

**Supporting Teen Parents And Their Children:
Second Year Evaluation Report of
Philadelphia Parents As Teachers**

December 1993

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Overview

Philadelphia Parents As Teachers (PPAT) is a parenting support and education program for adolescent parents based in two of the School District of Philadelphia's comprehensive high schools, Martin Luther King and West Philadelphia. It is an adaptation of the Missouri-based Parents as Teachers (PAT) program supported by a partnership of the Scott Paper Company, the Pennsylvania Department of Education, the School District of Philadelphia and the communities in which the two high schools programs are located. It is administered by the Coordinator of Comprehensive Services for School Age Parents (CSSAP) under the Office of Student Support Services.

As stated in previous reports in February 1992 and August 1993, the goals of the program are:

- to increase teen parents' involvement in their children's educational development by increasing their knowledge and understanding of child development and by strengthening their parenting skills;
- to detect developmental lags in infants and toddlers through careful monitoring and provide interventions when there are emotional, social and cognitive problems;
- to help teens stay in school or return to school by providing support, counseling, advocacy and referral.

Three social workers trained as parent educators (hereafter referred to as parent educators), two at West and another at King, staff the program. They are responsible for recruitment, enrollment and delivery of service. A lead parent educator with a background in early childhood development is based at CSSAP. She is responsible for day to day administration of the program, including funding reports, personnel, recruitment and staff development. The Program Coordinator for CSSAP is responsible for the overall supervision and direction of both sites.

The second year report on PPAT continues the research begun in September 1991, and reported on previously. Those reports provide background on the program, and a description of implementation issues and the program participants. The

August 1992 report postulated a potential range of impacts of the program on the participants, their babies, their families, the schools they attend and the communities in which they live, and made a set of recommendations. This report will look more deeply at who the program participants are, patterns of service delivery, and continuing major implementation issues. A set of recommendations also accompanies this report.

B. Research Methodology

This report is based on research activities conducted between October 1, 1992 and June 30, 1993, with reference made to research from the previous year. The following questions guided the second year of research.

- What does PPAT look like?
- What supports/inhibits the implementation of PPAT?
- Who participates in PPAT?
- What does participation in PPAT look like?
- In what ways are teens' knowledge and attitudes toward parenting changing as they participate in PPAT?

The research methodology is qualitative, using quantitative data to provide a descriptive overview of the program participants and to present the range and intensity of service delivery to the teens. Although the research primarily looks at issues of program implementation and service delivery from the point of view of the parent educators, it also includes the perspective of program participants, program planners, and school personnel. The research activities included:

- interviews with program planners, program staff, program participants and relevant school faculty and staff;
- program observations, including home visits, groups, advisory committee meetings and staff development;
- analysis of enrollment forms and service/activity logs;
- and analysis of pre and post surveys on attitudes and knowledge about child development.

The report begins with a section on the program participants and patterns of service delivery and is followed by a section on major implementation issues. Recommendations are made at the end of the report. The August 1992 report is appended to this report in order to provide background to the program and a fuller sense of its evolution.

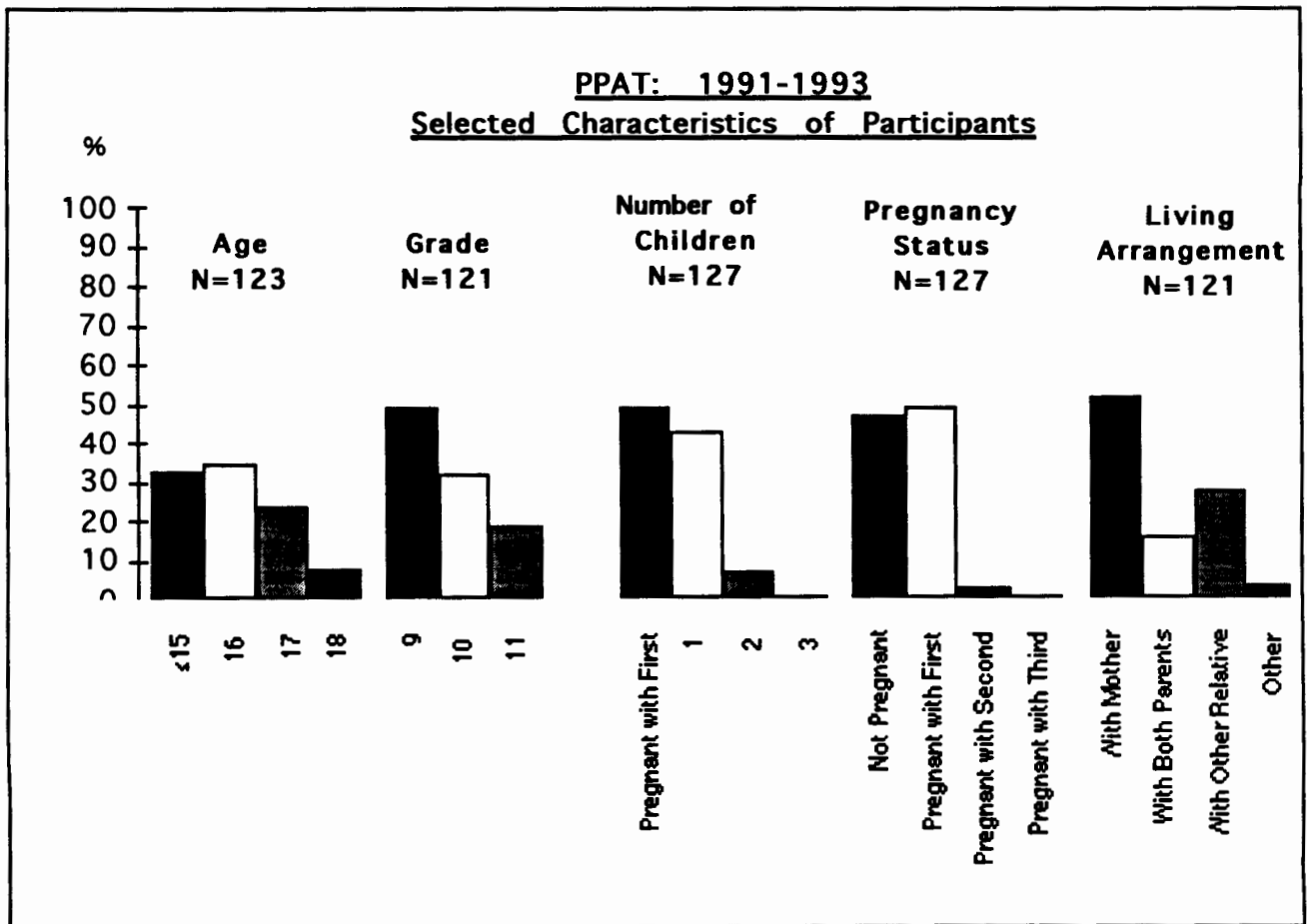
II. THE PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

