A DESCRIPTION OF TEENAGE MOTHERS IN CANADA
AND THEIR CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS
by
Patricia Anne Brown
Bachelor of Science, Oregon State University, 1960

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Department of Education

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date December 18, 1991
ABSTRACT

Using data collected by the 1988 Canadian National Child Care Study, this study set out to describe Canadian teenage mothers, their child care usage patterns and tension issues related to child care. The study identified a population of approximately 11,800 Canadian mothers under 20 years of age. The greatest portion (81.8% or 15,100) of these mothers were between 18 and 20 years, and 51.2% (9,500) were either married or living with a partner. While nearly 80.8% (14,900) had not completed grade twelve, 81.7% (15,100) were not attending school. A majority (69.8% or 12,900) were not in the labour force and another 10.6% (2,000) were unemployed.

Most of their children (16,400 or 90.1%) were under 2 years, and 37.9% of the children (8,000) were cared for exclusively by their mothers. When supplementary arrangements were used, relatives were the most frequent sources of child care, and most children were in non-parental care for under ten hours per week.

Because of the small sample size, information about working teenage mothers was limited. Most non-working teenage mothers reported little or no overall tension about child care. When asked about specific child care issues, most teenage mothers who were not in the labour force reported little or no tension. Three concerns were identified as stressors for significant numbers of these mothers, however. The issues were social isolation, not being able to buy things for their children, and finding future employment. Four factors associated with low child care tension were feelings of being good parents, having the major influence on their children, being available to their children, and being able to avoid unpleasant work situations.

The study draws attention to the benefits of licensed infant and toddler care centres, child care subsidies, and special programs providing a range of services for teenage parent families. More Canadian research using a variety of methodologies, is also recommended. Along with other aspects of the topic, future studies should address the issues of younger teenage mothers (under 18 years), teenage fathers, stress factors for teenage parents and the roles of extended families.
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A Description of Teenage Mothers in Canada  
and Their Child Care Arrangements

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades changes in attitudes toward sexuality and pregnancy in North America have increased the tendency for adolescent mothers to keep and raise their own babies. Because these mothers are dealing with a complex set of developmental issues while adjusting to parenthood, they may experience a variety of problems unless they have access to a strong network of support systems (Furstenberg, 1976; Helm, 1988; Lamb, 1986; Levine, Coll & Oh, 1985; Mercer, Hackley & Bostrom, 1984; Wise & Grossman, 1980;). One such support is child care. Without adequate care for their children, teenage mothers may find it difficult to receive the education required to reach their full parental, personal and occupational potential.

For child care to be effective, the needs of the children and their mothers must be understood. This involves research which encompasses not only the development of children, but the full range of environmental influences affecting both the children and their mothers.

Recognizing the complicated systems of variables affecting the developing child, Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceptualizes development as taking place within four concentric ecological systems. He
defines the microsystems as those immediate settings in which the child participates. The mesosystems are described as the relationships between microsystems. The exosystems are identified as those structures influencing the child's microsystems. These would include the child care regulations and neighbourhood resources. The macrosystem refers to the over-arching influences on the child, such as the values, attitudes and beliefs which drive public policy.

Children of teenage mothers are usually under three years old, ages at which children most need responsive parenting to achieve their optimal social, emotional, and intellectual potential. Phipps-Yonas (1980) suggests that many teenage mothers are neither intellectually nor emotionally prepared for motherhood and experience difficulties in their parenting roles. Furstenberg (1976) maintains that the children of these mothers may suffer cognitive and emotional deficits unless support systems are in place.

Teenage parent families are likely to be comprised of a single mother and child, who are living with the mother's family of origin or on their own (Furstenberg & Crawford, 1978). Little is known about the biological fathers and their relationships with the children, as most of the research has centred on the mothers and children.

As discussed in detail below, many mothers leave high school before completing grade twelve. They are apt to be unemployed or working at low paying jobs. Therefore, finances are generally
problematic, especially for those women living on their own (National Research Council, 1987). Non-maternal child care is usually performed by family members, with the most frequent care provider being the child's maternal grandmother (Miller, 1981).

The teenage mother population presents a two-pronged challenge for early childhood education researchers. First, the children are very young and possibly at risk of not having their developmental needs met, because of the overriding needs of their mothers. Studies have shown teenage mothers to be less responsive to their children and to provide less verbal stimulation than their older counterparts. These parenting behaviours are believed to restrict normal development in children (Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh, 1987).

The second challenge relates to inadequate support for teenage mothers and their children. The mothers are frequently single and have little education or money. While grandparents are a traditional source of child rearing advice and care, not all teenage mothers have access to grandparents.

These two concerns have implications for E.C.E. professionals who plan programs to meet the immediate and long-term needs of the children, while supporting families in their roles as parents, students and members of the work force. Part of the network of community resources required to support teenage parent families is high quality infant and toddler care. These programs are generally operated by knowledgable caregivers, who understand young children and are able to provide healthy and stimulating learning and care.
environments. Unfortunately, at the present time, licensed care for children under three years is not readily available. So the population of children most in need of licensed group care is least served.

A promising new development for these families, however, has been the emergence of day care centres associated with educational programs for teenage mothers. Although they are few in number, these day care centres have responded to needs identified within local communities and they are models for future implementation.

There is much to recommend an ecological approach to the understanding of child development. This begins by investigating the settings closest to the children, including families, child care settings, and parents' work and school environments. Next, it involves studying the relationships within those systems, such as work-school-day care linkages, and work-school-child care tension issues. The third level includes exploring available community resources and services for teenage families, and the fourth level concerns research of macrosystems factors such as provincial and national policies and financial supports for programs affecting teenage parent families.

Research designed to identify the variables affecting child development takes many forms. A relatively new approach has been national child care surveys developed by ecologically oriented researchers for the purpose of providing descriptive information, particularly for studying Microsystems and mesosystems. While this methodology offers new and broader perspectives for ecological
research, it also presents interesting challenges. One major difficulty is that of devising clear and precise, standardized interview and data coding procedures, while dealing with the wide array of complex and interrelated variables being investigated (Lero, 1988).

The 1988 Canadian National Child Care Study (CNCCS) was the first such study in Canada to expand and modify the national survey model to fit this concept. When adapting it to an ecological mandate, the following three assumptions were identified by the research team:

1. The choice of a child care arrangement (or a combination of arrangements) is one of several adaptations that families make in response to changing work patterns, perceptions of children’s developmental needs, and personal goals within the limits of their own and their community’s resources.

2. That choice, at any particular point in time, has other effects on children’s development, the family, the community and society, itself...

3. Child care use patterns...are affected by the range of alternatives available to families in their communities and by parents’ perceptions of those alternatives (Lero, 1988, p. 87)

The CNCCS has accumulated a rich body of knowledge pertaining to the microsystems of work, school, family and child care and mesosystems such as work-family-child care tension issues. This thesis uses data from the survey to provide a picture of Canadian teenage mothers, their children and their child care use patterns.
1.1 Statement of the Problem

The research problem is to develop a detailed description of the teenage mothers under twenty years of age living in Canada and their child care arrangements, using data obtained from the 1988 Canadian National Child Care Study. This will allow policy makers to better target the support needed to facilitate optimal development for both teenage mother and child.

1.2 Research Questions

The research questions involve three general categories of investigation. The first set of research questions focuses upon the demographics of the teenage mother. The study begins by exploring the size of the population and maternal ages, marital status, education and employment status. Ages and levels of development of teenage mothers may affect the type of community resources developed. Services for sixteen-year-old mothers could vary significantly from those designed for nineteen-year-olds, who may have finished high school and either joined the work force or enrolled in post-secondary education. Marital status can give an indication of the degree to which mothers have someone to share the child care responsibilities. This information is also of interest because people who marry in their teens are predicted to experience life-long educational and vocational disadvantages (Lamb, 1988). Given the benefits of education on future employment and financial status, levels of education and incidence of school attendance among teenage mothers are also of interest to this study. Finally,
investigating the numbers of employed mothers and their work hours, will help to identify their needs for supplemental child care.

The study then describes the children of teenage mothers and the types of child care arrangements made for them. This section includes the ages of the children, since their ages and developmental needs influence selection of child care. The total numbers of child care arrangements, the time spent in care, and the children's primary care arrangements are also examined. These data are pertinent, given earlier findings that relatives were the most frequent alternate child care providers (Miller, 1981). As more women join the work force, this family resource may not be as available as it once was.

In acknowledgement of their propensity for heightened stress levels (Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh, 1987), the final discussion considers issues that produce and reduce tension for both employed teenage mothers and those staying at home. These factors are identified and discussed.

