to my committee members, Carol Kuechler and Coleen Gregor, for reading, adjusting to timelines, and helping to get my thesis to this point.

Thanks to the Augsburg Library staff, particularly Boyd Koehler for assisting in my research, Karen Mateer for guidance with legislative materials, and Mary Lee McLaughlin who went beyond the call of duty in helping me obtain copies for my literature review. Special thanks to Noelle Thein for her assistance in the technical proofing of this work.

All my gratitude goes to those who offered support and encouragement throughout this very lonely and exhilarating process. Thanks especially to my classmates (Jana, Renee, & Raquel), faculty and staff (Tony Bibus, Blanca-Rosa Egas, Mary Lou Williams, Janna Caywood, & Patrick Clemens), and to my family (Tim, Jennifer & Kathy, Noelle, Candace, Jill, Esther, Motor Mouth, Diesel, & Chloe)...thank you for your acceptance, patience, kindness, and grace. A very special thanks to Laura who has very wisely and graciously seen me through the past two years.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

SOCIETY'S RESPONSE TO A SOCIAL IGNOMINY - UNMARRIED ADOLESCENT MOTHERS: A POLICY ANALYSIS OF WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION FOR PARENTING OR PREGNANT MINORS

Monica J. Rudawski

May, 1995

Adolescent pregnancy continues to rise in the western world, as does the poverty in which these young women and their children live. Proposed policies responding to unmarried pregnant or parenting adolescents include "The Personal Responsibility Act", "The GOP Leadership Welfare Reform Bill", "The Real Welfare Reform Act", and "The Welfare and Teenage Pregnancy Reduction Act". The purpose of this study is to analyze proposed legislation for welfare reform in the state of Minnesota. This legislation is designed to restructure Aid to Families with Dependent Children guidelines as they relate to pregnant and parenting minors. Results of the analysis indicate that assistance continues to be provided to unmarried adolescent mothers through this legislation when there is compliance with two requirements - the minor mother must live at home with her parent and the Aid to

Families with Dependent Children assistance check is delivered directly to the minor parent's parent. This thesis examines these policy requirements in the context of historical and contemporary perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers. The role and function of social work practice implied in the policy is also discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT OF THESIS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
PROLOGUE	ix

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Overview	1
Introduction	1
Statement of Problem	3
Summary	4

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Overview	6
Perceptions and Status of Women	7
Perceptions of Women in Greek, Roman, and Hebrew Literature	8
Women: Subordination and Sexuality	9
Women: Their Roles and Work	11
Perception of Women and Social Welfare Policy	13
Welfare Relief Prior to the 19th Century	14
Welfare Relief During the 1800s and 1900s	17
Social Workers Role and Perception of Women	24
Relief to Unmarried Adolescent Mothers	27
Summary	30

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview	34
Profile and Characteristics of Adolescent Parents	34

Contributing Factors to Adolescent Pregnancy	35
Implications of Early Child Bearing	36
Implications of Economic, Social, and Political Trends	37
Suggested Solutions	38
Summary	40

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Overview	42
Conceptual Framework	42
Policy Analysis Framework	43
Definitions	45
Research Questions	46
Summary	46

CHAPTER FIVE: POLICY ANALYSIS

Overview	48
History of Policy	48
Summary of Policy	50
Application of Framework	50
Limitations and Strengths of Framework	55
Summary	56

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

Overview	57
Findings	57
Summary	62

APPENDICES	66
-----------------------------	-----------

REFERENCES	72
-----------------------------	-----------

PROLOGUE

I have had the privilege of working with adolescents in a number of capacities. It has been my experience that adolescents are bright and exhilarating people given monumental burdens to bear as a result of the society and culture we as adults have passed on to them. It has also been my experience that not all adults view adolescents as I do. Others have perceived teens as dysfunctional individuals. I have been saddened by the judgment directed toward adolescents. There is judgment about choices in lifestyle, clothing, music, education, and peer groups. It does seem that today adolescents are more likely to be blamed for their life situations rather than supported and guided through their experiences.

When I had the opportunity to work with adolescent mothers I observed intolerance toward them. Typically, these young women were perceived as defective because they were pregnant or parenting. For example, a teacher at a junior high school spent classroom time showing films about the importance of placing children for adoption. She told me her purpose in showing the film was because "these young, black girls are not able to be fitting parents and their children would be better off with a two parent white family who is able to provide for the children". In another situation, a program designed to assist young mothers in returning to school, staff had a secondary agenda of ensuring that the young women were on some form of "permanent" birth control. This meant assisting them in having a birth control implant in their arm, which lasts three to five years, or having a quarterly injection, which

provides birth control for three months. In addition, there were several programs I worked with that lacked an evaluative component to assess their work with adolescent mothers. The explanation given was that "it's not the programs that should be evaluated, it's these girls that need to be held accountable".

These are just a few examples of the racist, sexist, and classist attitudes I witnessed. There seemed to be less emphasis on evaluating program objectives than on personal agendas and value systems. What most concerned me was that several young mothers were terminated from various programs because the people in charge did not perceive them as being responsible, worthy, able, or capable. Consequently, many of the needs they had went unmet.

Based on these experiences my attention was drawn to the proposed changes in policy for pregnant and parenting minors. My intention was to explore the policy and determine if it challenged or supported the attitudes and practices I found in the work place.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The first chapter consists of two sections. Section one is an introduction to the problem, and section two is a discussion of the problem.

Introduction

Adolescent pregnancy is not a new issue, and the level of concern held by society is at an all time high. Today there are renewed efforts to deal with the problem of adolescent pregnancy. A shift in political power has occurred with a Republican majority now in Congress, bearing significant concern with the perception of the ineffectiveness of government with the problem of adolescent pregnancy. Today's plan of action in welfare reform concerning unmarried adolescent mothers is to "reduce government dependency, attack illegitimacy, require welfare recipients to work, and cut welfare spending" (Gingrich, Armey, & the House Republicans, 1994). Prominent features of this welfare reform include "no welfare to teenage parents, required identification of the paternity of illegitimate births, and requirement to hold a job" (Gingrich, Armey, & the House Republicans, 1994).

A current welfare reform measure in the Minnesota state legislature is aimed toward amending Minnesota Statutes 1994, section 256.73 for parenting or pregnant minors. It appears that the drive behind such legislative changes is to increase self

sufficiency and decrease dependence on welfare. The current statute allows provision of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to minor parents regardless of where they live. If they do not live with their parents, they are required to participate in a social services plan in order to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The proposed amendment to the statute requires the minor parent to live at home if they want to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Once they are living with their parent and if the minor parent's parent is receiving welfare, the equation used to determine welfare to the household will be reconfigured in consideration of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children being paid to the minor parent. This will result in a reduction or elimination of Aid to Families with Dependent Children paid on behalf of the minor parent. Consequently, this will result in increased financial strain on the minor parent.

Unmarried adolescent mothers may be inundated with responsibilities, needs, and complications. To begin with, they have needs ranging from education, shelter, food, diapers, and medical care. In addition, the unmarried adolescent mother may be overwhelmed by adult expectations, limited support, and financial demands. Woven within these aspects is the impact of society's perceptions; being labeled a social ignominy and dealing with the scarlet letter of the 1990s.

This thesis is an analysis of the proposed changes Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a, entitled "Parenting or Pregnant Minors: Restriction on Assistance with Federal Exceptions". This policy is analyzed and discussed in relation to historical, financial, and social aid to unmarried women and their children in

general and specifically to adolescent mothers. Included in the analysis is a review of trends and patterns, which may influence contemporary welfare reform policies. The primary question to be answered is: To what extent does the Minnesota Statute, a welfare reform bill, challenge or support perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers, and how do the provisions of the statute address the needs of unmarried adolescent mothers. Implications for social work practice and ethical issues are also explored.

Statement of the Problem

In the United States, teenagers have one of the highest pregnancy rates in the western world. More than one million teens become pregnant each year, which is equal to one in every ten adolescent girls in the United States under the age of twenty (Balassone, 1988; Black & DeBlassie, 1985). Thirty-seven percent of all teenage women are from poor and low-income families (Black and DeBlassie, 1985). Eighty percent of teenagers giving birth are members of poor and low-income families (Guttmacher Institute, 1994). In 1984, thirty percent of Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients were mothers between the ages of sixteen and nineteen (Lie & Moroney, 1992).

There is disagreement regarding how to address the issue of unmarried adolescent pregnancy. Some believe that parenting minors, particularly unmarried adolescent mothers, are not getting the assistance they need (Jameson, 1989; Lie & Moroney, 1992; Dellmann-Jenkins, Sattler & Richardson, 1993). Others believe that the government and tax payers should not carry any responsibility for adolescent

mothers (Gingrich, Arney & The House Republicans, 1994). Others see the poverty they live in as a condition our society created and actually maintains in order to preserve class status and economic balance (Chilman, 1985). Still others find the current trend of welfare reform, particularly that affecting unmarried adolescent mothers, is not about the budgetary deficit but rather about family values (Abramowitz, 1988; Amott & Matthaei, 1991).

Regardless of the various positions, the problem of pregnancy and resulting needs exists. At issue is what we as a society are doing to address and effectively change the problem, how are the needs of unmarried adolescent mothers met, how has society contributed to the perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers, and what responsibility do society and social workers have in the ethical delivery of services to unmarried adolescent mothers. The focus of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 256.73, Subd. 5a challenge or support historical perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers and how these changes address their needs.

Summary

Adolescent pregnancy and the poverty in which minor parents and their children live has continued to rise over the years. Solutions to adolescent pregnancy are posited by politicians, communities, and social workers. As the debate continues, the problem is often defined as adolescent pregnancy. This thesis, however, focuses on the attitudes and perceptions of society in response to adolescent mothers. This

this thesis will analyze current policy concerning adolescent parents by using a framework developed by Chambers (1986). The issue of adolescent pregnancy is a timely and pivotal topic to explore. In chapter two the context of this problem is discussed through a historical overview.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Overview

It has been said that to understand where we are going, we must first understand where we have been. It has also been said that history repeats itself. Both of these statements are important considerations in this analysis.

History can provide an understanding of what is happening and why it is happening. Trends and patterns which emerge from historical events may also be useful insights in how similar events may be handled in the future. Today's trends in the perception of unmarried adolescent mothers seems to be influenced by historical views of women, the definition of family, and acceptable roles within the structure of society. Current policies and social work practice which affect adolescent mothers appear to be influenced by earlier programs such as charity organizations, maternity and rescue homes, and social workers known as friendly visitors.

Historical concepts are a tremendous asset in understanding present day concerns. This section is a historical review of enduring perceptions of women. It also examines the evolution of social welfare policy related to women, and the development of social work practice in the context of women's issues. The latter part of this section discusses the services extended to unmarried adolescent mothers in the 1900s.

Perception and Status of Women

To understand current welfare reform it seems important to look at what has occurred historically. Perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers and resulting social welfare policy appear to have stemmed from earlier cultures, such as the Greek and Roman societies, and prior movements or policies, such as the development of the poor laws (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). The contemporary perception of unmarried adolescent mothers can be found in the historical perception of women in aspects such as subordination, sexuality, roles, and work (Abramowitz, 1988). Social welfare has its roots in past societal hospitality and relief systems (Trattner, 1989). Both the perception of women and the resulting policies are mingled with social work practice (Abramowitz, 1988). These factors influence services and relief provided unmarried adolescent mothers today. Historical perceptions of women appear to provide a window to the future, revealing patterns and trends of what was to come.

Society's beliefs and perceptions of women seem to have changed little over time. Although discussion about the status of women can be traced to prehistoric societies, it is the early writings of the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews which contributed to the views of women held by Western society. Specifically, Homeric Epics (Illiad and Odyssey), Roman Laws, and the Hebrew Bible may have inspired and shaped the views later generations would embrace regarding the status of women. Despite the powerful images of women transmitted by these writings, the overall message was that in order to forestall danger and chaos, women were to be subordinate to men, and that their appropriate role was in the home (Anderson &

Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I).