A. Selected Characteristics of Program Participants

A look at the 128 pregnant and parenting teens who have enrolled in PPAT shows them to be similar to one another on a number of dimensions (the chart below displays some of this information graphically):

- nearly 100% are African-Americans;
- 96% live in multigenerational households with relatives;
- 68% were 16 years or younger at the time of enrollment;
- 47% were pregnant with their first child when they enrolled and 4% with their second or third;
- 43% had one child when they enrolled and 8% had 2 or more;
- 49% were in ninth, 32% in tenth and 19% in eleventh grade at the time of enrollment.

Despite these demographic similarities, the teens display a diverse set of needs and a range of ways in which they participate in the program.



B. Stability of Participation

As the chart below indicates enrollment and termination are regular occurrences within the program. Enrollment occurs as pregnant and/or parenting teens are referred to the program by the school nurse or by others. Terminations occur when teens leave the program or when parent educators review their files and close a case after repeated unsuccessful attempts have been made to reach a teen over several months. To the extent possible, parent educators document reasons for termination when they close a case. The most common reason is change of address. Lack of interest and dropping out of school are also given frequently as reasons for termination.

The chart shows that recruitment and enrollment were primary activities in the early stages of the program in 1991. After that, recruitment and enrollment activities subsided, to a regular but low rate with the exception of September 1992. The peak in terminations in September 1992, was the result of numerous terminations at King when its boundaries were redefined and numerous teen mothers in the program were sent to other neighborhood high schools.

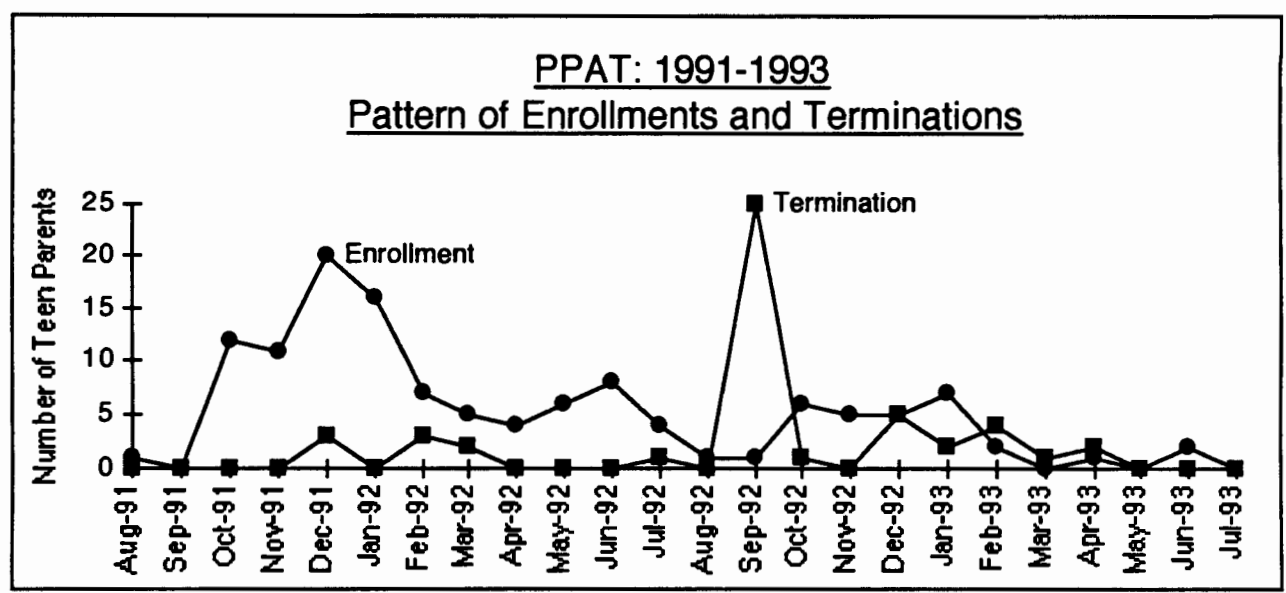


Table 1 below shows the distribution of length of participation in the program. Thirty-two teen mothers have been enrolled in PPAT for 18 months or more, but the average length of participation in the program is 12 months. Although the redefining of the boundaries for Martin Luther King High School somewhat skews the length of participation

toward the shorter end, the effect of frequent changes in the lives of a number of pregnant and parenting teens should not be underestimated. For example, even though the data on changes in the lives of the teen mothers are underreported, still analysis of program documentation shows that 18% of the 1992-93 program participants changed residence one or more times.

Table 1

PPAT: 1992-1993
Length of Participation (in months)
(N=123; Data Missing for 5 Participants)

Months							
0 - 5.99		6 - 11.99		12 - 17.99		< or = 18	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
20	16%	41	33%	30	24%	32	26%

C. Academic Profile

While the majority of teen mothers enrolled in PPAT in 1992-93 stayed in school (the parent educators reported that 19%--15 of the 79 enrolled in the program--either dropped out of school or stopped attending even though they remained on the rolls), many of them had difficulties accumulating credits toward graduation. In Philadelphia, in order "to pass" 9th grade a student must earn at least 4.0 credits, to pass 10th, 5.5 credits and 11th, 6.0 credits. To graduate, students must accumulate another 6 credits for a total of 21.50 credits.