1.3 Introduction to the Thesis

Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to teenage parenting and child care. Research exploring the variables believed to affect teenage parenting such as age of the mother, stage of her ego-development, stress levels, extent of social support, level of education (Levine, Coll & Oh, 1985) and socio-economic status (Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh, 1987) are discussed.

Chapter 3 defines the parameters of the research undertaken in this study and its relevance to the field of early childhood
education. The research problem and research questions are related to previous studies, and the CNCCS and its objectives are explained.

Chapter 4 contains the results of the study, describing the demographics of Canadian teenage mothers, including the size of this parent population, their ages, marital status, educational levels, work and school patterns. Next their children’s ages, their child care arrangements, and the extent of day care use are interpreted. The last segment of the chapter examines the levels of tension experienced by these mothers, their child care-related tension issues and factors which help to alleviate stress.

Chapter 5 provides a profile of Canadian teenage mothers based on the CNCCS results. It is followed by a discussion of the research results, implications of the study on practice, and recommendations for future research.
The incidence of teenage pregnancy is a topic of concern for the E.C.E. community throughout North America. The United States Department of Health and Human Services reports that in 1985, 477,705 babies were born to women under the age of 20. This number represents the first increase (by 1%) in teenage birth rates since 1979 (Washington Alliance Concerned with School Age Parents, 1988). Of the infants born to teenage mothers, it is estimated that over 90% are kept and raised by their biological mothers (Levine, Coll & Oh, 1985).

The first wave of research on this topic took place in the 1950's and 1960's and focused on the medical risks of pregnancy to mothers and their babies. Research found a higher than normal incidence of medical complications, and unusually high rates of infant and maternal mortality among mothers under 18 years. Initially, these conditions were attributed to the young ages of the mothers, but upon closer examination, the medical risks were traced to poor prenatal health care and nutrition. It is now widely believed that with satisfactory prenatal care and proper nutrition, most teenage mothers and their babies have no greater risk of health problems than other age groups. Some age-related medical risks, however, are associated with pregnancy for girls under fifteen (Phipps-Yonas, 1980).

Once the biomedical aspects of teenage motherhood were investigated, researchers sought to isolate the psychological
factors associated with early pregnancy. In the 1960’s and 1970’s these young mothers were often found to come from dysfunctional families. As a result of their childhood experiences, they were likely to have difficulties trusting and relating to other people. Today, girls who become pregnant are no longer seen to be different from those who do not (Phipps-Yonas, 1980).

In the early 1970’s increased availability of abortions resulted from a Supreme Court decision in the U.S., providing another option to pregnant teenagers. Subsequent research has noted significant differences between those who seek abortions and those who do not. Abortion seekers tend to have higher academic and career goals, to be better students, to be psychologically healthier, and to have more supportive families than those who carry their babies to full term (Phipps-Yonas, 1980).

The most recent wave of research has moved from the topic of teenage pregnancy to the problems associated with teenage parenthood. In an attempt to isolate those factors which affect parenting quality, researchers have identified six variables. These are age, stage of ego-development, level of education, extent of social support (Levine, Coll & Oh, 1985), socio-economic status and stress levels (Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh, 1987). Having observed mothers with their children, Levine et al (1985) find that the first four factors significantly affect the quality of teenage mother-child interactions. Consequently, they predict a risk of developmental problems for the children of adolescent mothers. As a result of their studies, Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten, and Oh (1987)
conclude that the combined variables of maternal age, education, family socio-economic status, social support and life stress negatively affect adolescent mothers' abilities to provide developmentally healthy caregiving environments.

We now turn to a review of the research discussing the impact of these factors on the parents, the children, and their child care usage.

2.1 The Mothers

2.1.1 Ages

The age of the mother is of particular relevance to researchers, because of concerns that conflicts might arise as the mother simultaneously attempts to meet the developmental needs of both her child and herself. Lamb (1986) suggests that adolescent parents are likely to experience financial problems, difficulties remaining in school, and unsatisfying jobs. These are additional complications for this group of teenagers already facing the expected concerns of all adolescents. Helm (1988) identifies peer relationships as major priorities for teens. He describes teenagers as being at a stage of growing independence, marked by a shift away from home and family. He sees inconsistencies in their behaviours as they fluctuate between displaying responsible and mature social behaviours on the one hand and narcissistic, self indulgent behaviours on the other. He suggests that with cognitive development, comes increased problem solving abilities.

Helm (1988) foresees potential conflict for the teenage mother, who needs to exert independence, yet has found herself more
dependent on the family than before. He suggests that the teenage parent needs to feel a sense of empowerment, which could be best accomplished through education.

Stage of ego-development is also deemed to be an important variable in determining the adolescent’s parenting skill. Wise and Grossman (1980) find that the mother’s ego strength (as demonstrated through adaptation to the pregnancy) positively affects her feelings about the baby and leads to a healthy attachment. Levine, Coll & Oh (1985) compare the levels of ego development of adolescent and nonadolescent mothers using Leovingers Sentence Completion Test (SCT) which measures stages of moral and affective development. The younger mothers tend to fall into the ‘conformist’ category—seeing relationships in more concrete terms, rather than in terms of feelings or motives—and the older mothers are found to be more ‘self-aware.’ The authors believe that lower levels of ego development contribute negatively to the mother-child relationship and the child’s subsequent development.

2.1.2 Marital Status

According to the research, differences in marital status and living arrangements affect the amount of support received by teenage mothers and their children. Furstenberg & Crawford (1978) find that the typical living situation for a teenage mother during her first five years of parenting is remaining unmarried and residing in the family home. Some move out during that period of time to create a separate residence with or without the child’s
father. Those unmarried mothers living with parents are more likely than mothers living away from home or married mothers to receive family support in the form of child-rearing advice, emotional support, financial assistance and child care. Consequently, the group who most frequently complete their educations are unmarried teenage mothers who remain in their parents' homes throughout the first three years of their child’s life.

By contrast, the unmarried teenage mothers of 3-year-olds living on their own are more likely to be unemployed than those living with parents. The major obstacle for the mothers on their own is the lack of child care. In her study of 353 unmarried mothers in Nova Scotia, MacDonnell (1981) finds that while most mothers are able to find extra child care when needed, those who live alone with their children have greater difficulty arranging care. Problems centre around such concerns as finding a trustworthy caregiver, finding care for very young children, and affordability of care.

2.1.3 Education

When discussing education, Lamb (1986) describes two very different scenarios associated with pregnant teenagers and their educational goals. One group leaves school because of the pregnancy, while the other group makes the decision to leave school well before the pregnancy occurs. Earlier school experiences probably influence these mothers' decisions about returning to
school. Even the most highly motivated women find it difficult to complete their high school educations after the birth of a child.

Furstenberg (1976) suggests that the adolescent mothers he studied have every intention of completing their educations (70% return to school after the births of their babies), but only a few succeed. Five years after the birth of their children, adolescent mothers averaged two fewer years of schooling than classmates who became parents in their twenties and thirties.

As mentioned earlier, Furstenberg & Crawford (1978) find that the teenage mothers who remain single and live with their parents are the most likely to complete their educations. It is not clear from their data, however, if these mothers complete their educations because they were living at home or they remain at home because they are highly motivated to complete their schooling and realize they need family support to do so. The authors note three factors about the participants in this study. First, relationships between the young mothers and their families are generally positive. Second, in the majority of cases both the parents and the young mothers are committed to keeping and raising their babies. Finally, most of the mothers and their families consider the completion of their educations to be important.

Sauber and Rubinstein (1965) report that only about one-sixth of the young women who leave school because of a pregnancy return and graduate. Three factors influence non-completion (1) a lack of earlier school successes; (2) inability to meet the demands of both
school and parenthood; and (3) difficulty getting back into academic life after the long absence.

MacDonnell (1981) reports that of the 50% of students who return to school after the pregnancy only 1 in 3 either improves her educational level or remains in school for 18 months or more. She identifies the youngest mothers and those with the least amount of education as the groups least likely to finish school. Unavailability of child care is again identified as the major reason for not completing school. The stress of balancing parent and student roles, insufficient financial resources, course work difficulty, waning interest in school, and unsupportive classmates are other contributing factors.

2.1.4 Employment and Socio-Economic Status

The socio-economic status of these young people and their future prospects are also topics of interest for researchers. Most studies find that teenage mothers have been recipients of government financial assistance during some part of their lives (Clapp & Raab, 1978; Pozsonyi, 1973; Reed, 1965; Sauber and Rubinstein, 1965). However there is less agreement as to whether welfare dependency increases or decreases over time.