Perceptions of Women in Greek, Roman, and Hebrew Literature

Greek writings are filled with mystical, exciting stories of powerful women. However, even the most powerful goddesses remained under the control of the most powerful god (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). In Homer's works, no goddess is equal to Zeus or Apollo. War is one of the primary topics in literature during this period (Abramowitz, 1988). The fundamental assumption of a war culture is that men are more valuable than women (Abramowitz, 1988). Men are honored for fighting, conquering, and asserting their power. Women are honored and valued in their appropriate roles - wife, mother or widow (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). Greek writings reinforce this point of view in the stories of Hera and Zeus, Artemis and Apollo, and Penelope and Odysseus. "More limited in their attributes, more restricted in their sexuality, these images may be said to mirror the view of human women as well" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 16).

Similar themes are evident in Roman Law. The value of women is expressed in Roman Law encouraging the rearing of every male child, but only the first born female child (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). Within the tables or laws known as the Twelve Tables of Rome, the fourth table, Paternal Power, gives the father solitary and total authority over his children. The fifth table declares all women are to be under the guardianship of a man "because of their levity of mind" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). "Both guardianship and inheritance passed through the male

line to male relatives. Paterfamilias, the father of the family, was an important legal concept in ancient Rome; there was no female equivalent - materfamilias was an honorary title given to the father's wife, but carried no power or rights" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 21).

In the Hebrew Bible, women have limited power and rights. What may be categorized as double standards for male and female sexuality also emerges.

Husbands are allowed to divorce their wives but wives cannot divorce their husbands (Deuteronomy 24:1-4). A husband is permitted to have concubines and maidens.

Committing adultery is defined as engaging in sex with another man's wife. Wives conversely are encouraged to maintain sexual fidelity (Numbers 5:11-31).

Similar to Roman law, lineage follows the paternal line. Women are also described in terms of their relationship to a man (i.e. "Lot's wife"), not as individuals with their own names. The Hebrew Bible interprets God as a male and emphasizes the control God has over women. Bearing children and being a mother is an honored role. The ability to have children, however, can be denied by God who can open or close the womb. The closing of a woman's womb was a form of punishment on occasion for inappropriate behavior or disfavor in the eyes of God (Genesis 20:17-18).

Women: Subordination and Sexuality

Whether it is the writings of Greeks, Romans or Hebrews; Aristotle, Cicero or Philo, combined they created and passed on a tradition of subordination of women.

"Each of these cultures argued that woman's physical body - her menstruation, her

uterus, her ability to give birth - by definition excluded her from war, law, government, and much of religion. Each argued that a woman's body necessitated that she be confined to the protected sphere of the home. Each of these writers gave the men of her family (or male guardian) authority and power over her, and saw her life as almost exclusively connected to the family" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 26-27).

Another common theme in historical writings is that women are viewed in terms of their body physically. Men were typically taller and larger in their physical appearance, and believed to be stronger than women (Abramowitz, 1988). Women were seen as weaker and excluded from physical activities that men participated in (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Menstruation was also thought to cause women additional weakness and limitations, resulting in beliefs that women needed to be sheltered or cared for (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I).

Women were also described in terms of their sexuality. A good or bad woman was determined by her virginity (Abramowitz, 1988; Amott & Matthaei, 1991). A daughter was good when she remained chaste. A woman, once married, lost her virginity within the confines of that relationship and was seen as a good woman. An unmarried woman who lost her virginity was seen as a prostitute and, consequently, a bad woman. "Solon, the lawgiver of sixth-century B.C. Athens, forbade all sales of children into slavery except the sale of a girl who had lost her virginity. Roman law called for the death of a daughter who lost her virginity before marriage" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 34). The degree to which a woman was determined to be

good or bad, worthy or unworthy, was measured by her virginity and marital status.

"Virginity and chastity (*as well as subordination*) were seen as inextricably connected to obedience. Training a girl to be obedient, especially to her father, would ensure that she would maintain her proper behavior within the family as a virginal daughter and later as a chaste wife and mother. Laws institutionalizing her subordination to men set the pattern of restrictions for the European culture to come...Typical of laws in all these early cultures, guardianship of women was assumed to be the best way of maintaining order in the family and society" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 33). Combined these elements contributed to the creation and preservation of a climate suitable to the status and role of women.

Women: Their Roles and Work

Since women were not allowed to operate in arenas intended for men including government, science, philosophy, and law, what then was their role and work? Approved roles during the Greek, Roman, and Hebrew eras included daughter, wife, mother, and widow (Abramowitz, 1988). The sexuality of women was embedded in the institution of marriage. Marriage was expected to occur at the onset of menstruation, which was typically around the age of twelve (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). It was appropriate for young girls to marry men several years older than themselves since it enforced the idea and practice of subordination. Upon marriage, the authority over the woman was transferred from father to husband. It typically was the job of women to keep the home, raise the children, and carry out the

wishes of her master/husband as he so chose (Abramowitz, 1988; Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I).

Wives were expected to remain sexually faithful and produce many children, particularly boys. Punishable by death in Hebrew law, a woman was not to become pregnant with another man's child (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). The "legitimacy" of the family line was preserved only when a woman gave birth to her husband's child. Since all property and fortune was passed from generation to generation through the males, the family line remained pure when children were conceived within the confines of the marriage. "A wife should be obedient to her husband and follow his lead, even in bed. Independent female sexuality was stigmatized as characteristic of a prostitute" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I, p. 44).

Within the confines of whatever role a women had, she was always expected to work. The wealthiest of women managed household servants and the poorest of women worked the land. Regardless of class, women were expected to do whatever they could to meet their family's basic needs (Abramowitz, 1988). Whether society demanded that women work or not, women have always been committed to doing whatever was necessary to care for their families. Women earned income by making cloth, working the land, selling food or clothing, providing food and lodging, being midwives and working as wet nurses (Katz, 1989). The burden of doing housework, taking care of children and earning additional income is a tradition dating back to these early cultures. Wealthier families attempted to provide a larger dowry to the

potential husband in order to minimize the amount of or type of additional labor their daughter may be required to do (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I).

Perception of Women and Social Welfare Policy

It appears that social welfare and social policy were influenced by the societal perception of women as well. Images of women presented in Greek, Roman, and Hebrew literature appear to remain centuries later in European cultures. Social welfare laws and policies evolved from the middle ages, through colonialism, the nineteenth and twentieth century to reflect a consistent status and perception of women (Abramowitz, 1988).

In the middle ages, social welfare was achieved primarily within the traditional family model (Abramowitz, 1988). By the end of the 1500s, local and royal governments in Europe had taken over charity from individuals, families, and religious organizations. Later the role of providing social welfare would become codified into the English Poor Laws (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I; Trattner, 1989). It was not long after the colonization of America that the problems of poor women, children, and other needy citizens surfaced. Colonial America adopted statutes and policies similar to the English Poor Laws in response to the poor women, children, and other needy citizens.

With the rise of industrialism in the nineteenth century, the labor market and the family system were restructured. The period was marked by poor law reform, private charities, and the settlement houses. Relief in the twentieth century marked

the emergence of programs and policies which may be considered the forerunners to modern day Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Welfare Relief Prior to the 19th Century

In the Middle Ages, women and children were provided and cared for within the context of the family (Trattner, 1989). Females and children falling outside this system were cast in roles of slave, prostitute, and beggar (Abramowitz, 1988). There was relief for peasants and widows through the church or century landlords. Relief was administered by an appointee in the household of a century landlord. This individual, called the almoner, would distribute alms and left over food from the table, and give shillings to the poor women on the streets. Hospitals provided both medical assistance and shelter for travelers, orphans, elderly, and poor (Trattner, 1989).

The relief system of the Middle Ages in Europe eventually collapsed for a number of reasons. The economy broke down as a result of the termination of feudalism which forced laborers from the land (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). Commerce and international trade grew, and a money economy emerged. Aspects of this economy, such as capital investment, rent, and wages, affected the incidence and nature of poverty (Trattner, 1989). Elimination of monasteries, due to the decay of the Church of England, and natural calamities, such as famine and disease, contributed to the rise in sickness and destitution (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I). Combined, these events resulted in an enormous increase in unemployment, poverty, and displacement.

Responding to the increase in wandering and begging people, the Statute of Laborers was passed in 1349, demanding people who were jobless work for anyone willing to hire them (Trattner, 1989). The law imposed fixed maximum wages, restricted travel of the unemployed, and forbade anyone to give charity to "sturdy or valiant" individuals. The belief was that such charity increased laziness and dependence of the unemployed person (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I; Trattner, 1989). The government continued to find the laws such as the Statute of Laborers "insufficient to preserve order", so the Poor Law of 1601 came into existence (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I).

English Poor Law is the basic foundation for the contemporary welfare system in the United States. The English Poor Laws of 1601 were prefaced by several other government relief systems including the Act for the Punishment of Sturdy Vagabonds and Beggars 1536 (the Henrician Poor Law), the Elizabethan Statutes of Artificiers 1562, and the Poor Laws of 1597 & 1598 (Abramowitz, 1988; Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. I; Trattner, 1989). In the age of mercantilism and paternalism, there was a belief in the government's ability to arrange or control the concerns of society (Piven & Cloward, 1971). Therefore, it was the perception that the civil or governmental bodies should take responsibility for the relief of the poor.

English Poor Law included requirements such as subjective assessment by local authorities, categories of "dependents", and relief in kind (Trattner, 1989). Each town had "church wardens" or "substantial householders" who were appointed to oversee the poor (Trattner, 1989). The assessment by the local authorities over who received

assistance and who did not was a subjective process (Abramowitz, 1988). The subjective decisions reflected the characteristic of the English Poor Laws to regulate the poor through punishment and punitive attitudes (Trattner, 1989). The law reinforced the importance of relief allowances to be less remunerative than wages in order to discourage dependence (Abramowitz, 1988).

The English Poor Laws existed for nearly 250 years with little or no change. This system of relief has enjoined social welfare policy through the ages. According to Trattner (1989),

"while the basic principles of public assistance did not originate in 1601 - for poor relief had been a matter of public concern long before that time - the Elizabethan Poor Law brought together, in a single coherent statute, the inconsistent and erratic relief legislation of the previous years, firmly placing its operation in the hands of civil authorities and establishing a definite system of obligatory financing outside of the church. The statute established the individual's right to public assistance and provided the pattern for the poor laws in the American colonies" (p. 11).

The American colonists adopted the poor law relief system during the 1700s due to the onset of disease and the growing population which contributed to the number of poor, aged, orphaned or sick (Trattner, 1989). Initially, the colonies accepted public responsibility for those unable to care for themselves by having taxpayers in each town support the needy in their township (Trattner, 1989). Settlement laws were created with specific requirements for people to be considered a member of a community (Trattner, 1989). These requirements lead to a reduction in the number of poor people, without homes or community ties, who qualified to receive aid. The poor and unsettled were often widows, orphans, and "unattached" women (Abramowitz, 1988). The colonial laws operated to uphold patriarchal family

governance and "proper family life" by enforcing settlement laws, work ethics, and encouragement of the family ethic (Abramowitz, 1988; Katz, 1989; Sidel, 1992).

The seventeenth and eighteenth century brought with it a tremendous crusade to respond to the needs of the poor, orphaned, illegitimate, and widowed (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989). Religious organizations formed movements and societies to address the problem. People were motivated by a commitment to do good, civic responsibility, and a desire to develop a permanent poor fund (Trattner, 1989). With humanitarianism on the rise, benevolent efforts to improve and purify the human condition were the thrust behind The Great Awakening and The Enlightenment eras (Trattner, 1989). It was held that all people possess reason and therefore are equal. Hence, the poor were seen as having human qualities comparable to the privileged, and having a right to share in the nation's resources (Trattner, 1989).