Table 2 below illustrates the distribution of credits earned by 66 of the 79 adolescent mothers enrolled in PPAT in the 1992-93 school year for whom data was available. Using ninth grade as an example, 16 adolescent mothers earned between 0-1.75 credits during the 1992-1993 school year, six earned between 2-3.75 credits, two earned between 4-4.75 credits, and so on. As can be seen from Table 2, almost one-half (30 of 66, 45%) of the adolescent mothers earned between 0-1.75 credits during the 1992-1993 school year. This low number of credits accumulated is evidence of the lack of academic progress, especially among those in the earlier grades. Those in the higher grades, particularly those in twelfth grade, performed considerably better.

Table 2

PPAT 1992-1993
Credits Accumulated during School Year 1992-1993
by Student Grade Level (N=66)

Credits Accumulated						
Grade Level	0 - 1.75	2 - 3.75	4 - 4.75	5 - 5.75	6+	Total
9	16	6	2	0	1	25
10	10	2	5	1	1	19
11	4	2	2	0	4	12
12	0	0	0	1	9	10
Total	30	10	9	2	15	66

Pregnant and parenting teens are often absent from school. (In 1992-93 the average number of school absences for 66 of the 79 enrolled girls for whom data were available was 71 days, or 38% of the school year. The nurse at King commented that although she rarely sees complications with pregnancies, she has noticed that a greater number of girls are "homebound" in their last few months.) Parent educators often work with attendance officers to monitor the absences of the adolescent mothers who are in PPAT. They try to support teen mothers' school attendance, encouraging them to return to school as soon as possible after the birth of their child, and assisting them with child care arrangements when they need help. When a teen leaves school before graduation, however, or is on the rolls but not attending, the parent educator encourages her to enroll in a "retrieval" program (a special reentry program for students younger than 17 years who are not yet eligible for a GED program) or a GED program (if she is 17 or older). In 1992-93, six teen mothers not in school enrolled in GED and/or retrieval programs.

D. Types of Program Participants

The August 1992 report identified three types of program participants: those with whom it is easy to establish a pattern of service; those with whom it is possible to establish service; and those with whom it is difficult to establish service. These categories were determined through analysis of the kinds of services and the intensity of service a teen received. Analysis of program service delivery in 1992-93 reveals what participation looks like within the three categories of program participants.

For the purposes of this analysis, which is displayed in Table 3, participants "with whom it is easy to establish a pattern of service" are defined as those 10 participants who received the highest number of services; participants "with whom it is possible to establish service" are those 10

participants who received a middle number of services; and participants "with whom it is difficult to establish service" are those 10 participants who received the lowest number of services. Thus this analysis examined data for 30 of the 69 participants for whom data were available.

Table 3 shows that of the service received by the 10 participants in the "high group," 99% was direct service, while 84% of the service to the medium range was direct service and only about half (55%) of the service the bottom 10 received was direct service. (Direct services are all services except telephone calls, letters and other attempts to contact participants.) In other words, while only 1% of the total service received by the top group was devoted to maintaining contact with them, nearly half the total service (45%) received by the bottom group was in attempts to schedule appointments and visits.

Table 3

PPAT: 1991-1993
Direct Services Provided to High, Medium, and
Low Users of Services

Group	N	Range of Number of Services	Average Services	Ratio Direct to All Services
High	10	35-86	53.7	99%
Medium	10	15-20	17.8	84%
Low	10	7-9	7.8	55%

Table 4 shows the results of another type of analysis of services received by program participants. In this analysis the average numbers of direct (22 services) and all services (26 services) received by participants were calculated for the 69 participants for whom data were available. These averages were then used to divide the participants into two groups, those participants who received above the average number of services (N=25) and those who received below the average number of services (N=44). What is most significant about this analysis is that approximately 1/3 (36%) of the program participants are receiving nearly 2/3 (64%) of the direct services provided.

When direct services are compared to all services (all services are direct services and attempts to contact participants) it is revealed that those participants receiving the greatest number of direct services are also those with whom it takes the least amount of effort to reach and maintain contact. Table 4 indicates (in the column titled "ratio of direct services to all services") that 90%

of the services delivered to participants who received more services than average is in the form of direct service, while only 73% of the total service delivered to the remaining participants is in the form of direct service.

Table 4

PPAT: 1992-1993
Services Provided in 1992-93 Grouped by Number of Participants
Above and Below Mean Number of Services (N=69)

	Participants		Direct Services			All Services			Ratio Direct to All Services
	N	%	N	Avg.	% of Total	N	Avg.	% of Total	
At/Above	25	36%	955	38.2	64%	1060	42.4	59%	90%
Below	44	64%	528	12.0	36%	727	16.5	41%	73%
Total	69	100%	1483	22.0	100%	1787	26.0	100%	83%

The quantitative data reflect the way in which parent educators talk about program participants. All the parent educators describe a core of participants who are their most active participants. Each parent educator can identify six-to-twelve teen mothers in this easy to serve category. These teens are different from others in that they initiate activities with the parent educators. The perception of the parent educators is that these teens "want to see the program work." They say these adolescent mothers want to learn more about their children, want their children to "get ahead," and want the program to be perceived positively. These teen mothers often remind the parent educator when it is time for her to make a home visit to them, frequently stop by the Center to talk with the parent educators, and recruit others to the program.

The parent educators talk about teens who are at the other end of the continuum from their core group as well. These teens usually have many difficulties--most commonly stress at home between themselves and the other adults in the household, and problems finding day care. Parent educators find that they must make repeated attempts to reach and maintain contact with these teens, and not infrequently these teens forget or miss appointments.

As the life circumstances of teens change, however, their pattern of participation in the program can change. Some teens who are reluctant participants become active, while others who were active become more difficult to serve. The parent educators believe patience and persistence can pay off with many of the teens, and think they should drop a teen from their case loads only after they have made repeated attempts to contact the teen over several months duration.

Following are accounts of two teen mothers, one who in the August 1992 Report was "easy to serve" and the other who was "possible to serve." Their stories focus on their changing life circumstances, and consequently, the changing patterns of their participation in PPAT. Both stories are of participants who have been in the program for more than 18 months. A third story is new and looks at a teen who, despite her regular attendance at PPAT activities, is an adolescent mother whom the parent educator identifies as difficult to serve. She has been part of the program for one year. In order to protect confidentiality, the real names of the participants have been changed in these accounts.