Studies showed that many teenage mothers and their children live below the poverty line (Pozsonyi, 1973; Sauber and Corrigan, 1970; Wright, 1965). MacDonnell (1981) finds lack of financial resources to be the problem most commonly faced by teenage mothers. Those who are living away from their families seem to suffer the most. Securing jobs which pay adequate wages is difficult because
of limited education, experience, and day care. (Crumidy & Jacobziner, 1966; MacDonald, 1981; Reed, 1965). The evidence indicates that escaping a life of poverty and dependence is difficult for these young mothers.

2.2 The Children and Child care

2.2.1 Ages

Some of the current research on very young children highlights the importance of the parent in child development. Recent infant research reports that infants are born with a rich repertoire of native endowments, which permits them to act upon abstract representations of objects or people and to recognize similarities between themselves and other human beings (Meltzoff, 1985). Trevarthen (1980) and Stern, Hofer, Haft and Dore (1985) use the term 'primary intersubjectivity' to identify the special interpersonal activity, with its many adaptations, which occurs between infant and mother. Snow (1977) considers this process to be a crucial step in the acquisition of language and in cognitive and emotional development. The research shows that this competent newborn requires a very special context in which to express and expand upon her native endowments. The mechanism for this developmental process is believed to lie in the mother-child relationship.

2.2.2 Effects of Teenage Parenting on the Children

Considering the importance of the mother's role in her child's development, the research pertaining to teenage parenting is enlightening. Wise and Grossman (1980) find that teenage mothers
appear to be more reciprocal with infants who are mature in their motor development and infants who are irritable, than with infants displaying other behaviours or temperaments. Infant alertness does not seem to promote maternal responses. These mothers are also quite limited in their modes of reciprocity, with physical and motor behaviours being more likely to receive attention than visual and auditory cues.

Levine, Coll, and Oh (1985) find that during face-to-face interactions the only marked difference between teenage parents and older parents is that adolescent mothers show less positive affect toward their infants than older mothers. In a teaching situation older mothers demonstrate tasks more frequently to their infants, talk more to their babies, and (again) show more positive affect than do the teenage mothers. The major difference between the infant groups is that babies of non-adolescent mothers vocalize almost twice as much as the babies of adolescent mothers.

Mercer, Hackley and Bostrom (1984) find that babies of adolescent mothers tend to be fatter than other babies and that their mothers offer new foods to them at younger ages than normally would be recommended. Mercer et al also suggest that after four months the infants of adolescent mothers receive less stimulation than do the infants of older mothers. The authors' explanation for this is that the grandmothers of the former group provide much of the stimulation during the first trimester. After that period of time, the teenage mothers' needs to separate from their families and assert independence tend to distance the children from the
grandmothers' influence. The authors therefore recommend that social services and nutritional guidance be made available to these mothers by the time the infants reach six months.

2.2.3 Primary Child Care

For the teenage mother living with her family, the role of the alternate caregiver and her relationship to the child has far more complexities than the typical child-caregiver relationship. Grandparents are the most frequent providers of supplementary child care to teenage mothers. They are also likely to share the parenting role with the child’s mother or to assume the primary responsibility for parenting the child. Grandparents often provide parenting information, supply financial and material help, and offer emotional support. In one study (Furstenberg & Crawford, 1978) over 40% of teenage mothers report that another woman either shares equally in their child’s care or takes primary responsibility for meeting their child’s needs.

Miller, (1981) reports that maternal grandmothers perform 60% of the alternate child care. Only 4% is carried out in day-care centres. This study also confirms that mothers and other family members are the most influential in providing information and advice both before and after the baby’s birth. This practice is tempered somewhat by the gender of the infant, however. Apparently the babies’ fathers are more likely to be consulted when the infants are boys.

Wise and Grossman (1980) find that adolescents showing greater levels of independence from their parents during the pregnancy
accept more responsibility for the care of their infants than do the more dependent teens. However, it is noted that the majority of subjects in their study had supportive relationships with their families. It appears that a delicate balance between support from the family and personal autonomy have to be maintained for optimal growth (of both mother and child) to take place.

Furstenberg and Crawford (1978) recommend the implementation of social services which acknowledge and support the role of the family in providing for the needs of the adolescent mother and her child. They also recommend the offering of parent education programs which recognize the complex parenting structure utilized in these families.

2.3 Tension for Teenage Mothers

According to Lamb (1988), when new mothers experience tension, they are less sensitive to their infants and this negatively affects infant-mother attachment. Tension is a factor in a study by Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh (1987), which reports that teenage mothers rate their overall stress at a higher level than do adult mothers. Teenage mothers' stress is more likely to be caused by arguments with family members and partners, while older mothers' stress tends to centre around child care issues. Lamb (1986) suggests that individuals are bound to feel stress when embarking upon activities which are considered developmentally 'inappropriate' in terms of accepted social practice (such as marrying at an early age or becoming a parent prematurely). Although social attitudes are more accepting of teenage pregnancy
than in the past, it continues to be seen as 'a problem' for adolescents--and that reality contributes to the stress levels of young mothers.

Lamb believes, however, that these teenage parents are able to cope with stress when they face their problems directly, when they possess a positive self concept and when they have access to good social supports.

In conclusion, there are certain limitations to the research on teenage parenting. First, many of the studies were conducted in the United States. Very little Canadian research was found. Second, many of the U.S. studies centred around urban, lower socio-economic status, primarily Black populations. The likelihood of cultural differences between this specific U.S. population and a general population of Canadian teenage mothers can't be overlooked when analyzing data. Third, much of the research was completed a decade, or more, ago. Some important social and medical changes have occurred since then. For instance, greater numbers of women have joined the work force in the past decade. Grandmothers may no longer be able to regularly care for their grand children. Also, the reality of AIDS in our society and advances in obstetric and paediatric medicine might influence the picture in some way. Fourth, Canada’s child care system is unique. Therefore, day care access may be different for Canadian teenage mothers than for their counterparts living in the United States.
2.4 Profile of the Teenage Mother

In summary, the available literature provides the following description of a 'typical' teenage mother. She is at a stage in which socializing with her peers and spending time alone are major priorities. At times she is responsible and an effective problem solver, but she does not consistently demonstrate these behaviours.

The teenage mother is usually single and living at home with her parents. Her mother, or another family member, shares the child care responsibilities with her. She has not graduated from high school, and although she may return to school, she is unlikely to finish. She is apt to be unemployed or working at a low paying, unsatisfying job and because of her uncompleted education, she is likely to remain in poorly paid jobs for much of her life.

With satisfactory prenatal care and proper nutrition, she and her baby will experience a healthy pregnancy and delivery. She may have difficulty providing a stimulating learning environment for her infant, however. She is likely to talk less to her child, to be less involved in teaching things to her baby, and to be less positive in her interactions, than an older mother. Because of these tendencies, her child may suffer long-term cognitive, social and emotional deficits, if the family does not receive adequate support.

She is likely to have more children in her lifetime than mothers who began childbearing in their twenties or thirties.
Finally, she experiences more stress than older mothers do. Her tension is likely to be caused by a broad range of issues, and not specifically related to child care concerns. Because of her very specific set of needs, she is likely to require support from both her family and the community to guarantee her own healthy development, and that of her child.
CHAPTER 3 - PROCEDURE

3.1 The 1988 Canadian National Child Care Study

The objectives of the Canadian National Child Care Study were:

1. to accurately describe the nature of Canadians' child care needs;
2. to accurately depict current child care use patterns;
3. to determine parents' preferences among child care options;
4. to investigate factors affecting child care needs, use patterns, and preferences from an ecological perspective;
5. to examine the effects of different child care use patterns on children, mothers, and fathers individually, and in relation to each other;
6. to examine the effects of provincial differences on parents' perceptions of services available to them and their child care use patterns (1988 CNCCS Information Manual).

During the fall of 1988 the Canadian National Child Care Study (CNCCS) accompanied the monthly Labour Force Survey (LFS). The LFS uses a stratified design to select its sample population. The primary stratification identifies economic regions within provinces. These regions are further stratified into one of three classifications: 'self-representing areas' (SRU's), 'non-self-representing areas' (NSRU's), and 'special areas.' SRU's are urban areas usually containing populations greater than 15,000, NSRU's are the areas outside of SRU's and special areas are military installations, institutions and remote areas. Clusters are next
identified within each secondary strata. From selected clusters, approximately six private dwellings are sampled.

As a matter of policy LFS regularly rotates its monthly sample groups. The CNCCS sample contains the five rotation groups of the September 1988 LFS and eight previous rotation groups. Numbers have been weighted from the stratified sample, creating reliable estimates for 2,724,300 families and 4,658,500 children under 13 years of age. The reference week for the survey was one of the weeks between September 8 and October 23, 1988. In each case the reference week was the Sunday to Saturday period directly preceding the interview. (Complete details of the research design and research questions can be found in the 1988 CNCCS Information Manual.)