Welfare Relief During the 1800s and 1900s

According to Abramowitz (1988), industrial capitalism transferred poverty from a social to a political problem. This resulted in a crisis in the poor law system. With labor shortages, political unrest, racial tension, and a dissatisfied work force, industrial capitalism needed new ways to enforce the work norms of the poor (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989). The colonial system no longer worked since it did not encourage workers to enter the labor force; nor did it, maintains Abramowitz (1988), sustain a level of fear to force workers to take any job regardless of pay or working conditions. Once again there was concern that relief benefits not compete

with paid labor as a means of support (Abramowitz, 1988).

A new explanation of poverty gave rise to new poor laws and policy. From coast to coast, states had determined that the colonial poor laws were being exploited by the recipients. Influenced by this attitude, two forces emerged. First, efforts were made to decrease outdoor relief, and increase institutional care and private charities (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989). Second, the prevailing explanation of poverty focused on a person's lack of industry, poor or low initiative, and weak or sinful moral character (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989). At this time it appears that poverty was linked to "improper families" or those not in compliance with the family ethic. Poor relief itself was named as a contributing factor in poverty. Abramowitz (1988) maintains the poor laws were perceived as enforcing "bad habits, tempting recipients to give up their frugality and industry, to buy unnecessary articles, to lose thoughts of the future, and to become degraded, dissolute, wasteful, profligate, and idle" (p. 146). Putting the blame on the poor, rather than focusing on the dynamics of the society and economy, resulted in concealing the political and economic causes, a decline in care or concern for the poor, and justifiable cruel and confining poor law reform (Abramowitz, 1988).

With the new poor laws, less financial assistance was available for poor women. They often found themselves in a variety of institutions (Sidel, 1992). Institutions had the right to remove poor women from their homes if they were unmarried or had illegitimate children (Abramowitz, 1988; Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. II). The most prominent of institutions were the poorhouses and almshouses.

Poorhouses sheltered high numbers of women (Abramowitz, 1988; Anderson & Zinsser, 1988). In the early 1800s, over sixty percent of the first almshouse residents were female. Over forty-nine percent of the residents were Native American women by the 1850s. After 1850, females who were "foreign-born" were the primary residents (Abramowitz, 1988). It appears as though the women who were institutionalized were not predominantly older women, but younger, unmarried women. It was this population who threatened the family ethic. Women made up approximately forty percent of the "inmates" in poorhouses under the age of fifteen, and more than fifty percent of those between the ages of fifteen to nineteen and twenty to twenty-nine (Abramowitz, 1988).

The policies of the poorhouses were to put women to work. Abramowitz (1988) comments on women in poorhouses by stating,

"The loss of relief and the unattractiveness of institutional care (*primarily mental institutions*) released poor women for work in the poorhouse or the bottom rungs of the labor market. Such policies denied women the right to care for their children at home at a time when the family ethic praised ladies of leisure and defined full-time homemaking and motherhood as the centerpiece of woman's proper role. By channeling the undeserving poor women into the labor market, nineteenth-century public aid also helped to reconcile the conflicting demand for women's home and market labor. But the treatment of work as a punishment for being out of role, supplied the labor market with low-cost female labor without challenging the idea that women belonged at home" (p. 146-147).

Poor women who were not institutionalized often were the recipients of services from private charities (Abramowitz, 1988; Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, Vol. II; Trattner, 1989). Private charity organizations which emerged include "The Ladies Society for the Relief of Poor Widows", "The Association for the Relief of

Respectable, Aged, Indigent Females", and "The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor". Male "visitors" screened applicants requesting aid in order to "prevent indiscriminate almsgiving" (Abramowitz, 1988). Eventually the Charity Organization Society introduced "friendly visitors" who visited poor women in their homes and dispensed aid (Trattner, 1989).

The charity organizations discerned between who they deemed worthy and unworthy of assistance. They favored married women or previously married women who had lost their husbands, and often denied assistance to unwed mothers and abandoned or separated wives (Abramowitz, 1988). Women could also be removed from the list of recipients if they engaged in begging, promiscuity or selling liquor (Abramowitz, 1988). As observed by Abramowitz (1988), families were treated differently based on their perceived compliance with the "industrial family ethic". This practice reflected the growing concern about deviant women, proper family functioning, and patriarchal governance.

Charity organizations appear to have done little to improve urban living or working conditions. They focused primarily on public assistance to the poor, overlooking, according to Trattner (1989), the actual causes of need. This focus would be challenged during the late 1800s by the settlement house movement.

Trattner (1989) observes that settlement house workers saw themselves as social reformers rather than charity workers. They viewed their work as improving living and working conditions of the urban poor (Trattner, 1989).

During the early part of the twentieth century, social welfare was viewed as a

private or voluntary matter (Trattner, 1989). The need for public assistance, however, becomes necessary during the rise of urbanization, immigration, industrialization, and economic insecurity (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989). It is important to note nevertheless that private charities and settlement houses contributed to contemporary notions of public social welfare (Trattner, 1989).

Between 1911 and 1935, several public welfare measures emerged to address the population of widows with children and mothers without husbands. For example, all states, with the exception of two, began extending aid to widows with children, known as "mothers pension programs" (Katz, 1989; Trattner, 1989). In 1935 the Social Security Act was passed. Title IV of the Social Security Act dealt specifically with Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) and established a federal program of cash payments to mothers without the support of husbands (Abramowitz, 1988; Sidel, 1992; Trattner, 1989). Abramowitz (1988) contends that "mothers without husbands opposed capitalism and patriarchy, compelling ADC to substitute itself as the "male breadwinner".

During the second world war and post war period, concerns with poverty and unmarried adolescent mothers seem obscure. According to Trattner (1989), this decrease in concern was due to the widespread belief of mass prosperity and the thought that poverty no longer existed. Although this appears to be the perception of the time, during the 1940s the Social Security Act and Aid to Dependent Children were combined with other federal government programs for low cost housing, health programs, and public works (Trattner, 1989). Having developed a "partnership" of

sorts between federal, state, and local governments, a first time "national system of welfare", in Trattner's (1989) opinion, was created. However, the primary benefactors of these programs, particularly between 1935 and the early 1950s, were the elderly (Trattner, 1989).

In 1950, Congress altered the Aid to Dependent Children program to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and now provided "caretaker" grants to mothers of dependent children (Trattner, 1989). Social service programs were created within Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the latter part of the 1950s. Even with these programs the theme of prosperity prevailed in the political climate of the country and the poor continued to suffer as a result of being a low national priority (Abramowitz, 1988; Trattner, 1989).

President Johnson stated he was declaring war on poverty in 1964. The result was, according to Trattner (1989), that the poor were moved from a "state of benign neglect" to being on the forefront of the public agenda. The Great Society evolved and was a period in time known for its social service programs and legislation to assist those in poverty. For example, legislation was passed establishing the Economical Development Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act (or the anti-poverty bill), all designed to provide opportunities to the poor for jobs and economic prosperity. According to Trattner (1989), the period of the Great Society believed poverty could be abolished if the poor would take advantage of these opportunities.

In 1967 a "freeze" was placed on federal aid towards Aid to Families with

Dependent Children cases resulting from desertion of the biological fathers or births outside of marriage (Abramowitz, 1988). Two years later the freeze was reversed but many other amendments were established, such as a strengthening of the welfare system to remove children from homes and expanded federal funding for foster and institutional care (Abramowitz, 1988). The "mother-in-the-home" idea was also eliminated, at least for the poor, with the passage of the Work Incentive Program (WIN) (Abramowitz, 1988). Trattner (1989) observes that the WIN program was based on the "pathological idea of poverty", the belief that poverty was not due to the political economy, but rather due to the characteristics of the individual. Abramowitz (1988) contends that the WIN program officially transformed Aid to Families with Dependent Children policy from one that "subsidized the reproductive and maintenance functions of deserving poor women at home to one that also directly subsidized the low paid employment of all AFDC mothers" (p. 338). It is a shift in strategy, according to Abramowitz (1988), from "simple exclusion of undeserving women from the rolls to a combination of the stick of coercive work requirements and the carrot of positive incentives such as job training and wage subsidization" (p. 338).

Trattner (1989) observes that the 1970s saw the Nixon administration focusing on changes in policy related to procedures and execution. Ford zeroed in on inflation as the national ill, and actually was committed to "restricting welfare funds" (Trattner, 1989). Carter proposed various policies such as the "Better Jobs and Income Program" and a Health Care program, both of which failed to be pursued in Congress (Trattner, 1989). During the Regan administration in the 1980's, however, there were

several quick changes in policy from a large increase in the defense budget to a large decrease in programs designed to help the poor, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, child care, food stamps, subsidized housing, and public health services (Trattner, 1989).

Social Worker's Role and Perception of Women

Social work as a profession was developed during the early twentieth century (Abramowitz, 1988). Many middle and upper class white women initiated several organizations and activist groups during this time. Historians with feminist underpinnings refer to this movement as "social homemaking", due to the emphasis on the homemaking vocation (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Social workers who focused the attention of the client on domestic duties such as cleaning, cooking, and raising children were referred to as social homemakers. Social workers did everything from social services to teaching and nursing (Amott & Matthaei, 1991).

Settlement house workers were the first to formalize social work practice. The concepts of caseloads, group work, diagnosis, and treatment were initiated by Mary Richmond in 1917 (Abramowitz, 1988). These concepts would evolve into the cornerstone of the profession and its work with the poor, widowed, and orphaned. For example, the 1914 Report of the New York Commission on Pensions for Widows directed social workers to "protect dependent children in their own homes, but also to bring together all the forces for good in every community into an active harmonious group, [and] effectively drive out the evils resulting from the present system of

incompetent poor relief and inadequate private charity in our villages, town and cities" (Abramowitz, 1988, p. 199).

Although the white social workers were united in purpose - to improve the condition of the poor and needy - they were often divided in politics and method (Abramowitz, 1988; Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Specifically, settlement house workers formed unions as a solution to conditions of low pay and long hours which affected poor women (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Charity organization workers saw social homemaking as a primary means of helping poor women.

Some white social workers worked for unity across class and race lines between social workers and poor women. Amott and Matthaei (1991) contend that the white women in these movements were privileged, and responded with attitudes of superiority and segregating behaviors toward the women they were trying to help. It was not uncommon for black women to be denied membership into organizations such as private charities. Some white social workers worked hard within organizations to defend and further their own class and race privilege (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Other racist and classist actions included arguing for educational restrictions on the vote in order to insure white supremacy and selling out the poor and African American women in order to win the support of the white men in power (Abramowitz, 1988). Some supported the southern right to exclude poor whites and African Americans from voting and focused birth control measures only on poor women and women of color (Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Sidel, 1992). Through prejudicial, classist, and racist attitudes, white social workers sought to enforce personal and

societal values.

The perceptions of poor women held by social workers appear to manifest within social work practice. Social workers were considered the enforcer of society's moral and ethical codes (Plant, 1970). Many authors, including Abramowitz (1988) and Trattner (1989), assert that social workers also determined who among the poor were worthy or unworthy. This pattern is particularly evident in the friendly visits of social workers. The friendly visitors of the charity organizations were "instructed to strengthen true home life among the poor, help the husband who lost his sense of responsibility toward wife and children to regain it, to dissuade restless wives from seeking outside employment, and to introduce messy housekeepers to the pleasures of a clean, well-ordered home" (Abramowitz, 1988, p. 153). Aid to Dependent Children is another example of enforcing moral and ethical codes. Often moral fitness, instead of financial need, was a measuring rod social workers used to determine and distribute relief (Abramowitz, 1988).