An Easy to Service Teen Becomes Difficult to Serve and then Easy Again

In the August 1992 report, Tanya was identified as an easy to serve teen mother. In fall 1992, however, Tanya was avoiding the parent educator. In contrast to the past, Tanya would often cancel home visit appointments with the parent educator at the last minute, claiming she or her children had to make a doctor's visit that day. She stopped coming by the Center to talk with the parent educator. From Tanya's friends, the parent educator learned that Tanya's sister had had a baby and that Tanya was missing school because she had to stay home and help care for the infant. From the day care center she learned that one of Tanya's children was sick with pneumonia and had been hospitalized. She also learned from Tanya's friends that Tanya was pregnant. In addition, the parent educator learned from Tanya's mother that there were times when Tanya came to school, dropped her children off at day care, and then cut her classes. Despite her efforts, the parent educator thought she might lose Tanya from the program.

The parent educator believed Tanya might be avoiding her because Tanya feared she would "disappoint" her. She and Tanya had discussed in individual counseling sessions Tanya's personal goals and "she knew how I felt about her having more babies now" in terms of her meeting her goals. Postponing further pregnancies had also been the topic of group discussions.

But in mid-winter, Tanya's participation in the program took another turn. Her sister could now care for her baby during the day and her own child was better and back in day care. Consequently, she was in school more. With her mother's encouragement she had had an abortion. Tanya again became an active participant. In an interview in the spring Tanya commented that PPAT was teaching her to be a role model for her children. "It is also teaching me patience--not to

yell and get angry but to know more what to expect from my children."

The parent educator believes that Tanya's avoidance of her was a sign that Tanya cared about their relationship, but she is unhappy that Tanya did not turn to her during the difficult period she had in the fall. Although she recognizes that Tanya is again enthusiastic about participating in the program and eager to learn more about her children, and believes that Tanya feels a "loyalty" to her and the program, she knows that Tanya might hide important things in her life from her. As in this case, it is often the circumstances in the lives of individual adolescent mothers that influences the kind of participant they are in PPAT.

Discussion:

The parent educator's instinct that she might "lose" Tanya was probably well founded. Tanya's pattern in fall 1992 is consistent with research that indicates that poor and minority women often discontinue school because of the demands of family (Fine and Zane 1989, Fine 1991). In Tanya's case, however, as family demands lessened, she was able to attend school regularly again, and her pattern of program participation returned to previous levels.

The changes in the kind of participant Tanya was, however, also reflect the difficulty of building and sustaining rapport with teen mothers. Although the explicit goal of PPAT is to support the teen as a mother, postponing second and third births is an implicit goal. When this implicit goal contradicts what is happening in the life of the teen, the rapport the parent educator has established with the teen can be ruptured, inhibiting the ability of the parent educator to continue to support the teen. In this way, the parent educator, like so many other adults in the teen's life, can become distanced from her.

Parent educators and program planners need to consider both the explicit and implicit goals of the program. The parent educators and adolescent mothers are constructing a relationship based upon the activities and goals of the program. In the case of second or third pregnancies, for example, parent educators might want to develop strategies in which their discussion with teens about future births is nonjudgemental and focuses on building the capacity of teens to make informed choices about their reproductive lives. Rather than focusing on the goal of postponing additional pregnancies, the parent educators might focus on decision-making processes and factors such as future self-sufficiency that all parents must consider as they plan their families.

A Possible to Serve Teen Becomes Easy

In the August 1992 report, Rasheeda was identified as possible to serve. She had been referred by the school nurse when she was 8 months pregnant, but when the parent educator tried to locate her she discovered that she had transferred to CSSAP. Through her CSSAP teacher the parent educator got a home phone number and contacted her, but lost contact again when she moved from her mother's house to her grandmother's and then to her aunt's. The parent educator finally made contact again and began visits after the birth of the baby.

In fall 1992 the parent educator found that Rasheeda was back living with her grandmother. She had taken her baby daughter out of a neighborhood child care center and her grandmother was caring for her. This had relieved some stress, since Rasheeda had not been entirely pleased by the care her daughter was receiving at day care. Throughout the 1992-93 school year, Rasheeda remained with her grandmother. By spring, she had an afternoon job. In an interview with her, Rasheeda described her routines, including spending time every evening with her daughter, as well as Saturdays and Sundays. Rasheeda commented that being a mother is getting easier, "you get use to it and once you're doin' it you just keep doin' it."

The parent educator believes that Rasheeda has grown in her ability to take advantage of the services the program offers. She attends group sessions regularly, and stops by the office to talk with the parent educator frequently. The parent educator reports that Rasheeda enjoys talking about her daughter and she believes Rasheeda has a keen interest in the development of her child. Although last year she sometimes forgot home visits, this year she urges the parent educator to come and see her.

Discussion:

Rasheeda was a difficult teen to contact initially, although persistence on the part of the parent educator payed off. Even though it was possible for the parent educator to establish a pattern of service with her once she located her, the stress of moving twice, giving birth, and getting her baby into day care made her ability to participate in the program somewhat unpredictable.

After Rasheeda moved back to her grandmother's the level of stress in her life was reduced. Her baby was older and her grandmother now provided care. Rasheeda was able to establish routines at home which met both her needs and her baby's. As the urgency of other issues subsided, she was able to take advantage of the opportunities PPAT offered and

her parent educator found her eager to talk about her baby and interested in learning more about her baby.

A Difficult to Serve Teen

Ebony enrolled in the program when she was 14 years old and 9 months pregnant. She has been in the program for one year. Even though she is present at activities regularly, the parent educator is not confident that she will be able to keep Ebony in the program. Already, the parent educator says that Ebony has had another "pregnancy scare," and even though her number of absences in 1992-93 (63) was below the average number of absences (71) for pregnant and parenting adolescents enrolled in the program, the parent educator reported that many of the days she was present "she walks the halls" and does not attend classes. Although Ebony did not earn enough credits to pass ninth grade, her 1992-93 school performance (3.25 credits) was stronger than many other teen mothers in her grade.

The parent educator believes 1992-93 was an especially hard school year for Ebony. She lives with her mother and infant daughter and this past year her grandmother came to live with them too. While the grandmother praises Ebony's baby, she "never says anything positive about Ebony." In addition, Ebony's boyfriend was killed this past year. (Her boyfriend was in his mid-twenties and the parent educator notes that Ebony already has another boyfriend who, like him, is a good deal older than she is.) He used to accompany Ebony and the baby on doctor's visits and shopping, all tasks Ebony must do by herself now. Ebony was suspended from school once during the year when her cousin, who was not a student, was caught in the halls during a hall sweep and said she was Ebony.