3.2 Description and Significance of This Study

This study attempts to provide some descriptive information about a parent/child population which is presently considered by many educational, social service and health professionals to be 'at risk'--teenage mothers.

The field of early childhood education has evolved as a composite which encompasses the disciplines of education, psychology and sociology as they relate to young children at home and in child care settings. As previously mentioned, early childhood educators take the philosophical and theoretical perspective that child care can only be effective when it works in close association with all individuals and circumstances affecting the child’s world. This ecological view of the child requires the
use of information about the family and other influences on the child, and frequently leads child care professionals into positions of advocacy for children (i.e. articulating the need for more resources for the families of at-risk children). For these reasons a description of Canadian teenage mothers and their child care use is a worthwhile investigation. This research is also significant because:

1. It is the first Canada-wide survey that includes teenage mothers and their child care arrangements. To advise policy makers, it will first be necessary for researchers to identify the scope of the problem, by providing the full Canadian perspective. Because parent and child concerns are generally handled at provincial or even municipal levels, descriptive information across Canada has been spotty and incomplete to this point.

Before this survey, the only nation-wide day care statistics were available through the annual Status of Day Care in Canada Reports (Health and Welfare Canada). These reports provided statistical information supplied by each province about existing licensed day care programs, but little was known about the frequency of use of other (unmonitored) types of care. The CNCCS survey provides a more complete picture of Canadian child care arrangements. Taking the perspectives of parents and children, it looks beyond licensed child care by investigating the full range of child care usage. Because of regional and individual distinctions, research of local and personal perspectives must continue to take place.
2. The 1988 CNCCS provides a rich data base, which can be accessed in a variety of ways. Information can be selected by: age and gender of parent, age of child, type of child care method used, or province of residence. The survey focuses upon parents, their work and study patterns, child care preferences, tension issues related to work and family and child care, while simultaneously providing data about children (i.e. numbers of children in various child care arrangements, numbers of children whose parents are employed or attend school or are not in the labour force.)

3. More information about teenage mothers' school participation is needed. Research indicates that along with other demographic variables, parents' education level is a strong influence on their children's cognitive performance (MacPhee, Ramey & Yeates, 1984), and teenage mothers have been described as falling behind their childless counterparts academically. It seems important then, to determine the drop-out rate of this population in order to provide the services (i.e. subsidized child care) necessary to keep them in school.

4. Providing information to policy makers can lead to better child care services for teenage mothers. Once in place, child care for teenage mothers can provide more than just a safe environment for the children of students and working women. It can function as a 'clearing house' for information and services. It can provide parenting information and education to help young mothers make appropriate decisions for their children. Child care settings can
also serve as comfortable places for mothers to meet and talk with other parents.

The quantitative data acquired from this research will give policy makers access to the first nation-wide description of this population. With this information at their disposal, policy makers can establish child care services which facilitate the development of teenage mothers.

3.3 Research Problem

This study describes teenage mothers in Canada and their child care arrangements, using data made available by the 1988 CNCCS.

3.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were included in the study, thereby setting the parameters for this descriptive investigation of teenage parent families.

3.4.1 The Mothers

For the purpose of this study, teenage mothers are under the age of 20 years. The questions for investigation were:

A. How many Canadian mothers are teenagers and what are their ages?

B. What is the marital status of teenage mothers?

C. What is their level of education?

D. How many teenage mothers are attending school?

E. How many teenage mothers are in the labour force?
3.4.2 The Children and Child Care

The questions for investigation were:

A. What are the ages of teenage mothers’ children?
B. What is the number of child care arrangements used by teenage mothers?
C. What is the number of hours spent in alternate child care arrangements?
D. What is the primary child care arrangement?

3.4.3 Tension Issues

A. What are the child care tension issues for employed teenage mothers?
B. What are the child care tension issues for teenage mothers who are not in the labour force?

3.5 Statistical Weighting

The numbers quoted in this report are derived from the Statistics Canada statistical weights and represent populations of 2,724,300 economic families and 4,658,500 children under 13 years of age.
4.1 The Mothers

4.1.1 Ages and Population Size

The sample in the 1988 CNCCS is based on an estimated 2,724,300 Designated Adults\(^1\) with children under 13 years of age in Canada. Approximately 18,500 (or 0.7\%) designated adults were mothers under the age of twenty. The majority of those mothers under twenty (55.8 \% or 10,300) had reached their nineteenth birthdays. In fact, 81.8\% of them were between eighteen and twenty years of age (see Table 1). Although many of these individuals had only recently become mothers, some had been mothers for more than one year and there were mothers with more than one child.

*** Table 1 here ***

4.1.2 Marital Status

The designated adults selected for this study were women. They were closely split between those who were married or living common law (51.2\%), and those who were single (48.8\%) most of whom had never been married (see Table 2).

*** Table 2 here ***

\(^1\)The designated adult is the person who is considered by the family to be the member most responsible for making the child care arrangements (See Glossary of Terms in Appendix A).
4.1.3 Education

The majority of teenage mothers (80.8%) had not completed high school (see Table 3). Only a small percentage (1.1%) continued on to post secondary institutions. Most of the mothers (81.7%) were not attending school (see Table 4). Although the sample size was small, it was noted that full-time attendance (18.3%) was more frequent than part-time (14.1%).

*** Table 3 and Table 4 here ***

4.1.4 Employment

This survey discovered that 69.8% of this population were not in the labour force. Another 10.6% were in the labour force, but unemployed at the time of the survey (see Table 5). Of the remaining respondents (19.6%), there was an almost even split between full-time (9.6%) and part-time (10.0%) employment. The modal number of work hours for employed teenage mothers was 20 to 29 hours during the reference week. When asked about their usual work schedules, most of the employed respondents identified 40 to 49 hours per week as the amount of time normally worked, with 20 to 29 hours as the second most frequent number of hours per week worked.

*** Table 5 here ***
4.2 The Children and Child Care

4.2.1 Ages

There were 21,100 children in the families of the 18,500 teenage mothers. While most of these mothers (86.5%) had only one child, 12.9% had two children and only .6% had three. The majority of their children (51.4% or 10,800) were under one year of age and 90.1% (16,400) were two years of age or less. Although infrequent, there were children older than two years and families with more than one child in the survey.

4.2.2 Total Number of Child Care Arrangements

According to the 1988 CNCCS, most children of teenage mothers were not enrolled in a wide variety of child care arrangements. The greatest numbers of children were cared for exclusively by one or both parents, or in one supplementary arrangement (85.6%) (see Table 6). The majority of children (81.4% or 17,100) spent no time in paid arrangements.

*** Table 6 here ***

4.2.3 Total Number of Hours in Care

43% of the children were cared for exclusively by one or both parents, and another 25% spent fewer than ten hours each week in supplementary care. Consequently, the mean number of hours spent in non-parental care by the total population of children, was less than three hours per week.
4.2.4 Primary Child Care Arrangements

An identifiable number of mothers (37.9%) used 'no supplementary care arrangements,' meaning, they were their children's only source of child care. However, the majority of teenage mothers (62.1%) used some kind of supplementary child care during the week, even though relatively few of them were employed and relatively few were attending school.

While exclusive maternal care was identified for 37.9% of the children, care by relatives (excluding spouses) in or out of the child's home accounted for another 30% of the primary care arrangements (see Table 7). Care by the spouse in the home accounted for the next most frequent kind of care (9.1%), with unlicensed non-relative care following close behind (7.9%). Day care centres accounted for only 5.6% of the care arrangements selected by teenage mothers.

*** Table 7 here ***

4.3 Tension for Teenage Mothers

Respondents to the survey were asked questions about child care tension issues. Two separate sets of questions were devised, one for employed mothers who were using supplemental child care arrangements, and the other for mothers who were not in the labour force and remaining at home with their children. (See Appendix B for specific questions.) Both groups were asked to score a series of issues for their stress potential, on a scale of 10, where 1
meant 'no tension' and 10 signified 'a great deal of tension.' Participants were also asked to rate their overall child care tension levels. Then they were asked what factors helped to alleviate child care induced tension. In some cases mothers found the situations not applicable, or they did not answer questions. These 'responses' were also included in the data.

There were more mothers who were not in the labour force than employed mothers. Responses from both groups, to the question of overall tension were widely distributed. Little tension (levels 1-3) was most frequently reported (by 44.8% not mothers who were not in the labour force and 48.3% employed mothers), with moderate tension (levels 4-7) being the second most frequent response from both groups (31.1% and 23.8% of mothers not in the labour force and employed mothers, respectively). A great deal of tension (levels 8-10) was experienced by 13.4% of employed mothers and 13.1% mothers of not in the labour force. What one might conclude from these results is that teenage mothers acknowledged some degree of child care related tension, but most of them considered their stress to be light.