However, not all social workers operated by these ideals. Many were committed to altering the racist and classist social order. Their efforts included, for example, the identification of the political, economic, and social roots contributing to poverty (Trattner, 1989). Social workers contributed greatly to housing reform, antituberculosis work, publication of reform oriented journals, and worked toward measures of justice in child welfare (Trattner, 1989). A path was also initiated by social workers for non-domestic careers for women such as teaching, social work, nursing, and government jobs (Amott & Matthaei, 1991).

Relief to Unmarried Adolescent Mothers

Historically, unmarried adolescent pregnancy has been defined by society as a problem resulting from "irresponsible, immoral" young woman. The policies created in reaction to "unwed mothers" reflected the larger societal beliefs that such individuals should be sheltered, punished, and reformed.

Three conditions, according to Weatherley (1987), have been important in influencing responses to adolescent premarital pregnancy and childbearing: 1) the social stigma surrounding the issue that is based in part on the morality of the traditional, patriarchal family; 2) the subsistence opportunities available to young women, i.e., work, marriage, parental support and financial aid; and 3) the availability of contraception, abortion, and adoption. The response to unwed pregnant women came through maternity homes and social programs in the late 1800s. The perceptions about the role of women in the family and in society were manifest in movements such as the public health movement.

Maternity homes and rescue homes were organized in the late 1800s and, as a society, appears to be one of the first responses to out-of-wedlock births (Morton, 1988; Weatherley, 1987). Often religious in nature and purpose, these homes intended to address the social evil of sinful behavior. "Moral redemption required a complete severance of ties with the outside world, long-term residence, hard work and strict routine" (Weatherley, 1987, p. 8). Many held that an unwed mother should be separated from the vices of the world at large and then, through the rescue homes, be exposed to Christian virtue and living (Morton, 1988). The majority of young women

who became pregnant were not sent to the rescue homes and used other resources such as informal or private adoptions and "foundling hospitals" where they could place their babies (Weatherley, 1987).

A shift appears to occur during the Progressive Era, as a result of society believing motherhood could redeem the sinful behavior of unwed mothers (Morton, 1988). Movements ensued to establish assistance for young mothers in their various areas of need. For example, the public health movement offered support by distributing milk, offering nutritional and child care advice, and making appropriate referrals (Weatherley, 1987). Also, the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921 provided federal matching state grants to operate well-baby clinics and to educate women about motherhood (Weatherley, 1987, p. 9). The medical movement, however, saw the potential for capitalizing on women's health issues, and declared pregnancy a "medical problem", denounced Sheppard-Towner, and in 1929 succeeded in having the act repealed (Abramowitz, 1988; Amott & Matthaei, 1991; Weatherley, 1987).

Birth control became an option during this time. Social workers' perceptions of women as fit or unfit seem to resurface with the introduction of the debate on birth control. Birth control, initially thought to be a technique in which unfit mothers could be controlled, eventually became a privilege for wealthier women (Abramowitz, 1988).

Control of women through reproductive rights were promoted by social worker Margaret Sanger (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). Debates ensued concerning the control that contraceptives had over women's bodies. A woman's right to control her body

was questioned when religion was inserted into the debate. Specifically, some challenged the right of women to alter God's will (Abramowitz, 1988). Issues of classism and racism were raised once again during this time. Sanger herself, according to Amott and Matthaai (1991), allied with the racist and classist eugenics movement. In her writings she proposed that the issue of birth control was to ensure that children were produced from the "fit" and not from the "unfit". At the end of the debate, the guarantee of contraceptive methods was primarily reserved for the middle and upper class women who could afford private doctors (Abramowitz, 1988; Weatherley, 1987).

Although Aid to Dependent Children was created in 1935 as a provision of the Social Security Act, few unmarried adolescent mothers received any assistance (Weatherley, 1987). With the power to distribute funds on a local level, rarely were such women found to be "worthy" enough to receive assistance. Unmarried women with children were often excluded because the town had limited funds and did not find their particular situation a priority compared to the other "honorable" women in need (Abramowitz, 1988; Weatherley, 1987).

Rescue homes and maternity homes decreased in the 1960s. They were replaced by major social programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The sixties and early seventies, however, brought a sexual revolution, and values began to shift (Abramowitz, 1988). No longer was abstinence the enforced moral code, but freedom and self discovery were pursued. Morals and values were at the forefront of the Adolescent Health Services and Pregnancy Prevention Act, introduced

by President Carter in 1978. This program stressed short term services to pregnant teenagers, advocated abstinence, and encouraged adoption (Weatherley, 1987). It was repealed and replaced by Title XX of the Public Health Service Act in 1981 (Weatherley, 1987).

Summary

The repetition of trends and patterns is evident throughout history. Four primary themes emerge concerning the issue of unmarried adolescent mothers. These themes are that societal views of women influence the definition of family, societal perceptions of women influence policy and practice, the historical perception of relief parallels contemporary perceptions, and that those in poverty are viewed negatively by society.

The first theme is that the perception of women held by society influences the definition of family. Perceptions of women from eras as early as Greek, Roman, and Hebrew, to today's modern age, have contributed to how women are defined and what society views as their appropriate function and status. The early perceptions of women as reproducers and mothers contributed to the belief that they should be at home. Conversely, the perception of men as strong, warrior types defined their role as provider, typically a function occurring outside the home. The definition of family, or the family ethic, provided a framework and definition of roles, expectations, and limitations for women. The consequence for not complying with standardized roles and functions was often stigmatization, restriction, and poverty. The family ethic is

marked by two particular concepts: 1) defining women in terms of their relationship with men and, 2) the incidence of classism.

Dominating the definition of family was the concept of women being defined in terms of their relationship with men. Historically, the dispersion of services to women has depended on their marital status and context in which their children were born. Women themselves and their children become legitimate or legal when they are married. Illegitimacy is the result of not being married. Men, on the other hand, typically are not defined in terms of their relationship with women.

The history of attitude toward services for unmarried adolescent mothers reflects the ideology that being unmarried and pregnant means an individual is unfit. Whether it be rescue homes, foundling hospitals, or control through contraceptives, the primary drive behind these programs was an attempt to mold women into what society held as proper and upright. An ideal woman was legitimized by her relationship with a man and considered a tribute to society by her connection to the family. Unfortunately, unmarried adolescent women fell short on both accounts.

The incidence of classism has also affected the definition of family. Society wanted women to be connected to the home, but national economic needs and industrialization required a large population of low-wage earners to support the economy. The result was classism, with the wealthy continuing in the ideology of women being connected to the home, and poor women being used as the low-wage workers through poorhouses and factories. Despite the economical barriers, the family ethic of a man and woman married with children continued to be the ideal, and

the place where privilege was received.

A second theme emerging from history is that the perceptions of women held by society has strongly influenced the formation of policy and the ensuing practice of social workers. Perceptions of women are key components of the drive, purpose, and implications of policy and social work practice. Society has passed down the cultural beliefs of who women are, what they should be like, and how they should be treated. Combined with social welfare and social policy often being on a local level, the power existed and was exercised to determine who were worthy and unworthy.

Social workers may not have created these ideas and themes, but they have contributed to them. Through their practice and enforcement of societal codes, ideas of subordination, value, roles, and connection to the family were encouraged through their social work practice. In the encouragement of family ethics, similar morals and standards are revisited and maintained.

The perception of relief over the ages is a third theme materializing from the historical context. The concept of relief allowance not being better or higher than wages is present in the sixteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. At the forefront of relief policy is that the benefits not compete with the need for low-wage laborers to support the economy. In other words, provide only the smallest assistance possible in order to ensure that recipients will continue to provide a work force. The late seventeenth hundreds and early eighteen hundreds saw this fear realized when society began to believe that relief actually caused more illegitimacy and depleted the desire for jobs. In 1967 the belief appeared again that relief causes illegitimacy.

The fourth theme to surface is the perception of the poor by society. Policies relating to public relief have embodied the beliefs of how society views the poor. In the sixteenth century the poor were believed to have a right to public assistance. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the poor, though often despised, were seen as having human qualities and possessing a right to the nation's resources. Relief in kind was provided during these periods in time. At the onset of the nineteenth century, however, society shifted and began to view people in poverty as a result of their own immorality, laziness, and irresponsibility. The poor were judged to be fraudulent and exploitative of relief assistance, driving the government to be more restrictive and demanding of the poor.

In chapter three, the issues related to unmarried adolescent mothers, as discussed in the literature, are reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The literature review covers a number of issues related the topic of unmarried adolescent mothers. The literature review is divided into five sections. Current statistics on characteristics of unmarried adolescent mothers are discussed in section one. This section is followed by a discussion of contributing factors to adolescent pregnancy, implications of early childbearing and identification of social, political, and economic trends which may be said to contribute to the problem. The final section reviews suggested solutions on micro, mezzo, and macro levels.

Profile and Characteristics of Unmarried Adolescent Mothers

Statistics concerning adolescents and sexual activity reveal a wide range of information. Twelve million adolescents are sexually active, with one in ten becoming pregnant each year (Black and DeBlassie, 1985). Although adolescents represent eighteen percent of the sexually active population, they account for forty-six percent of "out-of-wedlock" births (Black and DeBlassie, 1985). These statistics are contended by other figures which report only five percent of teenage women bore children in 1980 and that the birthrate for 15-19 year olds declined from 1957 to 1980 when it reached an all time low (Chilman, 1985). Other statistical figures estimate one million adolescents give birth each year (McLaughlin, Pearce, Manninen, & Wings, 1988).

Pregnancy has increased, but fifty percent of the pregnancies are terminated (Chilman, 1985), and fifty-five percent of all births to black women in 1979 were to "unwed" mothers (Sisto, 1985). Most agree that the United States has the highest pregnancy rate in the world (Chilman, 1985; Franklin, 1988 ; McLaughlin, et al., 1988).

A disproportionate number of women and children are the primary recipients of programs for the poor (Blum, 1984; Burden & Klerman, 1984; Ehrenreich & Piven, 1984; Sarri, 1985). There appears to be an overlap between those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children and unmarried adolescent mothers (Blum, 1984; Polit, 1987; Rivera-Casale, Klerman, & Manela, 1984; Simkins, 1984). Thus, poverty, unmarried adolescent mothers, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children are not mutually exclusive of each other.

The most agreed upon characteristics within the literature are that an unmarried adolescent mother is twenty years old or younger, a mother with a number of children, a high school dropout, and non-white (Blum, 1984; Burden & Klerman, 1984; Gispert, Brinich, Wheeler, & Krieger, 1984; O'Leary, Shore, & Wieder, 1984; Retsinas, 1984; Rivera-Casale, et al., 1984). Vulnerability (Zakus & Wilday, 1987) is added to the list of traits, as is low optimism, altered perception of reality, and at risk for "learned helplessness" (Ortiz & Bassoff, 1987).

Contributing Factors to Adolescent Pregnancy

The literature is in agreement with regard to factors that contribute to adolescent pregnancy. Simkins (1984) cites unprotected sex, sporadic use of

contraception, lack of sex education, increased sexual activity, and socio-economic status as significant factors. Additional factors identified in the literature are personal attitudes and the failure of contraceptive devices. It is also proposed that the adolescent need to produce a companion is a factor. Finally, societal shifts away from "shot gun weddings" or societal "humiliation" for being pregnant "out-of-wedlock" may not be ignored (Black & DeBlassie, 1985).

Aid to Families with Dependent Children is believed to contribute to single parenthood. This idea remains undocumented (Sander, 1985). Some theorists, however, posited that societal trends toward delaying marriage or choosing not to marry have a direct influence on adolescent pregnancy (Balassone, 1988; Danziger & Nichols-Casebolt, 1988). For some, direct correlation exists between poor school performance and dependency needs for women.