Despite the fact that Ebony is present regularly at PPAT activities, she is reluctant to talk at group activities and talks only sparingly to the parent educator.

Ebony answered [the parent educator's] questions reluctantly, often not giving a direct answer, but an "I don't know" answer, and only on a few occasions initiated conversation. Her shoulders were sort of hunched over. Ebony tended not to look directly at [the parent educator] or me. She spoke softly, almost mumbling, with her hand in front of her mouth. Her interaction with the baby was minimal. She did not laugh, talk or play with her. She got up several times (from the chair) to shift the baby's attention, for example away from the VCR. When she walked it was almost like she was in pain (Fieldnotes, 3/26/93).

The parent educator believes Ebony is representative of many of her youngest program participants. She talks about her fear of "losing her" and others like her because they have more repeat pregnancies than the older mothers, they participate passively in program activities, and their commitment to staying in school seems more fragile.

Discussion:

Ebony represents an apparent contradiction within the program. Although she received more (58) than the average number (22) of direct services in 1992-93, the parent educator experiences Ebony as difficult to serve. She worries that despite Ebony's level of participation, Ebony is "giving up." Her evidence that Ebony is giving up is that she rarely speaks in groups or mini-groups, talks to her only reluctantly during home visits, and that Ebony recently believed she might be pregnant again. She is also concerned that Ebony's boyfriends are so much older than she is. The parent educator notes that there is a lot of tension within Ebony's home because Ebony got pregnant the first time, and although Ebony's baby is warmly embraced, there is still a lot of anger toward Ebony.

In at least one aspect, Ebony represents one of the toughest dilemmas parent educators face. Like a number of other teen mothers, Ebony lives in a home situation where the adults are angry with her for becoming a mother. The job of the parent educator, helping Ebony understand her baby and helping her feel positively about her role as a mother, is greatly complicated by the negative climate surrounding Ebony for being a mother. In Ebony's case, as with a number of other adolescent mothers, the parent educator believes her goal should be to increase the interaction between Ebony and her baby and to increase Ebony's sense of responsibility for her baby.

The vignettes of Tanya, Rasheeda and Ebony illustrate the varying circumstances in the lives of individual adolescent mothers that influence the kind of participant they are in PPAT.

III. MAJOR IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

A. Program Stability

The original design of the PPAT program emphasized enrolling teen mothers who were in the ninth grade. The intent was to maximize the length of time an adolescent and her child might participate in PPAT, stressing long-term educational goals. Multiple factors have complicated, however, the goal of building a stable program--factors

related to the program design, the organization of schools, and the circumstances of the lives of many teen mothers.

The original goal of enrolling ninth graders who are teen mothers complicated another goal of the program--to have each parent educator provide service to approximately 30 teen families. Within several months the parent educators discovered that they would have difficulty in reaching these twin objectives in a timely fashion. Simultaneously, they also were finding many teen mothers in tenth and eleventh grades who wanted to participate in the program. In winter 1992, the program was modified to allow enrollment of tenth and eleventh graders, quickly increasing the number of adolescent mothers the parent educators were serving, but creating conditions which shortened the potential period of participation in the program. In order to compensate, parent educators attempted to continue to deliver services to the teens and their children even after they left school. While this was possible with some, in most cases once the teen mother left school it was difficult to maintain her participation in the program.

Factors of school organization have also made it difficult to maintain program stability. In 1991-92 King was over-enrolled. To remedy this situation, the King district boundaries were redrawn for 1992-93. A number of the teen parents enrolled in the program were sent to different schools and the parent educators were unable to continue serving them.

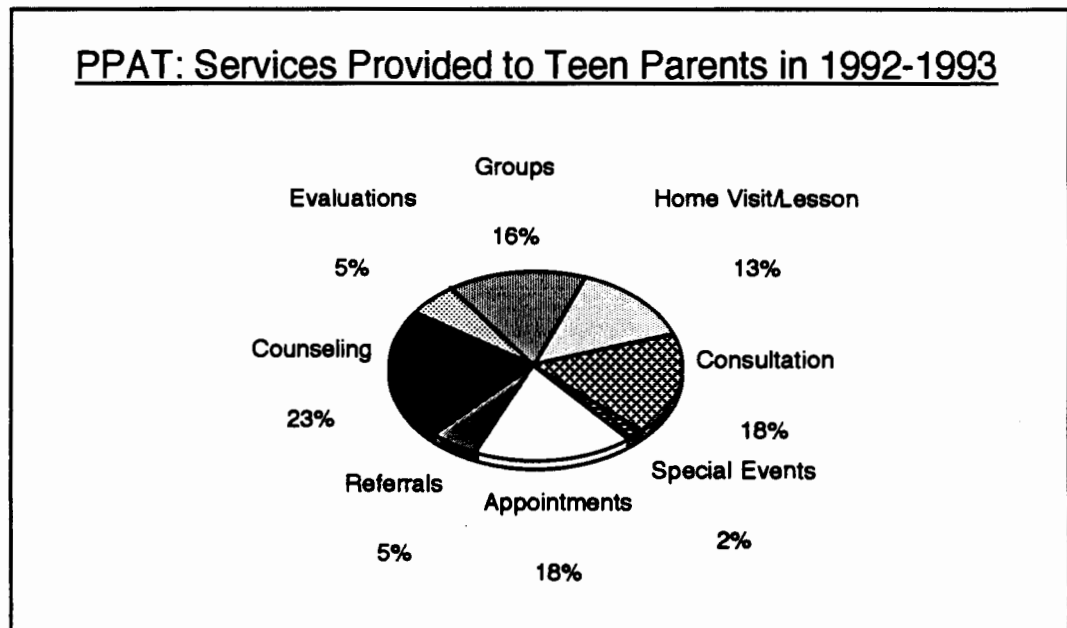
As described in the previous section, the flux in the lives of many teen parents often mitigates against sustained participation in a program like PPAT. High levels of absenteeism and transience greatly complicates sustaining services to them. For example, one parent educator described a teen who was referred to her by the school nurse. The teen was frequently absent (107 days in 1992-93) so the parent educator attempted to contact her through home visits. On three occasions over several months, she went to the address the school had listed as the home of the teen. All three times she was told by a relative that the teen was not at home. Finally, she discovered a new phone number for the teen and found that the teen and her mother had moved; the relatives had been reluctant to tell the new address to someone they did not know.