When asked which of a list of factors caused child care related tension, significant numbers of mothers not in the labour force maintained that the issues caused little tension, rating their tension levels between 1 and 3 on a 10-point scale. (See Appendix B for the complete list of issues.)

The issue which was most commonly found to provide little or no tension for mothers not in the labour force was "feeling that
your child is too dependent on you" (see Table 8). It was thought
to cause little tension by 71% of the teenage mothers. Those who
found it to cause moderate tension comprised 10.5% of the group and
6.4% identified it as a major cause of stress.

*** Table 8 here ***

"Having the major responsibility for child rearing and care in
your family," received the next highest level of consensus (see
Table 9). Of the respondents, 61.5% (representing 7,300 teenage
mothers) identified little or no stress. However, a slightly
larger percentage (14.1%) thought that it caused a great deal of
tension, than viewed it as only moderately stressful (13.8%).

*** Table 9 here ***

"Dealing with social attitudes that seem to value income over
full-time parenting," was also considered to cause little tension
by a significantly large number of respondents (see Table 10). A
total of 57.7% (representing 6,800 teenage mothers) rated it
between 1 and 3 on a scale of 10, while 18.5% found it to cause
moderate tension.

*** Table 10 here ***
"Not having enough time for yourself," received the fourth highest consensus from respondents. A total of 55% (or 6,500) teenage mothers who were not in the labour force considered this problem to cause little tension. Another 20.8% believed it to cause moderate tension, while for 14.6% the issue caused a great deal of tension (see Table 11).

*** Table 11 ***

Next came the issue of "feeling that your job or career is being hampered by family responsibilities" (see Table 12). The replies indicated that 53.6% (or 6,300) women said that the issue caused little tension, while another 15.5% felt that it caused moderate stress.

*** Table 12 here ***

The issue of "feeling isolated from other adults during the day," was reported to cause little tension for 52% of the respondents, with 28.4% rating stress as moderate (see Table 10). The smallest number of respondents (9.3%) found the issue to cause a great deal of tension. A significant number of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force (37.7% or 4,500) found that isolation caused moderate to heavy stress.

*** Table 13 here ***
"Having to do without things for your children that you could afford if you were employed," was thought to cause little tension for 47% (or 5,600) of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force. The next largest group (21.8%) reported it to cause a great deal of stress, with 20.7% considering it to cause moderate stress. For 41.8% (or 5,000) of these mothers this problem caused moderate to heavy tension (see Table 14).

*** Table 14 here ***

"Feeling concerned about finding a job at a future time," caused little stress for 40.9% (or 4,800) of mothers not in the labour force (see Table 15). However, 48.8% (or 5,800) found it to cause moderate to heavy stress. For 27% of the respondents moderate stress resulted from the issue, while another 21.8% experienced a great deal of tension.

*** Table 15 here ***

Tension reduction factors for teenage mothers were also investigated in the study. Using a ten-point scale, teenage mothers not in the labour force were asked to rate five factors for their tension reducing qualities. The scale extended from 1, meaning no tension reduction, to 10, indicating a great deal of tension reduction.
The stress reducing factors included in the questionnaire were:

1. "knowing on a first hand basis how your child spends his/her day and being there if he/she needs or wants you,"
2. "feeling that you are being a good parent,"
3. "being able to be involved in parent groups or neighbourhood activities,"
4. "not having to deal with unpleasant work situations," and
5. "being the primary influence in your child’s development."

Four of the five factors were seen to greatly reduce tension for significant numbers of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force. The factor which received the highest consensus was "feeling that you are being a good parent" (see Table 16). A total of 8,400 teenage mothers who were not in the labour force (71.2%) considered this factor to greatly reduce tension.

*** Table 16 here ***

"Being the primary influence in your child’s development," was the second most frequent stress reducer identified (see Table 17). Of those who responded, 70.8% (or 8,400) scored this factor as greatly reducing tension. "Being there for your child," was
also considered by the majority of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force (67.5%) to greatly reduce tension.

*** Tables 17 and 18 here ***

"Not having to deal with unpleasant work situations," was considered to greatly reduce tension for 47.5% (or 5,600) of the respondents, while 23.2% found it to have little effect on tension reduction and another 13.3% found it to only moderately reduce child care related tensions (see Table 19).

*** Table 19 ***

For 4,500 or 38.2% of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force, "being involved in parent groups or neighbourhood activities" was seen to have little value as a tension reducer (see Table 20). Another 21%, however, considered it to greatly reduce tension, while 15.1% rated it as a moderately successful tension reducer.

*** Table 20 here ***

There were very few employed teenage mothers (12.7% or 2,300). Because of the small sample size, it was not possible to accurately analyze the available data for that group. The following discussion does, however, indicate some of the tendencies
which were observed. (See Appendix B for the complete list of tension issues surveyed.)

Issues about working hours and schedules, the children’s well-being while in care, feelings that the job was hampered by family responsibilities, employers’ flexibility, inability to talk with child or caregiver while working, concerns of care break-down, and cost of quality care did not seem to generate tension for most of these mothers.

However, two issues received a wider range of reactions. While 43.5% of the mothers indicated that "feeling tired or overloaded because of the job" caused little tension, 20.7% found it to cause moderate tension and 19.5% experienced a great deal of tension. "Maintaining a balance between work demands and family responsibilities" caused little stress for 37.1% of the women, moderate stress for 24.7%, and heavy stress for 23.8%.

The part of the survey assessing tension reducing factors for employed mothers, called for "yes or no" answers instead of ten-point ratings. (See appendix C for the complete list of tension reduction factors.)

In order of preference, the four major stress reducers for employed teenage mothers appeared to be: 1) "a flexible child care provider," as identified by 80% of respondents; 2) "stable care arrangements," as reported by 78.4% of the employed teenage mothers questioned; 3) "having someone to care for children when sick," was important to 75.6% of the sample; and 4) "having back-up
arrangements, when regular arrangements break down," was considered a tension reducer by 69.7% of these mothers.

4.4 Summary of Findings

The 1988 Canadian National Child Care Study revealed that families headed by teenage mothers made up 0.7% of the total population of Canadian families with children under the age of thirteen years, and the children of teenage mothers accounted for 0.5% of the total child (under 13 years) population. Mothers between eighteen and twenty years of age comprised 81.8% of the teenage mother population.

The marital status of teenage mothers was almost evenly divided between married and single, with a slightly larger percentage of the population (51.2%) married or living common law. 80.8% of teenage mothers had not completed grade 12, and 81.7% were not attending school. The majority of the teenage mother population (69.8%) was not in the labour force during the survey reference week.

Most teenage mothers had one child (86.5%) and 90.1% of their children were under two years of age. The children were in either one or no supplemental care arrangements.

The largest percentage of their children (62.1%) received supplementary child care. Relatives provided 30% of the care. Only 6.4% were in group day care or licensed family day care.

Regarding overall tension levels, most employed Canadian teenage mothers and those who were not in the labour force reported
little or no tension, but their responses ranged from no tension to a great deal of tension.

When asked about specific child care related issues, most of the teenage mothers who were not in the labour force found these issues to cause little or no tension. There were three factors, which caused little tension for some, but moderate to heavy tension for others. These issues were feeling isolated, not having the money to buy things for their children, and concerns about finding future jobs.

Mothers not in the labour force identified four variables which were seen to greatly reduce child care related tension. These were feelings of being a good parent, having a major influence on the child’s development, being available to the child, and avoiding unpleasant work situations.

There were relatively few employed teenage mothers in the sample surveyed, but their responses were interesting. When asked about issues related to child care, most felt little or no tension. Two issues did receive a wider distribution of responses, however. These were balancing work and family, and feeling overloaded. Apparently part of the employed teenage mothers considered these issues to cause moderate to heavy stress. This group also identified flexible caregivers, stable care arrangements, care for their children when sick, and back-up child care arrangements, as variables which greatly reduced their tension.

The study revealed some important findings. For example, the majority of teenage mothers were married or living with a partner
(51.2%). A second factor identified by the study, was the large percentage of teenage mothers who were not attending school (81.7%) in spite of the fact that only 19.1% had completed grade twelve. A third interesting factor was the large segment of this population who were not in the labour force (69.8%). This seems unusually high, even for mothers of young children.

Although this study supports earlier research on the topic, the small number of mothers using licensed group child care (5.6%) is of interest. It would be important to know if availability and affordability restrict the use of group care by this parent group or if their usage patterns reflect a preference for other types of care. Lastly, the study found comparatively low levels of child care tension among both employed teenage mothers and teenage mothers who were not in the work force. This did not support the U.S. research which found teenage mothers to experience high stress levels. These and other issues related to the study will be discussed fully in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the CNCCS the average Canadian teenage mother is over eighteen years of age and she is likely to be married or living with a partner. She has not completed grade twelve and she is not presently enrolled in school.