Implications of Early Child Bearing

The implications or consequences associated with early child bearing are documented in the literature. An adolescent is less likely to complete her education (Blum, 1984; Burden & Klerman, 1984; Simkins, 1984) and more likely to be on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Burden & Klerman, 1984; Rudd, McKenry, & Nah, 1990). There are indications that early child bearing results in having more children (Blum, 1984; Simkins, 1984). Other consequences include physical or health problems, economic stress as a result of quitting school and being on welfare, social consequences such as having larger families and increased probability of marriage

failure, and emotional and psychological consequences due to not being able to experience stages in the developmental process (Black & DeBlassie, 1985; Buchholz & Gol, 1986; Sisto, 1985; Thompson & Peebles-Wilkins, 1986; Weatherley, 1987).

Implications of Economic, Social, and Political Trends

Adolescent mothers are often locked into low-status, low-wage jobs (Blum, 1984; Burden & Klerman, 1984; Ehrenreich & Piven, 1984; Simkins, 1984). In spite of the fact that many are employed, the majority live below the poverty line.

Women on Aid to Families with Dependent Children are the poorest among the population of unmarried adolescent mothers (Burden, & Klerman, 1984). Government programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, maintain poverty by ensuring that benefits not compete with the low-wage labor force (Ehrenreich & Piven, 1984). In instances where women are employed and also recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, it is difficult for them to earn enough money to become independent (Burden, 1984; Retsinas, 1984; Rivera-Casale, et al., 1984).

Finally, some believe that adolescent pregnancy is a result of social and political influence (Nix, Pasteur, & Servance, 1988). The family wage system (Ehrenreich & Piven, 1971) and the lack of equal opportunity and equal access contributes to high unemployability and lower career expectations for adolescents, particularly teens of color (Burden, 1984; Black & DeBlassie, 1985; Moroney & McClure, 1986; Sander, 1985).

Suggested Solutions

On a micro level several solutions are recommended, such as utilization of community resources (Blum, 1984) and increased case management (Ortiz & Bassoff, 1987). Two theories presented different suggestions as a solution, one for more abortions and the other for more adoptions. The lack of opportunity, funding, and access to abortion concerns Zakus & Wilday (1987), who posit that this option is often ruled out due to the societal stigmatization. At the same time, McLaughlin, et al. (1988) identifies another social stigmatization concerning placing a child for adoption, which may contribute to the low number of adolescents choosing adoption. Some believe the solution lies in therapeutic foster care (Sisto, 1985). Balassone (1988) contends the focus should be on intervention of multiple pregnancies.

The core needs of unmarried adolescent mothers are identified consistently throughout literature in terms of comprehensive services. The literature draws attention to the basic survival needs such as nutrition services, child care and appropriate housing (Klerman, 1985). Suggestions are made to meet the mother's and child's medical needs through pregnancy testing, primary and preventive health care, and pediatric care (Burt & Sonenstein, 1985). Comprehensive education and counseling are also recommended for the adolescent mother (Burt & Sonenstein, 1985; Chilman, 1985; Klerman, 1985; Thompson, 1986; Kissman, 1990).

Some, such as DiBlasio, believe the solution lies in eradicating school-based clinics. DiBlasio (1988) contends that the provision of contraceptives to students through the school-based clinics is responsible for the high number of student

pregnancies. DiBlasio attributes this to the high failure rate of condoms and the high number of students receiving them.

The literature recommends change and support through prevention oriented programs (Black & DeBlassie, 1985; Simkins, 1984), comprehensive programs (Polit, 1987; Jameson, 1989; Nelson, 1989; Thompson, 1992; Kissman, 1992; Lie & Moroney, 1992; Burt and Sonenstein, 1985) and inclusion of fathers in planning, caring and support (Rivera-Casale, et al., 1984; Nix, et al., 1988; Dellmann-Jenkins, Sattler, & Richardson., 1993; Freeman, 1989). One solution suggested the answer was to advocate for sexual constraint and "say no" programs (DiBlasio, 1988).

On a mezzo level the solutions included strengthening education and school functions (Franklin, 1988; Plotnick, 1993; Kissman, 1992; Freeman, Logan, & Gowdy, 1992), changes in social policy (Weatherley, 1987; O'Leary, et al., 1984), creating more jobs with adequate wages for adolescents (Sanger, 1984; Plotnick, 1993; Freeman, et al., 1992; Moroney & McClure, 1986), more networking and collaboration among agencies (Garbarino, 1984; Plotnick, 1993), and increased support from the Black church (Allen-Meares, 1989).

Interestingly, not much of the literature focused on macro solutions. Burden and Klerman (1984) and Ehrenreich and Piven (1984) suggested that macro solutions are inhibited by sexism. Both Sarri (1985) and Weatherley (1987) proposed that the solutions would have to involve an analysis and change in the social structure, policies, traditions, and ideology related to gender roles.

Summary

The literature suggests a number of factors believed to contribute to the problem of adolescent pregnancy, including racism, sexism, gender roles, and an economic structure that maintains people in poverty. On an individual level, the literature suggests that adolescent pregnancy is a result of unprotected sex and lack of sexual education.

Recurring themes which prevail in the literature are that adolescent parents are more likely to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children, have not completed their education, and are more likely to have larger families. The literature is useful in identifying contributing factors in adolescent pregnancy. With an emphasis on solutions through preventative programs, the literature provides some insights and also building blocks which may be used in the creation of programs. The literature also identifies the various needs of adolescent parents, contributing to a base of knowledge needed to develop comprehensive service programs.

A significant portion of the literature is related to statistical data describing the incidence of adolescent pregnancy. It appears that rather than need, incidence gives rise to policy. Very little of the literature which specifically identifies adolescent needs utilized the perspective of adolescent parents. In addition, subsequent policy does not address the needs of adolescent pregnancy from a client perspective. Thus, while solutions are suggested, none, however, match incidence, needs, and solution to a client perspective.

In the next chapter, Chambers (1986) policy analysis framework will be

discussed as the methodology used to analyze Minnesota Statute 1994.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Overview

This thesis is an analysis of the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73. The analysis was conducted to answer the following study questions, 1) how the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73 challenge or support traditional and current perceptions of women, 2) how does the policy reflect society's perception of unmarried adolescent mothers, and 3) what role does social work play in the regulation of this policy.

The analysis also examines the extent to which major elements of the Minnesota Statute address needs identified in the literature. This thesis is an analysis of a public policy to determine if the policy and the solutions posited in the literature are congruent. This chapter is a description of the method used to conduct the policy analysis.

Conceptual Framework

As was stated at the beginning of chapter two, understanding the history of a social problem is integral to interpreting current social problems and policy. A historical context assists in identifying how social problems have been defined and developed in the past (Chambers, 1986). Chambers (1986) asserts that a historical context is critical in understanding the thinking and attitudes which shaped social

policy. Through the exploration of history, it becomes feasible to comprehend and clarify the current policy at hand (Chambers, 1986).

Chambers (1986) suggests five primary questions be used in "establishing the historical context surrounding a modern social problem". These questions are:

1. Why is this particular social problem being raised as a matter of concern at this particular moment in history?
2. Is this an altogether new issue?
3. What are the historical precedents for the ideas and values that are being used to define the issue?
4. Who are the actors now defining this issue as a social problem and how are those actors different from the past?
5. What conditions now exist that suggest different outcomes or make society more vulnerable to change?

(p. 44-46)

Policy Analysis Framework

There are six characteristics which every program and policy must establish in order to be implemented (Chambers, 1986). They become, according to Chambers (1986), the "literal face" that is shown to the public, community, funders, and clients. It is by these characteristics that an analyst discerns the traits of a particular policy (Chambers, 1986). Chambers (1986) contends that these characteristics will guide an analyst to objective conclusions they would not have attained by simply observing

other sources. Sources such as staff members and agency policy manuals are not always accurate or completely informed (Chambers, 1986).

This thesis will analyze the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a through the six operating characteristics as identified by Chambers (1986) which are:

1. Goals and objectives
2. Entitlement (eligibility) rules
3. Forms of benefits or services delivered
4. Administrative/organizational structure for service and/or benefit delivery
5. Financing method
6. Interactions among the preceding elements

(p. 56)

Chambers (1986) discusses the purpose and importance of these six characteristics being a part of a policy analysis. The purpose of goals and objectives in policy analysis is to establish statements made on an overt or covert level that identify the impetus of the policy. Entitlement rules are intended to identify rules which may be implied or directly stated in the policy concerning the eligibility and subsequent denial of benefits to recipients. Identifying the form of benefits or services is useful in determining the specific tangible or ideological benefits provided. Examining the administrative service delivery system is helpful in understanding who are the players distributing services or maintaining restrictions.

Administrative analysis addresses the issue of accountability in the implementation of the policy. Financing centers on identifying the funding of the policy and how its recommendations will be achieved on a financial level. Finally, interactions among the preceding elements are observed to identify conflict or support between characteristics.

Definitions

The key terminology used within the policy include "minor parent", "household of parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative" and "adult-supervised supportive living arrangement". The following definitions are adapted from the proposed amendment to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a as it appears in Appendix A.

"Minor parent" is defined as an individual who is under the age of 18, has never been married or otherwise legally emancipated, and is the natural parent of a dependent child living in the same household.

"Household of parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative" means the place of residence of a natural or adoptive parent, a court appointed legal guardian or other individual who is 18 years old or older and related to the minor parent, provided that the residence is maintained as a home for the minor parent and child.

"Adult-supervised supportive living arrangement" means a "private family setting or other living arrangement, not including public institution, which, as determined by the county agency, is maintained as a family setting, as evidenced by

the assumption of responsibility for the care and control of the minor parent and dependent child or the provision of supportive services, such as counseling, guidance, or supervision".

Research Questions

This thesis involves a policy analysis of the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994 which deals with pregnant and parenting minors. The policy analysis was guided by two primary research questions. The questions were (1) how does current welfare legislation, under Minnesota Statute 1994 Section 256.73, challenge or support historical and present day perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers and, (2) are the needs of unmarried adolescent mothers addressed by Minnesota Statute 1994 Section 256.73.

Secondary questions were developed in support of the primary analysis questions. These questions relate to the part social workers play in this issue, such as 1) what have been or should be social workers' response to unmarried adolescent mothers, 2) what have been or should be their role in the delivery of services, and 3) what ethical dilemmas or pursuits have affected the ideology and practice of social workers.

Summary

The conceptual framework and policy analysis framework developed by Chambers (1986) provides a structure within which Minnesota Statute 1994 can be

analyzed in respect to the historical context. It is useful in determining prior categorization of unmarried adolescent mothers and examining the current significance of the problem.

Chapter five is the application of Chambers (1986) framework to Minnesota Statute 1994.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLICY ANALYSIS

Overview

This chapter is made up of four sections. The first section provides an overview of the history of Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73. The second section summarizes the proposed amendments to the statute. The third section applies Chambers (1986) framework to the policy, and section four discusses strengths and limitations of the framework.

History of Policy

Section 256.73 of Minnesota Statute 1994 has its roots in legislation as far back as 1937. The 1937 Aid to Dependent Children Act in the state of Minnesota provided public welfare to dependent children. This policy charged the states to distribute assistance in the form of cash to eligible dependent children under the age of eighteen (Aid to Dependent Children Act, 1937). In 1951, Section 256.73 was amended with the stipulation that persons who received assistance on behalf of their dependent children would not be eligible if they received additional aid in other forms, such as aid to the disabled. They also would not receive assistance if they were a patient in a medical institution or medical facility being treated for psychosis (Aid to Dependent Children Act, 1951).

Other amendments and additions followed in 1953, 1963, 1973, 1977, and

1985. These changes focused on residency requirements of dependent children (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1953; Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1973; Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1977) and limitations on the ownership of personal property by recipients (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1963; Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1985).

In 1988, Section 256.73 of the Laws of Minnesota added subdivision 3c. The subdivision addressed minor parents not living with relatives (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1988). This legislation required minor parents who applied for Aid to Families with Dependent Children to be referred to social services where a social service plan was to be developed in order to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Failure to comply resulted in the termination of assistance (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1988). This appears to be the first of Minnesota Law to relate directly to parenting adolescents.