Lastly, the parent educators have identified the original target population--the youngest teen mothers who are in ninth grade--as those most difficult to maintain in the program. (For an account of these difficulties see the description of Ebony in the previous section under "A Difficult To Serve Teen.")

The vicissitudes of the program, the school, and in the lives of the teen mothers lead to regular turnover in program participants. This means that recruitment and enrollment must be an ongoing activity of the parent educators. When bringing new participants into the program, the parent educators must balance these adolescents' needs against the needs of longer-term participants who are familiar with one another and have built a community together within the context of the program.

B. Delivering Service

Analysis of program documentation shows eight kinds of key activities that parent educators do on behalf of or with teen mothers. The pie chart below illustrates a breakdown of services by service type.



As the chart shows direct activities involving the parent educator and teen mother (counseling, home visits, special events and groups) accounted for over half (54%) of all service provided with counseling accounting for 43% of the direct interactions between teens and parent educators. Consultations and referrals on behalf of teens (with school, day care, parents, health or others) accounted for another significant portion (23%) of total service. The time it takes to arrange home visits and other appointments with the teens is also significant, accounting for another 18% of the activities of the parent educators.

Services are provided to teens in three major contexts: the Center, groups, and home visits. Following is a

description of these contexts and the educational and monitoring components of the program.

The Center: At both King and West Philadelphia there are PPAT Centers. Both Centers have small libraries of children's books and books for teens about health and safety and other issues, and an array of toys for infants and toddlers. Parent educators display posters and pictures of the teens and the children in both locations. These Centers are also office space for the parent educators and have file cabinets, desks, phones and other office materials. Because the Center at King is larger than that at West, there is a supply of children's clothes there provided by the Zeta Phi Beta sorority for the teens to take as needed. Girls come to the Centers for counseling, mini-groups, and occasionally to see the parent educators with their children. The room at King is large enough to accommodate group sessions, but at West groups must be held in a nearby classroom.

The Home Visit: The parent educators also visit teen mothers in their homes. In 1992-93 the parent educators made 174 home visits. Home visits are opportunities for parent educators to provide lessons on child development, to observe the interaction of the teen with her baby, to check that the home environment is safe for a young baby, to relate to the other family members with whom the teen and her baby live, and to monitor the infant's developmental progress. Although visits to the home are the best circumstances in which to accomplish these tasks, in some cases, because of scheduling conflicts or family circumstances it is impossible to go to a teen's home (see February 1992 report). In such instances, the parent educators have adapted the program to fit what is possible to accomplish. They may work with the teen and her baby in the Center, school day care facility, or any other location convenient to the teen and parent educator. In 1992-93 the parent educators arranged 70 personal visits with teens and their babies in locations other than in their homes.

In a shift from 1991-92, home visits have become less problematic. While many of the difficulties in establishing home visits described in earlier reports still exist, as teens are in the program longer, and as they and their families establish a relationship with the parent educator, it becomes easier for the parent educator to schedule and maintain appointments. Nonetheless, parent educators often must negotiate their presence in the midst of busy households and complex family configurations.

When a parent educator makes a home visit typically some or all of the following components occur (see August 1992 report for a full description of a home visit): conversation with the teen (and others if they are present) about any

concerns about the baby they may have; questions asked by the parent educator of the teen and/or others present about the baby which allow her to identify developmental milestones and/or lags and to make those present aware of appropriate developmental behaviors; the introduction of some activities the teen might do with her baby or a discussion of discipline techniques, toilet training, etc.; and direct interaction between the parent educator and the baby. A parent educator typically spends an hour and half at a home visit, and the emphasis of the visit is influenced by the concerns of the teen and/or her family and the kind of relationship the parent educator has been able to establish with the adolescent. One parent educator reported that she finds the most valuable aspect of the home visit the opportunity it gives her to "observe the interaction of the teen with her baby." All the parent educators believe that the home visit is a valuable chance for them to reinforce the importance of language development and the key role caretakers play by talking, listening, singing and reading to their babies.

Parent educators frequently bring with them books which they lend to the teen to read to her baby. The parent educator may also refer to a PAT lesson during the visit, and leave the lesson with the teen, reminding her to read it over to review what to look for as her baby develops and for suggestions of activities she might do with her baby. In a group interview with about a half dozen teens several responded that they value knowing more about their babies and that a chief attraction of the program was their feeling that it would help them help their baby "get ahead."

".. it helps you with your baby. She [the baby] already knows a lot of things that children older than her can't do."

"I want to help my children learn more and I learn how they grow."

In some cases, however, the tasks of the home visit are made complicated by the family's frustration with the teen for becoming pregnant. Again, in group interviews many teen mothers told stories about family members who had rejected them.

"My mother ... makes me feel like I'm nothing."

"I don't worry about my parents. If my parents have a negative point, I don't listen to them. They never tell me I can do it if I try."

"I never see my Dad anymore. My Dad used to give me money and send me cards for Christmas, Valentines Day, Easter, all the time. But I'll put my son in front of my father."

"[My uncle] used to take me out all the time, and give me money for no reason. Now that I have my daughter, my uncle don't want to have anything to do with me."

The parent educator's task of creating a positive bond between the teen and her baby is made all the more difficult by a climate in which the teen herself is experiencing rejection by her family and a general negativity toward her being a mother. In addition, parent educators sometimes find that when they arrive at a home there is an immediate crisis that must be addressed. For instance, if a family or teen is experiencing a housing, work-related, health, school, day care, or emotional crisis, the parent educator might have to address that issue, postponing activities that focus directly on the child.

Groups and mini-groups: In 1992-93, a total of 95 groups and mini-groups were held at the two sites. As described in the August 1992 report, groups and mini-groups serve both an educational and social function.