She is also not in the labour force and she remains at home, looking after her child, who is under two years of age. If she uses supplementary child care, it is only for a few hours a week and it is likely to be provided by a relative.

She claims to feel little or no tension over most child care issues, but she may experience some amount of stress over feelings of isolation, insufficient finances to buy things for her child, or finding future work. Factors which greatly reduce her tension are, feeling that she’s a good parent, being her child’s primary influence, being accessible to her child, and not having to face unpleasant work situations.

This study identified a number of variables affecting the ecology of the children of Canadian teenage mothers. In the following sections these factors will be discussed within the context of the literature.

5.1 The Mothers: Ages, Marital Status, Education and Employment

The period of adolescence has been characterized as a time when the ability to think abstractly develops, and when an individual seeks to define her own identity. With growing cognition comes increasing competence in problem solving. The
behave of teenagers tends to fluctuate between responsibility and self-absorption. Developmentally, the older teens may have acquired more of the cognitive and affective skills required of parents than the younger ones, but even 18 and 19 year-olds are likely to feel challenged by parenthood. The CNCCS found that most Canadian teenage mothers (81.8%) were between 18 and 20 years of age. However, the study also identified a smaller population of younger teenage parents (under 18 years) worthy of further study.

The majority of teenage mothers living in Canada (51.2%) were reported to be either married or living common law. This was in contrast to much of the U.S. literature, which depicted teenage mothers as single and living with their parents (Furstenberg and Crawford, 1986). It could be that the Canadian sample was older than many of the U.S. samples. The (U.S.) National Research Council (1987) reports that 18 and 19 year-olds are four times more likely to marry than younger teens.

The level of education of the parent is seen by many researchers to have significant influence on the child's cognitive development. Education also affects life-long job satisfaction and earning potential (National Research Council, 1987). Yet the CNCCS revealed that only a minority of teenage mothers were high school graduates and 81.7% were not attending school at the time of the interview. This relatively low incidence of high school attendance and completion supports earlier studies which found teenage mothers to have difficulties remaining in high school until graduation (Furstenberg, 1976; Furstenberg & Crawford, 1978; MacDonnell, 1981;
and Sauber & Rubinstein, 1965). Having come from a wide range of educational backgrounds, teenage mothers provide an interesting challenge to schools attempting to meet the special needs and interests of teenage mothers. More information about their histories, both in and out of school could help educational systems to develop programs to encourage their continuation in school.

The CNCCS found that 69.8% of Canadian teenage mothers were not in the labour force and 10.6% were unemployed. The National Research Council (1987) also reports limited work force participation among this population. When comparing their frequency of employment with other mothers, this group is unique. One explanation for their low labour force participation is that these parents find coping with family life and child rearing enough of a challenge at this point. Expanding their responsibilities to include outside employment while adjusting to parenthood might overwhelm them, and cause stress to negatively affect their relationships with their children.

The young ages of their children might be another reason for choosing not to be in the labour force. The mothers may plan to stay at home with their children for the first few years and then enter the work force. Given their probable earning potential, this decision may not be seen as a financial sacrifice, when considering the costs associated with working outside the home.

5.2 The Children: Ages And Child Care Usage

Most of the children in the survey had no siblings and 90.1% were under two years of age. The vulnerability of children at
these young ages, suggests the need for stable and consistent parenting. The literature suggests a possibility that low levels of cognitive and social/emotional development may occur in the children of teenage mothers (Phipps-Yonas, 1980). The maternal behaviours thought to cause these outcomes are, limited interaction with their infants, low positive affect toward their children, and limitations in teaching abilities (Levine, Coll & Oh, 1985). Because so much of the U.S. research focuses on a low income, Black, urban population, some of the findings may not be generalizable to Canada. Therefore, more research is needed to determine the effects of the parenting behaviours of Canadian teenage mothers on their children’s development.

The majority of the children in the study were exposed to one or no alternate child care arrangement. Furstenberg (1976) suggests that the children of teenage mothers who receive supplementary child care perform better on the Preschool Inventory than those children cared for exclusively by their teenage mothers. More Canadian studies are needed to compare the effects to the child of care performed exclusively by teenage mothers with combined maternal and supplemental child care.

U.S. research identifies the limited access to child care as a major barrier for teenage mothers wishing to attend school or work outside the home. The CNCCS found that over 43% of the children received no supplemental care. (Their care was provided exclusively by one or both parents.) Another 25% received non-parental care for fewer than ten hours per week. Research on the
topic of time spent in supplemental child care by the children of teenage mothers, is presently not available for comparison.

When alternate forms of child care were used, family members were the most frequent primary care providers. It is interesting to note that few teenage mothers used licensed child care. Licensed home and group care arrangements constituted only 6.4% of their total child care arrangements. Paid child care arrangements were not used by 81.4% of this population. Miller reports similar findings in the U.S. (1981).

It is puzzling that so few teenage mothers utilize group child care centres, since these settings can provide effective environments for their children and serve as resources for parents. Well educated caregivers working in licensed programs are equipped to provide parent education, to model appropriate child guidance behaviours, to recognize and respond to signs of stress, and to offer stable, age-appropriate environments to children. Further research may help to determine if their reasons for not using group care reflect a preference for home-settings (including caring for their own children at home) or if group care is too expensive or unavailable.

5.3. Tension for Teenage Mothers

Child care related issues which caused tension for significant numbers of teenage mothers who were not in the labour force included (1) having to do without things for children that you could afford if you were employed, (2) feeling isolated from other adults during the day, and (3) feeling concerned about finding a
job at a future time. Employed teenage mothers identified (1) feeling tired and overloaded because of the job, and (2) maintaining a balance between work demands and family responsibilities. Many of the questions asked of the employed group were related to their employment and the supplementary child care used while on the job. Some questions asked only of mothers who were not in the labour force, however, might have had relevance for employed mothers. For example, it would have been interesting to know the degree of tension felt by both sets of mothers regarding (1) not having enough time for themselves, (2) having the major responsibility for child rearing and care of their families, and (3) feeling that their children are too dependent on them.

Conversely, two of the issues asked of employed mothers could have been adjusted slightly and asked of both groups. Two such issues are (1) maintaining a balance between family and other responsibilities and (2) feeling tired and overloaded. Using a common set of tension issue questions would allow for a wider range of experiences to be conveyed by the mothers responding.

Similarly, a common set of tension reduction factors could include (1) having a spouse or partner who shares child care responsibilities, (2) feeling that you are being a good parent, (3) being able to be involved in parent groups or neighbourhood activities, and (4) being the primary influence in your child’s development.

The results describing tension issues in this study were quite interesting. Although the literature finds teenage mothers to
experience high levels of tension (Schinke, Barth, Gilchrist & Maxwell, 1986), respondents to the CNCCS reported relatively little tension. This discrepancy might be explained in a number of ways. First, the Canadian population of teenage mothers is made up primarily of older teens. Due to their ages and increased developmental levels, they may have had better developed coping skills than the younger teenage mothers in earlier studies. Second, the literature reports that stress revolves around relationship issues, more than child care issues for teenage mothers. The CNCCS questions on this topic included primarily child care and family issues. A future investigation of stress for the age group could include the broader range of tension issues identified in the literature.

Third, as discussed by Goelman and Pence (1987), getting information about an individual’s tension issues requires careful probing. It seems likely that a teenage mother’s first inclination would be to represent herself as a mature and responsible parent, coping well with her life and feeling little tension. It might take additional questioning to reach a point where the respondent could comfortably identify and share her feelings.

As mentioned before, significant numbers of teenage mothers experienced some level of stress pertaining to isolation, inability to buy things for their children, and finding future jobs. Similarly, Schinke, Barth, Gilchrist and Maxwell (1986) identified social isolation and lack of resources (including financial support) as major causes of tension for teenage mothers.
5.4 Implications for Practice

Addressing the issues identified in this and other studies of teenage mothers and their children is a major priority for early childhood educators concerned with the care and development of young children. The following discussion explains some of the ways in which the E.C.E. community, working at various ecological levels can facilitate the growth and development of all the members of teenage parent families. While each of the recommendations presented in this chapter affects the child’s ecological system, some suggestions have a direct influence on the parents, while others are specific to the child. This discussion begins with the implications for practice of parent concerns and ends with suggestions for children’s programs.

Because of concerns expressed in the literature that teenage mothers may lack the emotional and intellectual maturity to become effective parents, it would seem beneficial to make parent education programs widely accessible throughout Canada. These services could be housed in a variety of settings, including local high schools, public health units, day care centres, and recreation facilities. Informal teenage parent groups offering peer support could also be created in association with parent education programs.