Finally, in 1993, now in the category of Human Services, Section 256.73 subdivision 5 entitled "Aid to Pregnant Women" was added (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1993). This provision allowed assistance payments to be made to a pregnant woman who did not have other children for whom she was receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The rule did not allow payments for any needs of the unborn child, unless determined so by the commissioner of human services (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1993).

Summary of Policy

The current welfare reform bill is an amendment to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a and is entitled "Parenting or Pregnant Minors: Restriction on Assistance with Federal Exceptions". The bill was introduced as Senate File Number One by Senators Samuelson, Sams, Hanson, Piper, and Day. This bill relates to welfare reform and requires pregnant and parenting minors to live with their parent(s) in order to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments. The proposed act states "a minor parent and the dependent child who is in the care of the minor parent must reside in the household of a parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative, or in an adult-supervised supportive living arrangement in order to receive AFDC" (Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a).

Application of Framework

With the historical background reviewed, the current proposed amendments to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73, Subd. 5a can be analyzed using Chambers' (1986) framework.

Goals and Objectives

The actual legislative act itself does not state overt goals or objectives. It is possible to observe goals and objectives by examining the previous legislative history (Chambers, 1986). However, there were not overt statements of goals or objectives within the context of the history of this legislation reviewed. Chambers (1986) directs analysts to staff or documents which state the goals or objectives of the phenomenon

under analysis.

The amended Fiscal Notes from the Department of Human Services (see Appendix B) related to Aid to Families with Dependent Children, state that there would be significant Aid to Families with Dependent Children savings resulting from minor caretakers who now live independently and receive \$437 per month but would receive a reduced grant or no assistance when required to live with their parents (DHS Reports and Forecasts, 1995). Although not stated as an overt goal or objective, it may be understood that a goal is to reduce the amount of money distributed through Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

An additional document commenting on current national welfare reform cites reducing illegitimacy, requiring work, and saving taxpayers money as the goals of these recommended changes (Gingrich, Armev & the House of Republicans, 1994). Gingrich, et al. (1994) states the objective of this reform is to use the financial savings obtained from denying Aid to Families with Dependent Children to adolescent parents to form block grants to be distributed to states. The states would then utilize the funding to establish programs to reduce illegitimacy, develop and operate children's group homes, and promote adoption (Gingrich, Armev & the House of Republicans, 1994).

Entitlement (eligibility) Rules

Eligibility for receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children within this policy is met through age (being under the age of 18), never having been legally emancipated (through marriage or otherwise), and being a natural parent of a

dependent child. In order for unmarried adolescent mothers to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children they must live with their parents or other supervising adult (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1994).

Exceptions to the requirement of living in the home of the minor parent's parent include 1) if the minor parent has no living parent or legal guardian, 2) if no living parent or legal guardian of the minor parent will allow the minor parent to live there, 3) if the minor parent has lived on their own for at least one year before giving birth or applying for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 4) if there is physical or emotional danger for the minor parent and their child to reside in the minor parent's home and, 5) if the minor parent and dependent child have been living independently as a part of an approved social services plan for less than one year (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1994).

Forms of Benefits or Services Delivered

There are three primary services required by this bill. The first is that minor applicants be informed orally and in writing of the eligibility requirements. Second, a minor parent receives services from child protection if deemed necessary. If a minor parent alleges or the county worker suspects that there is physical or emotional danger by the minor parent living in their parent's household, then the social worker must make a referral to child protective services. Third, this policy provides for Aid to Families with Dependent Children benefits to be paid in the form of a protective payment to the minor parent's parent (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1994).

Administrative/Organizational Structure for Service Delivery

This policy names specifically the participation of county workers and child protective workers in the administration of services and Aid to Families with Dependent Children benefits (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1994). The county worker is responsible for distributing Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the form of a protective payment, on behalf of the dependent child and the minor parent, to the minor parent's parent. The county worker is also responsible for alerting the child protection unit if the dependent child or minor parent are in danger. It is the responsibility of the child protection worker to determine within 180 days if the home is safe or not. The policy does state that a minor parent be informed of their eligibility but does not identify who administratively would be responsible for this task.

There are other sources which may also be required in the administrative process of delivering services. Although it is not specified within this policy, the Department of Human Services Fiscal Notes state that before a minor caretaker can be required to return to "her" parents' home, a social service evaluation is required (DHS Reports and Forecasts, 1995). The report does not state who would conduct these evaluations. It could be the responsibility of the county worker or require a social worker from a different division to complete the task. The DHS report also predicts an increase in foster care cases resulting from the evaluation process (DHS Reports and Forecasts, 1995). This would then involve the administrative cooperation of social workers and foster care providers.

Financing Method

The policy does not specifically state where the financing would come from to implement this strategy. It only states specific requirements for unmarried adolescent mothers to receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments. It can be conjectured that if county workers or child protection workers are involved, their time would require compensation. This source may be state tax dollars. The DHS report does estimate the cost for social workers to perform the social service evaluation (DHS Reports and Forecasts, 1995). DHS estimates that each evaluation would take fifteen hours, at \$40 per hour. Funding for these evaluations would be provided through federal and state sources. In addition, funding necessary for additional foster care would be met by the federal Title IV-E program and state and county funding (DHS Reports and Forecasts, 1995).

Interactions Among the Preceding Elements

A noticeable interaction occurs between the goals and financing. It is understood that an overall goal is to reduce Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments by reducing or eliminating assistance to unmarried adolescent parents once they live with their parent (Gingrich, et al., 1994). Although Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments may decrease, it has also been discussed that the cost of social services and foster care may increase. The amount of the difference would be important to explore in understanding if the cost of two services contradict.

There is also an interaction between the form of services and the administrative workers responsible for delivery of those services. Tasks such as informing a minor

parent on eligibility criteria, may be lost if responsibility is not specifically assigned. It may be postulated that social workers may feel overwhelmed with their current case load and may feel overwhelmed with having to handle additional cases for evaluations or potential foster care placement. On the other hand, if the number of minor parents eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children is reduced, over-worked social workers may be appreciative of the decrease in the number of cases they may have to handle.

Limitations and Strengths of Framework

No framework, regardless of how comprehensive, will result in conclusive solutions to the policy being analyzed (Gil, 1992). A framework can, however, provide a structure that will draw attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the policy. Chambers' (1986) framework has three limitations. First, Chambers' framework does not examine the policy with respect to a team approach. In order for a policy to be implemented successfully, a multidisciplinary team approach is required (Gil, 1992). Multidisciplinary teams, rather than individual analysts working independently, are more able to sufficiently integrate scholarly disciplines such as anthropology, political science, psychology, and biology in a policy analysis (Gil, 1992). For example, the "collective competence" of the team members result in an adeptness at "identifying and utilizing the types of data" to conduct a thorough policy analysis (Gil, 1992). Second, Chambers' framework allows for only an abbreviated analysis. The framework does not identify aspects of the policy such as unintended

side effects, overall benefits and costs, and impact of the policy. Without these components, the analysis is abbreviated and results in limitations concerning what can be interpreted, concluded or predicted (Gil, 1992). Third, is the lack of an evaluative component. The effectiveness of policy is determined by the evaluative process it undergoes to identify success and needed changes (Gil, 1992). Chambers does not include evaluative questioning in his framework.

The policy analysis framework of Chambers has a strength in its focus on the six characteristics. These six characteristics are the building blocks for all programs and policies and is an effective starting place (Chambers, 1986). There is strength in the framework's lack of judgment regarding the various elements explored.

Chambers' framework is a basic question and answer format, void of latitude for value laden interpretations.

Summary

Chambers' framework was useful in identifying the basic premise of the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73. The historical background of the legislation appears to indicate the earlier focus of policy being on establishing residency and limiting the ownership of personal property by the recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Conversely, Chambers' framework identified the shift in the objective of this policy being to reduce the amount of Aid to Families with Dependent Children disbursements.

Chapter six provides a discussion of the findings from the policy analysis.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

Overview

This final chapter includes two sections. Section one is a discussion of the findings and section two is a summary.

Findings

The purpose of this thesis is not to judge adolescent pregnancy or determine how to address reducing the incidence of adolescent pregnancy. The intent is to focus on the societal attitudes and perceptions as three primary questions are asked. The analysis was conducted to answer the following study questions, 1) how the proposed changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73 challenge or support traditional and current perceptions of women, 2) how does the policy reflect society's perception of unmarried adolescent mothers, and 3) what role does social work play in the regulation of this policy.

Based on the analysis utilizing Chambers' (1986) framework, the first question regarding whether current welfare legislation challenge or support historical and present day perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers is not directly addressed. There appear to be no challenges to current or historical perceptions. There are, however, three perceptions which do correlate with previous themes.

Three historical perceptions identified in the summary of chapter two seem to

emerge from this policy. The first perception is the idea of defining women in terms of their relationship with men. A pattern was observed in history of women becoming "legal" only after marriage. Their children also were not "legitimate" unless born within the context of a marriage to a man. The policy supports this perception through its eligibility requirements when it equates legal emancipation to being married (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1994).

A second perception which appears in historical analysis and within this policy is the belief that relief causes illegitimacy. Although not stated directly within the context of the policy, stakeholders in the policy contend that the Great Society of the 1960s "bred" illegitimacy. Conversely, they believe they can, through current welfare reform, reduce illegitimacy (Gingrich, et al., 1994). This ideology states that if there is no Aid to Families with Dependent Children available, then adolescents will not continue becoming pregnant or having children.

A third view held historically and supported in the policy is the perception of the poor. Historically, chapter two identified trends in seeing the poor as exploitive and fraudulent. The response was to impose more restrictions. This policy supports this perception through the policy's design. Based on the idea that Aid to Families with Dependent Children is "rewarding dependency", the policy is restrictive in nature in order to reduce Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments and eventually, presumably, encourage work (Gingrich, et al., 1994).

The analysis related to the second question regarding if the needs of unmarried adolescent mothers are addressed by this policy, implies the needs are not met. The

literature review identified numerous needs of adolescent mothers. Emphasis was placed on comprehensive services addressing education, medical care, nutrition, counseling, and financial assistance. Attention was also drawn to the need for societal changes in terms of racism, sexism, classism, and the economic system which continues to need a supply of cheap labor. The current welfare reform policy does not address any of the needs or issues as identified in the literature review.

As identified in the methodology of chapter five, Chambers' framework does not discuss latent and manifest effects of the policy (Gil, 1992). There is a question as to what would happen to unmarried adolescent mothers who could not return to their parents' home. According to the policy they are instructed to report an unsafe home to their social worker. However, if the minor parent chose not to do this because they were fearful of the implications of child protective services becoming involved and possible confinement to a foster home, what would the possible outcome be? It could be speculated that without Aid to Families with Dependent Children and without a place to live, some adolescent parents may end up homeless and living on the streets.

A study on young street mothers was conducted, revealing that adolescent mothers found themselves homeless as a result of not being able to live with their parents because of abuse, frustration with group or residential programs, financial stress, and disruptive school experiences (Ray, 1993). Ray (1993) contends that the adolescent mothers experienced "insensitive remarks" and unprofessional treatment by social workers and others in helping professions. The provision of supplemental food

and well-baby services are critical to the survival of their children (Ray, 1993). It is important to be aware that homelessness of adolescent parents, combined with a decrease or absence of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, results in lower birth weights for babies, increase in emergency medical services, increase in drug and alcohol use of minor parents, health problems, and depression (Ray, 1993).

The third question focused on the role of social workers in the regulation of policy and perception of women. Based on the analysis, one role of social workers is identified as case management. The National Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics, however, compels social workers to comply with a standard of practice which does not collaborate or discriminate on the basis of marital or personal status (National Association of Social Workers, 1993). Social workers have a responsibility to serve all clients with "devotion, loyalty, determination, and the maximum application of professional skills" (National Association of Social Workers, 1993).