Group sessions (called from here on groups or group sessions) are regularly scheduled and have a prearranged program. In over half of the group sessions (24), five or more girls participated. The parent educators try to structure these groups around issues that the teens identify as important to them. As social workers they have established contact with a broad range of agencies within the city and often they invite a member of one of these groups to talk to the girls on their area of expertise: nutrition, custody laws, AIDs prevention, how to read a book to a toddler, etc. A group also might involve a project over a course of several weeks, as when an older woman from the community came for several weeks to one of the high schools to instruct the girls in sewing projects. Another format for groups is when the parent educators lead group discussions or activities. One such group conducted by a parent educator, for example, focused on how you know someone loves you. The parent educator explored with the girls a mother's love, a daughter's love, a child's love, and their relationships with their boyfriends.

Scheduling groups can be problematic. At King group sessions have been held weekly at lunch hour. Often, group time is disrupted by girls going in and out to get their lunch or return to classes. During the switch in school administration during 1992-93 group sessions were suspended when a new principal changed the rules about where girls could go during lunchtime. Although within several weeks the parent educator got approval for the girls to continue their groups sessions during lunch, the postponement of group interrupted the flow of activities. The parent educator

believes holding group at lunchtime does not provide her adequate time to do group the way it should be done.

At West, scheduling groups is difficult too. Groups at West take place after school in a classroom nearby the PPAT office. Some girls cannot attend these sessions because they must get home or must pick up their babies at day care centers in their neighborhood. Others, with babies at the day care center at West bring their babies to the group. On occasion, a father or boyfriend might join a mother for the group session.

The parent educators strongly believe that groups should be part of the regular school day and that the girls should receive credit toward graduation for their participation in group sessions. However, they do not want groups to be a typical classroom experience. One parent educator said that when she leads groups or invites an outside speaker, the girls just sit there "like it was another class." After she changed her style to be more interactive, allowing the interests of the girls to determine the direction of the discussion, the teens became much more participatory. Another parent educator said it is important that the group not become a course where the girls are tested on the material and that determines whether they pass or fail. She believes the credit should be connected only to their regular attendance.

Rostering groups represents a radical reconceptualization of the purposes of schooling. Traditionally, schools have been viewed as places which prepare young citizens for responsible participation in two spheres: the civic and economic. Although the majority of students are or will become parents, it has not been considered the purview of schools to prepare students for participation in family life (Fine 1989). Making PPAT an integral rather than an auxiliary part of the school program would be a step to expanding the role of schools to include teaching and learning which better prepares students for their responsibilities as family members.

Mini-group sessions often form spontaneously when two or more girls come to the Center sites and begin to talk together about an issue which concerns them. Mini-groups can be intense discussions in which the girls focus on problems with their relationships, problems in school or questions they have about their children. One parent educator said that she uses these sessions as opportunities to listen carefully to the girls and to learn about their lives. Another parent educator said these sessions often turn into "mini-lessons" on child development. They are ideal situations for teaching and learning because they are intimate contexts in which teens can explore ideas together and parent educators can reinforce positive learning.

Special Events: Recreational group activities have been organized at both program sites. These activities, which usually include the teens and their babies, and sometimes their boyfriends, parents or other family members, are events such as holiday parties, graduation celebrations and picnics. They provide the teens with appropriate peer activity and entertainment, while reinforcing their role as mothers. It is often the teens themselves who plan and organize these events with the support of the parent educators.

From the point of view of the parent educators these events are additional occasions in which PPAT can engage the extended family of the teen. They see these kinds of activities as opportunities for social, non-threatening intergenerational interaction. In a group interview one parent educator expressed the opinion that, "It would be important to start to have some [group activities] without the babies. The mothers and teens don't do a lot of things together." She and the other parent educators believe group recreational activities might help adolescent mothers and their families expand relationships which have become bounded by the fact that the teen has become a mother.

Parent Education: From the beginning, the parent educators have contested the definition of parent education. Within the context of the PAT curriculum parent education is narrowly construed as building knowledge with families about child development. The parent educators, however, believe that many teen mothers face social, emotional and economic crises which are as crucial to their ability to parent as their lack of knowledge about child development. They identify family tensions and day care as issues they believe they must most often provide help with before they can begin lessons on child development.

A broader definition of the program might consider parent education within the social context in which the teen mothers, their children and families live. This contextualization would break down the dichotomy between lessons on child development and social services. In such a contextualized model the boundary between these two domains blurs in ways that encourage parent educators to mold parent education around the social reality of the teens. In this way, building knowledge of child development is shaped by the kinds of families the program serves.

The realities of delivering parent education to teen mothers necessitates a reconsideration of what parent education is in order to make it congruent with the lives of the teens. Parent education needs to take into account the social context of teen mothers and the adolescents' needs for social services as well as for an educational program that

builds knowledge about their children's cognitive, social and emotional development. In addition, parent educators need to shape their educational program around the way in which individual families respond to early childbearing, and to set parent education within the context of multigenerational families.

The Curriculum: The parent educators believe they must mediate between the PAT curriculum with its standardized lessons on child development and the teen population they serve. Although they may be able to use the lessons as a guide and resource, they believe it is the way in which they deliver the lessons that is most important. For example, the curriculum depicts family as the nuclear family of father, mother and child, in which the mother is the primary caretaker. However, the care of the teen's baby is often shared among the adult females in the household, which may include grandmothers, great grandmothers, aunts and/or sisters. In the delivery of lessons on child development, the parent educator must not only try to include other members of the family who provide care, but also be careful not to undercut the beliefs and practices of a grandmother or great grandmother.

Second, the length of the lessons and the vocabulary used in the lessons often make them inappropriate for teens. Many teens are unfamiliar with the concepts and vocabulary of child development. The parent educators often must "translate" the lesson into a language that the teens can understand.

Third, as mentioned in the August 1992 report, although the PAT curriculum is standardized in the form of traditional lessons, the majority of parent education in PPAT occurs through "significant conversations" between the teen, the parent educator and sometimes other members of the teen's family. The parent educators believe that they must begin with the knowledge the teen and her family have about the development of infants and toddlers and build from there. In some cases, the beliefs and practices of families might be in contradiction with the curriculum. For example, the curriculum introduces toilet training at about age two, while many families might be accustomed to beginning toilet training much earlier. There also might be discrepancies between what the curriculum projects as ideal child activities for the child, and the resources of the families, both in terms of time and money.