The majority of teenage mothers in this study were married or living with a partner, yet there are few services available for teenage fathers. It would seem appropriate to recognize their
relationships with their children and support them with community resources.

Training programs for early childhood educators could be more responsive to the needs of these families by including the topic of adolescent development in the curriculum. This could be added to the introductory course, 'Child Growth and Development,' which frequently includes only the preschool years, or it could be inserted into the parenting section of the infant and toddler curriculum. Another recommendation is the inclusion of more strategies specific to the issues of teen age parents, such as helping the parents develop skills for coping with stress.

Since relatively few teenage mothers attend school or participate in the labour force, it would seem useful to provide funded child care, as one means of facilitating their access to schools, job preparation programs and the labour force.

The establishment of new infant and toddler programs has lagged behind the general development of day care in Canada. This has created problems for mothers of all ages who require child care. The restriction in the growth of under-3 centres has been due primarily to the higher costs associated with this type of care. Higher operational costs are the result of the lower adult to child ratios, smaller group sizes, and greater staff training demands required to meet the developmental needs of this age group. It is difficult for most families to pay the full costs of infant and toddler care, which can range as high as $1,000 per child per month. The gap between supply and demand for licensed under-3 care
continues to widen, as more mothers (of all ages) enter the work force. The dilemma of too little care for all Canadian parents points to a need for government grants to facilitate the creation and on-going operations of under-3 centres.

In addition to licensed infant and toddler care, more comprehensive child care programs designed to meet the specific needs of teenage parent families, are required. Goals for such programs include the continuation of education, delay of further pregnancies, promotion of employment skills, maternal and infant health, and life skills training (National Research Council, 1987). These programs are most effective when located on or near senior secondary school grounds. According to the B.C. Alliance Concerned with Early Pregnancy and Parenthood, sixteen education based programs for teenage mothers have now been established in British Columbia and the Yukon (Kerr, 1991). These programs bring together many aspects of the child's ecology. For example the high school teacher and principal, health professionals, social workers and early childhood educators work together with the parent to ensure that each parent and child receives the support they need to meet their developmental and educational goals.

Since stability of care arrangements was reported by the CNCCS to reduce the tension of employed teenage mothers, it is recommended that the issue of staff turn-over in day care centres be addressed. Child care workers receive extremely poor salaries. If we are to keep well-educated and dedicated professionals in day care centres, salaries must improve. Accomplishing this will
require support from both the public and private sectors, because the young families receiving care are not in positions to carry the full financial burden of such costs.

It is also recommended that the role of the teenage mother's parents be acknowledged when developing support programs for teenage mothers. With families in mind, flexible community resources could be devised to augment the services already being provided by the teenagers' parents. Also, the emotional and physical stress experienced by the extended family members, as they accept increased child care responsibilities, should be recognized and supported by services within the community.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

As was discussed earlier, very little research on the ecology of teenage parenting has taken place in Canada. Merrill (1989) suggests that much of the difficulty experienced in doing this type of research stems from the fact that the variables are difficult to clarify and isolate from other situational factors. She recommends carefully defining the variables which include environmental factors, as well as those restrictions and incentives present in a person's life, which serve to influence her behaviour. Caldwell suggests that the research take a "continuous adjustment perspective" to more effectively depict the adolescent as she adjusts to parenthood and accommodates to environmental factors in her own unique and developmentally determined manner. Without a doubt, the subject is complex and future research will require many methodologies and perspectives on the subject.
When observing the large proportions of teenage mothers who were neither in the labour force nor in school, and the numbers of teenage parents who used little or no alternative care, questions arise about the availability of regular full- and part-time child care. Interviews of teenage mothers who use no supplemental form of child care might shed more light on the factors influencing their decisions. Since this study found that relatives most frequently provided alternate child care, it would be interesting to investigate in greater detail, the relationships of teenage mothers and their mothers and the children. It would be interesting to determine the extent of the grandmothers' involvement in those child rearing responsibilities which are usually associated with parenting.

While little or no tension was most frequently reported by teenage mothers, overall stress levels varied enough among this population to warrant further investigations of their tension levels and sources. U.S. research finds that stress is more likely to be caused by relationship issues, (i.e. disagreements with parents or spouses) than child care issues for teenage mothers (Coll, Hoffman, Van Houten & Oh, 1987). Schinke, Barth, Gilchrist, and Maxwell (1986) find that the major causes of tension for teenage mothers are criticism and unsolicited advice, negative emotions, excessive demands from others, isolation, insufficient resources (such as money), conflicts with family and friends, lack of personal control, and child care demands. It would be useful to survey Canadian teenage mothers or perform ethnographic research to
determine a fuller range of tension issues. Tom (in press) recommends using such methodologies as thorough interview techniques, life history, and diary collection and analysis to discover each woman’s experience.

Further research could more closely examine the tension issues which received varied responses from the CNCCS respondents. Issues requiring further study would include feelings of isolation, inability to buy as many things for the child, future employment, balancing work and family, and fatigue and overload. Reasons for the varying affects of these issues on mothers would also be of interest.

Since the family is considered to be the teenage mothers’ primary source of support, studies of the services provided by families would help community programs to work in partnership with existing family resources.

Since over half of Canadian teenage mothers are married or living common law, longitudinal studies to determine the longevity of these relationships and future marital patterns would be of value in identifying the stability of the child’s family environment. Short term studies of the parenting and child care usage of both single and two parent families would also add to a better understanding of this population. Because of the small sample size of employed mothers, such a comparison was not possible in this study.

The research of Weizmann, Friendly, and Gonda (1983) finds that many fathers are in contact with their children, provide child
care and financial and material support. With the number of teenage marriages identified by the CNCCS, studies of teenage fathers' relationships with their children, child care responsibilities, school and work patterns, and tension issues, would provide some useful information.

More research is needed to determine teenage mothers' educational needs, including why they left school in the first place. Ethnographic studies could provide insights into the problems they face when trying to balance parenthood and school. This in turn might lead to increased accessibility for students. Since many who had not completed grade 12 were beyond eighteen years of age, studies could survey the educational needs of older teens, who might feel awkward and out of place in classes with younger students.

Canada's cultural diversity should also be acknowledged. Examining cultural differences in the treatment and expectations of teenage mothers, their parenting styles and child care arrangements, would help to identify both similarities and differences among Canadians.

Longitudinal studies, comparing mothers who became parents before twenty years of age with peers who became parents in their twenties and thirties, would help to determine the long-term effects of early parenting on both parents and children. Questions such as the following could be asked. What are the long-term effects of early parenting on children's cognitive development and
social adjustment?...on the educational levels completed by parents?...and on the parents' employment and financial outcomes?

To better understand the diversities within the teenage parent population, researchers could consider studies of the exosystems, such as local and provincial standards, policies and services and their influence on the lives of teenage parents.

Ethnographic studies of the needs, realities and expectations of adolescent mothers would also help researchers to better determine local differences. Numerous inquiries, of tension levels and causes, child care preferences, educational backgrounds and present academic needs, work patterns, future plans, parenting styles, and marital status, throughout the country would provide some insights into the depth and breadth of this population's heterogeneity.

Lastly, while this study found that a large proportion of these mothers were eighteen years or more, there is a population of younger teenage mothers deserving detailed investigation. This population is likely to be particularly vulnerable, given its propensity for repeat pregnancies and early school departures.

As mentioned before, the CNCCS provided an interesting nationwide descriptive survey of teenage mothers and their child care arrangements. It identified a large proportion of the population who had not achieved high school graduation and yet were not attending school. It found that much of their alternate child care arrangements were provided by family members, with little use being made of paid child care. Much more Canadian research is needed to
fully understand the ecology of the teenage parent family. Future research will take a variety of perspectives and utilize a wide array of research paradigms.
REFERENCES


Reed, E. F. Unmarried mothers who kept their babies. *Children*, 1965, 12, 118-119.


APPENDIXES

A. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

B. SELECTED QUESTIONS FROM THE 1988 NATIONAL CHILD CARE SURVEY
   1. Questions About Child Care Usage
   2. Child Care Tension Issues for Non-Working Designated Adults
   3. Child Care Tension Issues for Working Designated Adults
   4. Tension Reducing Factors for Working Designated Adults

C. RESEARCH TABLES
APPENDIX A
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. **Designated Adults (DA)**
   This is the person who is the most responsible for making the child care arrangements for the children in the economic family. In most cases this will be the female parent of the children. If there are two parents and they make the child care arrangements jointly and equally, the female parent would be selected as the DA. In single-parent families, the DA will be the parent or guardian (CNCCS Information Manual, 1988, p. 12).