It has been recognized that social workers maintain societal values through the regulation of policy. If societal values and perceptions of unmarried adolescent mothers are discriminatory in race, sex, marital status, and personal status, the issue then emerges regarding how social workers are to reconcile themselves with the implementation of a policy and the contradiction of the code of ethics established to guide social work practice.

It has been acknowledged that the practice of linking women in any deliberation of problems or programs is an enforcement of historic perceptions toward women (Costin, 1985). This leads to the social work practice of "blending" the needs,

interests, and problems of unmarried adolescent mothers with no consideration of different statuses, roles, capabilities, and aspirations (Costin, 1985). The perception of unmarried adolescent mothers as being one composite gives rise to programs which respond to clients from a broad position instead of individualized attention. It is easy for clients to fall through the cracks, get lost in the system, and generally not have their needs met. The proposed amendment to the Minnesota Statute could be said to contribute to this by the drive to create more programs with state block grants.

It has been postulated that the response to unmarried adolescent mothers through social work practice does not focus on a strengths perspective or a desire to empower these young women. It can be assumed that disempowerment occurs especially for low income minority females who become pregnant as a result of being cast into three stigmatized groups: women, ethnic, and poor (Parson, 1989). It has been contended that programs and practice that utilize a framework of empowerment can effectively change and increase unmarried adolescent mothers' self esteem, perceptions of control over their lives, and knowledge of alternative roles for women (Parsons, 1989).

Some believe that social work practice is not interested in empowerment or support of a population of people deemed modern day lepers (Sidel, 1986). Emphasis is often placed on individual problems as opposed to the ecological or environmental influences. It has been hypothesized that social workers are not interested in assisting in the liberation of poor or oppressed people, simply out of concern that their own jobs be maintained (Reynolds, 1951; Specht, 1990).

If social work practitioners are committed to the standards set by the National Association of Social Workers (1993), then they are to conduct themselves with propriety, competence, service, integrity, and in the best interest of the client. This does not imply that social workers are void of personal bias or personal values. It does, however, require that practitioners not impose their personal morals or judgements on the people with whom they work.

It would seem that the focus of social work practice should be on the client and not on the advancement of the profession or procurement of job stability. It would also seem that the client's perspective should be at the center of policy, practice, and research. As the diversity of race, culture, beliefs, lifestyles, values, and personal choices continue to grow within this nation, it is critical that ethical practice be the guiding force for social work practice.

Summary

This thesis has attempted to examine the proposed legislative changes to Minnesota Statute 1994, Section 256.73 through a historical perspective. The historical context of this thesis provided an understanding of the traditional views of women as being subordinate to men and limited in their capacity. These traditional views were compounded by the societal perceptions of poverty which many women lived in. Perceptions of women as being primarily producers of children and help-mates to men, gave rise to the idea of the family ethic. In the context of family, womens roles were defined as mother and wife. Marriage to a man legitimized a

woman and, for some, afforded her the privilege of staying at home to raise her children. The women who did not comply, particularly "un-wed mothers", were stigmatized by society and not permitted equal access to the same services married mothers were privileged to.

The perception of unmarried adolescent mothers has not changed much over the years. They are classified as irresponsible and dysfunctional, and their children are considered illegitimate. Unmarried adolescent mothers are not seen as valuable contributors to our society. Instead they are viewed as burdens, particularly financial burdens because of their use of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Despite that fact that welfare is only one percent of the national budget, these young women are seen as robbing the nation and the tax payers of their hard earned money. Many people are unaware that the amount of assistance adolescent mothers receive per month is only \$437. Even with a job, food stamps, and housing assistance, it is very difficult to survive let alone thrive. Diapers alone can cost from \$50 to \$75 per month, and assistance is not available for that.

The low rate of financial assistance is determined by the rate of cheap labor. As was true historically and is true today, relief is intentionally set at a rate that is lower than low-wage labor. The concept behind this is that if relief is too high people will not be motivated to work. Consequently, people in poverty have supplied the low-wage labor force, maintaining the economy of the nation. This is enforced further by the restrictions and requirements of policy.

The new policy at the forefront of welfare reform concerning pregnant and

parenting minors regulates adolescents financial assistance by requiring them to live with their parent(s). Their assistance is ultimately reduced or eliminated. The needs of adolescent parents as described in the literature are not satisfied within the context of the policy. The policy addresses the need for additional income by removing financial assistance. Eventually the money "saved" from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs will be re-routed to state and local programs to create homes for "un-wed" mothers and operate residential group homes for their children (Gingrich, et al., 1994). This sort of institutionalization is reminiscent of the 1800s and the control of populations of unwanted people.

The idea that controlling a stigmatized group of people to change their status or behavior is not new. Some believe the policies initiated in the 1960s helped to relieve some of the pressure and oppression of those living in poverty. Others believe that the programs bred illegitimacy. Now it is thought that new welfare reform policy can effectively reduce pregnancy of unmarried adolescents.

Regardless of where people stand on this issue, it seems obvious that change is not going to come through the regurgitation of the same old attitudes, policies, and practices. As long as society continues to ostracize and stigmatize populations of unwanted and devalued people, the greater the problem will become. This society would seemingly benefit most from the African proverb that states it takes a whole village to raise a child. Instead of regulation and restriction, perhaps cooperation, guidance, and respect would be more helpful.

Consistently being lost among all of this rhetoric is the experience of the

unmarried adolescent mother. Not only are her needs and experiences ignored, but her perspective is denied. Without dialogue between clients and those who create policy and regulate it, a tremendous gap develops and obstructs the process in what is to be accomplished. There is no person better able to identify areas of concern or suggest possible solutions than the individual who is in the circumstance. In a spirit of unity and desire for resolve which honors all people, solutions are possible. It requires checking our attitudes at the door and working together for everyone within our society.

APPENDIX A

MINNESOTA STATUTE 1994, SECTION 256.73, SUBD. 5a

12/23/94

[REVISOR] SGS/MP 95-0661

1 parent. This subdivision is effective upon federal approval and
 2 implementation of the waiver under section 23, subdivision 4.

3 Sec. 3. Minnesota Statutes 1994, section 256.73, is
 4 amended by adding a subdivision to read:

5 Subd. 5a. [PARENTING OR PREGNANT MINORS; RESTRICTION ON
 6 ASSISTANCE WITH FEDERAL EXCEPTIONS.] (a) The definitions in this
 7 paragraph only apply to this subdivision.

8 (1) "Minor parent" means an individual who:

9 (i) is under the age of 18;

10 (ii) has never been married or otherwise legally

11 emancipated; and

12 (iii) is either the natural parent of a dependent child

13 living in the same household or eligible for assistance paid to

14 a pregnant woman under subdivision 5.

15 (2) "Household of a parent, legal guardian, or other adult

16 relative" means the place of residence of:

17 (i) a natural or adoptive parent;

18 (ii) a legal guardian pursuant to appointment or acceptance

19 under section 260.242, 525.615, or 525.6165, and related laws;

20 or

21 (iii) another individual who is age 18 or over and related

22 to the minor parent as specified in Code of Federal Regulations,

23 title 45, section 233.90(c)(1)(v), provided that the residence

24 is maintained as a home for the minor parent and child under

25 Code of Federal Regulations, title 45, section

26 233.90(c)(1)(v)(B).

27 (3) "Adult-supervised supportive living arrangement" means

28 a private family setting or other living arrangement, not

29 including a public institution, which, as determined by the

30 county agency, is maintained as a family setting, as evidenced

31 by the assumption of responsibility for the care and control of

32 the minor parent and dependent child or the provision of

33 supportive services, such as counseling, guidance, or

34 supervision.

35 (b) A minor parent and the dependent child who is in the

36 care of the minor parent must reside in the household of a

1 parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative, or in an
2 adult-supervised supportive living arrangement in order to
3 receive AFDC unless:

4 (1) the minor parent has no living parent or legal guardian
5 whose whereabouts is known;

6 (2) no living parent or legal guardian of the minor parent
7 allows the minor parent to live in the parent's or legal
8 guardian's home;

9 (3) the minor parent lived apart from the minor parent's
10 own parent or legal guardian for a period of at least one year
11 before either the birth of the dependent child or the minor
12 parent's application for AFDC;

13 (4) the physical or emotional health or safety of the minor
14 parent or dependent child would be jeopardized if the minor
15 parent and the dependent child resided in the same residence
16 with the minor parent's parent or legal guardian; or

17 (5) the minor parent and dependent child have, on the
18 effective date of this section, been living independently as
19 part of an approved social services plan for less than one year.

20 (c) Minor applicants must be informed orally and in writing
21 about the eligibility requirements and their rights and
22 obligations under the AFDC program.

23 (d) If a minor parent alleges or the county worker suspects
24 that paragraph (b), clause (4), applies, the county worker must
25 make a referral to child protective services, and child
26 protective services must determine, or must have determined
27 within the previous 180 days, that the home is not safe due to
28 alleged maltreatment or that protective services are needed in
29 order for the minor parent to fall under the exception in
30 paragraph (b), clause (4).

31 (e) If a minor parent is not living with a parent or legal
32 guardian due to paragraph (b), clause (2) or (4), the minor
33 parent must reside in a living arrangement that meets the
34 standards of paragraph (a), clause (3).

35 (f) AFDC must be paid in the form of a protective payment
36 on behalf of the minor parent and dependent child to the minor

1 parent's parent, legal guardian, or other adult relative, when
2 the minor parent is living with the minor parent's parent, legal
3 guardian, or other adult relative, in accordance with Code of
4 Federal Regulations, title 45, section 234.60.

5 Sec. 4. Minnesota Statutes 1994, section 256.73,
6 subdivision 8, is amended to read:

7 Subd. 8. [RECOVERY OF OVERPAYMENTS.] (a) Except as
8 provided in subdivision 8a, if an amount of aid to families with
9 dependent children assistance is paid to a recipient in excess
10 of the payment due, it shall be recoverable by the county
11 agency. The agency shall give written notice to the recipient
12 of its intention to recover the overpayment.

13 (b) When an overpayment occurs, the county agency shall
14 recover the overpayment from a current recipient by reducing the
15 amount of aid payable to the assistance unit of which the
16 recipient is a member for one or more monthly assistance
17 payments until the overpayment is repaid. All county agencies
18 in the state shall reduce the assistance payment by three
19 percent of the assistance unit's standard of need or the amount
20 of the monthly payment, whichever is less, for all overpayments
21 whether or not the overpayment is due solely to agency error.
22 If the overpayment is due solely to having wrongfully obtained
23 assistance, whether based on a court order, the finding of an
24 administrative fraud disqualification hearing or a waiver of
25 such a hearing, or a confession of judgment containing an
26 admission of an intentional program violation, the amount of
27 this reduction shall be ten percent. In cases when there is
28 both an overpayment and underpayment, the county agency shall
29 offset one against the other in correcting the payment.

30 (c) Overpayments may also be voluntarily repaid, in part or
31 in full, by the individual, in addition to the above aid
32 reductions, until the total amount of the overpayment is repaid.

33 (d) The county agency shall make reasonable efforts to
34 recover overpayments to persons no longer on assistance in
35 accordance with standards adopted in rule by the commissioner of
36 human services. The county agency need not attempt to recover

APPENDIX B

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

AMENDED FISCAL NOTE

Article 2, Section 6. Require Minor Parents to Live at Home

It is proposed to require minor AFDC caretakers to live with a parent or in an alternative supervised living arrangement approved by the county. It is assumed that half of all minor caretakers will be exempt for reasons relating to the adequacy of the parent's home environment.

AFDC savings would result from minor caretakers who currently receive \$437 per month as an independent case but would receive a reduced grant or no assistance when they reside with their parents. Assistance would be reduced for two reasons: (1) a lower standard (\$345 per month) would apply to a minor caretaker living in the parental home, and (2) parental income (after deductions for the parents needs) would be considered available to meet the needs of the minor caretaker and her child. Because of the treatment of parental income, one-half of the minor caretakers returning to the parental home are assumed to lose AFDC eligibility. The remaining one-half are assumed to receive AFDC grants equal to two-thirds of the \$345 standard (\$230). (The latter group also includes minor caretakers whose parent is an AFDC recipient. In this situation the amount of AFDC grant allowed for the minor caretaker and her child would equal the increment in the AFDC standard for two additional children. If the minor caretaker and her child count as the third and fourth children, the increment would be \$184 per month.)

Implementation of this change is assumed to begin in July 1996 and to be completed by December 1996. Thus the effect projected for FY 1997 is three-quarters of the full-year effect.

	FY 1996	FY 1997	FY 1998	FY 1999
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Average monthly number of minor caretaker AFDC cases	550	550	550	550
Percent not exempt	0%	38%	50%	50%
Number of non-exempt minor-caretakers	0	206	275	275
Current AFDC grant	\$437	\$437	\$437	\$437
Months	0	12	12	12
Current cost for minor caretakers living independently	0	1,081,575	1,442,100	1,442,100

	FY 1996	FY 1997	FY 1998	FY 1999
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Number returning to parental home	0	206	275	275
Number retaining AFDC eligibility	0	103	138	138
Estimated new average grant	\$230	\$230	\$230	\$230
Months	0	12	12	12
Cost for cases returning to parents	0	284,625	379,500	379,500
Net AFDC cost (Proposed cost minus current cost)	0	(796,950)	(1,062,600)	(1,062,600)
State share	0	(312,082)	(416,109)	(416,109)
County share	0	(55,073)	(73,431)	(73,431)
Federal share	0	(429,795)	(573,060)	(573,060)
State budget	0	(348,797)	(489,540)	(495,659)

Before a minor caretaker is required to return to her parents' home, a social service evaluation is required. It is estimated that each evaluation would take fifteen hours, at an hourly cost of \$40. Because of rapid turnover in the minor caretaker population, evaluations are assumed to continue at the rate of 550 per year.

	FY 1996	FY 1997	FY 1998	FY 1999
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Number of cases requiring evaluation	0	550	550	550
Cost of evaluation (15 hrs X \$40/hr)	600	600	600	600
Total cost of evaluation	\$0	\$330,000	\$330,000	\$330,000
State pays county share	0	165,000	165,000	165,000
County share	0	0	0	0
Federal share	0	165,000	165,000	165,000

The evaluation process is expected to result, over time, in added foster care cases equal to one-quarter of the 550 minor caretakers currently living independently. One-half of the added foster care costs are projected to qualify for federal Title IV-E funding at 53.8%. The

balance of the foster care costs would normally be a county responsibility. It is assumed that the State pays the costs associated with this change.

	FY 1996 . -----	FY 1997 -----	FY 1998 -----	FY 1999 -----
Cases evaluated	0	550	550	550
Percentage placed in foster care	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%
Foster care placements	0	69	69	69
Average effect on foster care caseload (assumes 1-yr duration)	0	34	103	138
Monthly cost of foster case for infant and teen mother	\$1,870	\$1,870	\$1,870	\$1,870
Annual foster care cost	\$0	\$762,960	\$2,311,320	\$3,096,720
Federal Share	0	205,389	622,207	833,637
Non-federal share	0	557,571	1,689,113	2,263,083

References

- Abramowitz, M. (1988). Regulating the lives of women. Boston: South End Press.
- Aid to Dependent Children Act, Session Laws of Minnesota, Section 4 (1937).
- Aid to Dependent Children Act, Session Laws of Minnesota, Section 1 (1951).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Session Laws of Minnesota, Section 1 (1953).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Session Laws of Minnesota, Section 1 (1963).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Laws of Minnesota, Section 1 (1973).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Laws of Minnesota, Section 2 (1977).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Laws of Minnesota, Section 6 (1985).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Laws of Minnesota, Section 3 (1985).
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act, Laws of Minnesota, Section 3 (1993).
- Allen-Meaers, P. (1989). Adolescent sexuality and premature parenthood: Role of the black church in prevention. Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality, 8 (1), 133-142.
- Amott, T. L., & Matthaei, J. A. (1991). Race, gender, and work. Boston: South End Press.
- Anderson, B. S., & Zinsser, J. P. (1988). A history of her own (Vol. I). New York: Harper and Row.
- Anderson, B. S., & Zinsser, J. P. (1988). A history of her own (Vol. II). New York: Harper and Row.

- Balassone, M. L. (1988). Multiple pregnancies among adolescents: Incidence and correlates. Health and Social Work, 266-276.
- Black, C., & DeBlassie, R. R. (1985). Adolescent pregnancy: Contributing factors, consequences, treatment, and plausible solutions. Adolescence, 20 (78), 281-290.
- Blum, B. B. (1984). Helping teenage mothers. Public Welfare, 17-21.
- Buchholz, E. S., & Gol, B. (1986). More than playing house: A developmental perspective on the strengths in teenage motherhood. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 56 (3), 347-359.
- Burden, D. S., & Klerman, L. V. (1984). Teenage parenthood: Factors that lessen economic dependence. Social Work, 11-16.
- Burt, M. R., & Sonenstein, F. L. (1985). Planning programs for pregnant teenagers. Public Welfare, 28-36.
- Chambers, D. E. (1986). Social policy and social programs. New York: Macmillian Publishing.
- Chilman, C. S. (1985). Feminist issues in teenage parenting. Child Welfare, 64 (3), 225-233.
- Costin, L. B. (1985). [In "Introduction"]. Child Welfare, 64 (3), 197-201.
- Danziger, S. K., & Nichols-Casebolt, A. (1988). Teen parents and child support: Eligibility, participation, and payment. Journal of Social Service Research, 11 (2/3), 1-20.
- Dellmann-Jenkins, M., Sattler, S. H., & Richardson, R. A. (1993). Adolescent

- parenting: A positive, intergenerational approach. Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 590-601.
- Deuteronomy 24:1-4 (Revised Standard Version)
- DiBlasio, F. A. (1988). A time to question school-based clinics. Health and Social Work, 305-307.
- DiBlasio, F. A. (1989). Adolescent sexuality: Promoting the search for hidden values. Child Welfare, 65 (3), 331-337.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Piven, F. F. (1984). The feminization of poverty. 162-170.
- Franklin, D. L. (1988). Race, class, and adolescent pregnancy: An ecological analysis. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 58 (3), 339-354.
- Freeman, E. M. (1989). Adolescent fathers in urban communities: Exploring their needs and role in preventing pregnancy. Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality, 8 (1), 113-131.
- Freeman, E. M., Logan, S. L., & Gowdy, E. A. (1992). Empowering single mothers. Affilia, 7 (2), 123-141.
- Garbarino, J. (1984). Child welfare and the economic crisis. Child Welfare, 63 (1), 3-15.
- Genesis 20: 17-18 (Revised Standard Version)
- Gil, D. (1992). Unraveling social policy (5th ed.). Vermont: Schenkman Books, Inc.
- Gingrich, N., Armev, D., & The House Republicans. (1994). Contract with America. New York: Random House.

- Gispert, M., Brinich, P., Wheeler, K., & Krieger, L. (1984). Predictors of repeat pregnancies among low-income adolescents. Hospital and Community Psychiatry, 35 (7), 719-723.
- Guttmacher Institute. (1994). Sex and America's Teenagers. New York and Washington D. C.
- Jameson, L. (1989). Women and self-sufficiency: Programs that work, policy that might. The American Family, 12 (1), 7-8.
- Katz, M. B. (1989). The undeserving poor. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kissman, K. (1992). Pregnant minors and parenting teens: School retention and comprehensive services. School Social Work Journal, 17 (1), 1-9.
- Kissman, K. (1990). Social support and gender role attitude among teenage mothers. Adolescence, 25 (99), 709-716.
- Lie, G. Y., & Moroney, R. M. (1992). A controlled evaluation of comprehensive social services provided to teenage mothers receiving AFDC. Research on Social Work Practice, 2 (4), 429-447.
- McLaughlin, S. D., Pearce, S. E., Manninen, D. L., & Wings, L. D. (1988). To parent or relinquish: Consequences for adolescent mothers. Social Work, 320-324.
- Miller, S. H. (1984). Childbearing and childrearing among the very young. Children Today, 26-29.
- Moroney, R. M., & McClure, J. (1986). Social welfare and the permanent underclass. Urban and Social Change Review, 19, 25-31.

- Morton, M. J. (1988). Fallen women, federated charities, and maternity homes, 1913-1973. Social Service Review, 61-82.
- National Association of Social Workers. (1993). Code of ethics of the national association of social workers. [Brochure].
- Nelson, B. A. (1989). A comprehensive program for pregnant adolescents: Parenting and prevention. Child Welfare, 68 (1), 57-60.
- Nix, L. M., Pasteur, A. B., & Servance, M. A. (1988). A focus group study of sexually active black male teenagers. Adolescence, 23 (91), 741-751.
- Numbers 5:11-31 (Revised Standard Version)
- O'Leary, K. M., Shore, M. F., & Wieder, S. (1984). Contacting pregnant adolescents: Are we missing cures? Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 297-306.
- Ortiz, E. T., & Bassoff, B. Z. (1987). Adolescent welfare mothers: Lost optimism and lowered expectations. Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 400-405.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1971). Regulating the poor. New York: Random House
- Plant, R. (1970). Social and moral theory in casework. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Plotnick, R. D. (1993). The effect of social policies on teenage pregnancy and childbearing. Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 324-328.
- Polit, D. F. (1987). Routes to self-sufficiency: Teenage mothers and employment. Children Today, 6-11.

- Ray, J. (1993). Survival methods of young street mothers. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 10 (3), 189-205.
- Retsinas, J. (1984). Of bread and roses...and bread. Social Development Issues, 8 (3), 127-138.
- Reynolds, B. C. (1951). Social work and social living. Maryland: National Association of Social Workers.
- Rivera-Casale, C., Klerman, L. V., & Manela, R. (1984). The relevance of child-support enforcement of school-age parents. Child Welfare, 63 (6), 521-532.
- Rudd, N. M., McKenry, P. C., & Nah, M. (1990). Welfare receipt among black and white adolescent mothers. Journal of Family Issues, 11 (3), 334-352.
- Sander, W. (1985). Economic aspects of single parenthood in Chicago. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 497-502.
- Sanger, M. B. (1984). Generating employment for AFDC mothers. Social Service Review, 28-48.
- Sarri, R. C. (1985). Federal policy changes and the feminization of poverty. Child Welfare, 64 (3), 235-247.
- Sidel, R. (1992). Women and children last (rev. ed.). New York: Penguin Books.
- Simkins, L. (1984). Consequences of teenage pregnancy and motherhood. Adolescence, 19 (73), 39-54.
- Sisto, G. W. (1985). Therapeutic foster homes for teenage mothers and their babies. Child Welfare, 64 (2), 157-163.
- Specht, H. (1990). Social work and the popular psychotherapies. Social Service

Review, 345-357.

Thompson, M. S., & Peebles-Wilkins, W. (1992). The impact of formal, informal, and societal support networks on the psychological well-being of black adolescent mothers. Social Work, 37 (4), 322-328.

Thompson, M. S. (1986). The influence of supportive relations on the psychological well-being of teenage mothers. Social Forces, 64 (4), 1006-1024.

Trattner, W. I. (1989). From poor law to welfare state (4th ed.). New York: Free Press.

Weatherley, R. A. (1987). Teenage pregnancy, professional agendas, and problem definitions. Journal of Society and Social Work, 14 (2), 5-35.

Zakus, G., & Wilday, S. (1987). Adolescent abortion option. Social Work in Health Care, 12 (4), 77-91.

Augsburg College
George Sverdrup Library
Minneapolis, MN 55454