2. **Employed**
   An employed person is one who, during the reference week, did any work at all, or who had a job but was not at work due to own illness or disability, personal or family responsibilities, bad weather, labour dispute, vacation, or other reason (excluding lay-off or hired but waiting to commence a job). A women (sic) on maternity leave who did not work in the reference week is considered employed (CNCCS Introductory Report).

3. **Not in the Labour Force**
   Those persons in the civilian non-institutional population 15 years of age and over who, during the reference week, were neither employed nor unemployed (CNCCS Introductory Report).

4. **Unemployed**
   An unemployed person is one who, during the reference week: (a) was without work, had actively looked for work in the
past four weeks (ending with the reference week), and was available for work.

(b) had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had been on lay-off and was available for work. Persons are classified as being on lay-off only when they expect to return to the job from which they were laid off.

(c) had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had a new job to start in four weeks or less from the reference week, and was available for work (CNCCS Introductory Report).
APPENDIX B

1. QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILD CARE USAGE

1. During the week of _____ did any of your children attend kindergarten, nursery school, play group or part-day early childhood program other than a day care centre? (F1)
   ...spend any time in a day care centre? (H1)
   ...spend any time in the care of a relative, a neighbour, a babysitter, or a nanny? Please do not include care given by your spouse or an older brother or sister of the child who lives in your home. (I1)
   ...spend any time with you while you were working at a job or business? (J1)
   ...spend any time with your spouse/partner while he/she was working at a job or business while you were working or studying? (K2)
   ...spend any time at home in the care of your spouse or partner while you were working at a job or while you were studying...? (L2)

2. In total for how many hours was _____ there during the week of _____?
   - kindergarten, nursery school (F13)
   - day care centre (H13)
   - care by relative/non-relative (I14)
   - designated adult while working (J12)
   - care by spouse while working (K12)
   - care in own home by spouse (L12)

3. Which of the methods of child care you told me about for _____ do you consider to be the main method of care you used for him/her the week of _____ to allow you to work or study?
- Care in a pre/junior kindergarten program or nursery school program...
- Care in a day care centre...
- Care in a before or after school program...
- Care in someone else’s home by a non-relative...
- Care in someone else’s home by a relative...
- Care in own home by a non-relative...
- Care in own home by spouse...
- Care by spouse while working...
- Care by designated adult while working...
- Care in own home by brother or sister...
- Care in own home by other relative...
- Child in his/her own care...
- Did not use care arrangement during reference... (Q2)

(CNCCS, 1988, pp. 14, 22, 26, 44, 46, 48 & 58)
2. CHILD CARE TENSION ISSUES FOR NON-WORKING DESIGNATED ADULTS

R2. Juggling homemaking responsibilities and your own needs with children's schedules and other aspects of family life can be a difficult task. Current social attitudes towards employment can also be a source of tension for parents who are not working at a job for pay. Given your current at home responsibilities, please indicate how much tension or discomfort you feel about each of the following. Please use a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means no tension and 10 means a great deal of tension.

A. Not having enough time for yourself...
B. Having to do without things for your children that you could afford if you were employed...
C. Having the major responsibility for child rearing and care in your family...
D. Feeling isolated from other adults during the day...
E. Dealing with social attitudes that seem to value income over full-time parenting...
F. Feeling concerned about finding a job at a future time.
G. Feeling that your job or career is being hampered by family responsibilities...
H. Feeling that your child(ren) is(are) too dependent on you...(CNCCS, 1988, p. 79)
APPENDIX B

3. CHILD CARE TENSION ISSUES FOR WORKING DESIGNATED ADULTS

P2. Juggling work, family and child care responsibilities can sometimes be a difficult task. Some factors can create tension for parents, while others can reduce tension. Given your current work and child care arrangements, I would like to know how much tension or discomfort you generally feel about each of the following issues. Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10 how much tension each factor causes you, as you juggle work, family and child care with 1 meaning no tension and a 10 a great deal of tension.

A. The total number of hours you are working each week...
B. Your work schedule...
C. The total number of hours your spouse or partner is working...
D. Your spouse’s/partner’s work schedule...
E. Concerns about your child’s safety and well-being while you are at work...
F. Maintaining a balance between work demands and family responsibilities...
G. Getting to work on time when dropping off your child at his/her daycare setting or picking him/her up on time..
H. Feeling that your job or career is being hampered by family responsibilities...
I. The extent to which you feel your employer/work situation is inflexible or uncaring about your role as a parent...
J. Working out arrangements with your spouse or partner over who will pick up and drop off your child...

K. Not being able to talk to your child or caregiver while you are at work...

L. Worrying that your caregiver or care arrangement may break down or not be available for much longer...

M. Scheduling child care with your spouse or partner so that one of you is generally available to be with your child...

N. Managing the costs of high quality care...

O. Feeling tired or overloaded because of your job...

(CNCCS, 1988, p. 56)
APPENDIX B

4. TENSION REDUCING FACTORS FOR WORKING DESIGNATED ADULTS

P5. In your current situation, do any of the following factors help the tension or discomfort you might otherwise feel?

A. Having a child care provider or arrangement that is flexible and can accommodate your needs...

B. Feeling fulfilled because you are working...

C. Having a child care provider or arrangement that offers you support or advice...

D. Having a backup arrangement you can use if your regular child care arrangement breaks down...

E. Having a spouse or partner who shares child care responsibilities...

F. Having older children help out with family and child care responsibilities...

G. Having a stable arrangement for your child(ren) that you feel good about...

H. Having a child care provider who does light housekeeping and other chores for you...

I. Having a child care provider/arrangement who can care for your child(ren) when your child(ren) is/are sick...

J. Having an employer or supervisor who is supportive of you in your role as a parent...(CNCCS, 1988, p. 57)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>q 800</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>q 2,600</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>10,300</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 2
Marital Status of DA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Now Married/Common</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single/Never Married</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
### TABLE 3
Years of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 to 8 Yrs</td>
<td>q 2,300</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 to 11 Yrs</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 to 13 Yrs</td>
<td>q 3,500</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>**18,500 ***</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
### TABLE 4
Attending School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attending School</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>q 3,400</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15,100</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 5
Labour Force Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour Force Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>q 3,600</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>q 2,000</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in Labour Force</td>
<td>12,900</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 6
Total Numbers of Non-Parental Child Care Arrangements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers of Arrangements</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 or more</td>
<td>q 3,000</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21,100 *</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 6,000 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Care Arrangement</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Arrangement</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daycare Centre</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Relative in Home</td>
<td>q 1,100</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative not in Home</td>
<td>q 3,200</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative in Home</td>
<td>q 3,100</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Relative not in Home/Not Licensed</td>
<td>q 1,500</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse in Home</td>
<td>q 1,900</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other **</td>
<td>q 1,100</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Total</td>
<td>21,100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 6,000 have high sampling variability.

** Forms of child care included in 'other' are kindergarten/nursery, non-relatives in licensed settings and child in school.
### TABLE 8

Child Care Tension Issues for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force: Children too Dependent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Tension</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Not Applicable</td>
<td>q 200</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,300</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 800</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11,800 *</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
TABLE 9
Child Care Tension Issues for
Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force:
Major Responsibility for Family Care

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>q 100</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>q 7,300</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,600</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 1,700</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 2,200</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 1,600</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
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q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sample variability.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 2,500</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 1,700</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,800 *</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to sampling.
### TABLE 12
**Child Care Tension Issues for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force:**
**Family Hampers Career**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0  Not Applicable</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3  Little</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7  Moderate</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10  A Great Deal</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3  Little</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7  Moderate</td>
<td>q 3,400</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10  A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 1,100</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
TABLE 14
Child Care Tension Issue for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force: Less Able To Purchase Things for the Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Not Applicable</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,00 have high sampling variability.

* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
**TABLE 15**  
Child Care Tension Issue for  
Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force:  
*Future Job Search*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11,800</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 16
Tension Reducing Factor for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force: Being a Good Parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Reduction Levels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>q 1,000</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,800</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 17
Tension Reducing Factor for
Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force:
Being the Primary Influence on the Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Reduction Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>q 1,000</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,300</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,800 *</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* Numbers may not add, due to rounding.
### TABLE 18
Tension Reducing Factor for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force:
*Being There for the Child*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Reduction Levels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,400</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,800</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Reduction Levels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0  Not Applicable</td>
<td>q 700</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Little</td>
<td>q 2,700</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,600</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11,800</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

q: Frequencies under 4,000 have high sampling variability.
TABLE 20
Tension Reducing Factor for Teenage Mothers Not in the Labour Force: Parent/Neighbourhood Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension Reduction Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0  Not Applicable</td>
<td>q 1,800</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3  Little</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7  Moderate</td>
<td>q 1,800</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10 A Great Deal</td>
<td>q 2,500</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer Given</td>
<td>q 1,200</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,800</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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