The parent educators, with the support of the program coordinator and lead parent educator, should review the curriculum, examining it from their own experience and that of the families they serve, for the purpose of adapting it appropriately. It is also important that the parent

educators discuss and develop strategies for how to introduce ideas about children and their development to teens and their families that differ from the beliefs and practices the families might already hold.

Monitoring Babies: The parent educators monitor the developmental progress of infants and toddlers through in-depth conversations with teen mothers and their families, their own observation of the baby, and the Denver Screening. (In 1992-93 the parent educators administered 87 Denver Screenings.) Like all parents, teen mothers want reassurance that their children are developing normally, and parent educators report that the teens enjoy the Denver Screening which shows them concretely how their child is progressing.

In a few instances, the parent educators have been concerned about the development of the babies. In these cases, they have encouraged the teen to consult with a physician or seek other professional help. In some cases, the parent educator has assisted the teen in this effort, helping to make appointments and following through to be sure that the teen makes the visit.

One goal of PAT is to build the capacity of parents to be good observers of their children. This skill can be helpful not only in the early years for detecting developmental lags, but also as the child progresses through adolescence. It can also make the parent a valuable informant to schools as children enter and accommodate to school life. An explicit goal of PPAT might be to train the teens in observing. Staff development might focus on how to teach teens what to look for in young babies and how they can best describe what they see. It might also explore what would be evidence that teens are learning these skills.

C. Embedding PPAT Within the School and Community

The Advisory Committee: Each of the high school programs has Advisory Committees made up of representatives of community agencies and representatives from the two schools in which the program is located. Their purpose is to support the parent educators by providing extra resources to them. For example, one member of the King Advisory Committee provided cold cuts for lunch for girls attending group sessions. At West a member of the Advisory Committee who was also faculty at Community College helped the parent educators identify training opportunities and place students. Although in 1991-92 the two committees met separately, in 1992-93 the structure was altered and the two high school advisories began meeting jointly with the McKinley Advisory Committee every other month. In this way it was hoped that the three Advisory Committees would be able to pool resources in order

to assist the programs in the areas of health, education and training, and fundraising.

As a result of the demanding jobs advisory committee members hold, their ability to work as a group to support PPAT has been limited, although, as pointed out above, some members have found individual ways to assist the program. The ways in which the Advisory Committees can best support the programs, individually and as a group, need to be reconsidered in light of the experience of their first two years. Two criteria for advisory committee activities might be providing direct service to teen mothers, and strengthening links between PPAT and the communities in which they are situated.

Outreach by the Parent Educators: As a result of their social work background and their histories of working with teen parents, the parent educators at both King and West call on a number of agencies throughout the city to provide their group sessions with informational sessions on issues such as nutrition, legal rights of single mothers, CPR for infants, etc. This outreach by parent educators provides yet another link between the program and community organizations.

The connections of the teens and parent educators within their communities can also provide programmatic links between PPAT and the neighborhoods in which they are located. For example, a teen mother who is a participant in PPAT was invited by her medical provider, who also runs programs for teen mothers, to be one of two participants in a discussion about being a teen mother with fifth graders at an area school. Her parent educator helped her prepare for this event and accompanied her when she went to the class.

The connections of the teens and the parent educators within the local community can be a resource to PPAT. These naturally occurring connections can strengthen linkages between PPAT and the communities in which they are located.

The School District and the School Setting: Throughout 1992-93 an Advisory Council met monthly. This Council provided the School District opportunities to discuss with other program collaborators both programmatic and financial issues.

Although situated in high schools, both programs are administered by CSSAP. The connection between the programs and CSSAP has provided additional resources to each site. The parent educators can draw on the experience and knowledge of others at CSSAP to assist them. Furthermore, combining staff development means that parent educators assigned to high schools are not isolated, but can turn to one another to figure out how to solve problems in both the area of service

delivery and in connecting with the schools in which they are located.

While the connection of the parent educators with CSSAP is historical, strong and rooted in the common objective of providing support to pregnant and parenting teens, their connection to the local school is tenuous and dependent on local administrators. Both schools have gone through administrative upheaval in 1992-93. Both have had interim principals. As a result of these administrative shifts the parent educators found that the continuity of their program was disrupted and that they needed to renegotiate some previously resolved issues.

Visibility of the program in the schools has been an issue since the beginning. At West, the parent educators have been able to announce their presence through leaflets in faculty mailboxes, and they have been able to network with some faculty and other key school personnel, for existence the day care staff, the nurse and the person in charge of rostering students. To a limited extent, they have collaborated with a home economics teacher who teaches a course on parenting. Still, they are not integrated into the local school processes and believe their services are welcome as long as they don't interfere with other school priorities.

At King, the parent educator believes she is invisible to the broader school community, although she too is in touch with a small number of school staff. The nurse at King tracks pregnant students and refers them to the PPAT program. The parent educator is in regular contact with the day care staff. In addition, there are a small number of teachers who consult with her about their students who are pregnant and parenting. For at least one of these teachers the close cooperation has been rewarding because "between the two of us we were able to keep my student on track. She had the support she needed in school, although it was not carried through at home."

In an interview with the researchers in the spring of 1993 the new principal of King expressed a desire to integrate the parent educator into the broader school community and to make the program visible. This principal is a strong advocate of school-basing health and other support services and believes that having the parent educator participate in the student support team would be a step toward a more efficient case management approach to delivery of services by the school. If the parent educator were to participate in faculty meetings and school improvement days, the principal not only believes that the faculty would learn what the program offers, but also that the PPAT program would begin to be integrated into the school's processes and planning, and become one of its integral services for students.

In the first two years both programs have made connections within their schools. The program coordinator has met with the principals and parent educators have networked informally. The connections between PPAT and the school have been with some teachers and those school support staff with whom adolescent mothers most frequently interact: nurses, day care staff, etc.

The new principal of King (now gone) provided a framework for shifting PPAT-school linkages from an informal to a more formal basis by integrating the parent educators into existing school structures that provide health and social services to the student body. Her framework is connected to a vision of school-based services as supports which enable students to be more successful. PPAT program planners and parent educators might consider her framework and the ways in which they would like to take initiatives in order to move forward in establishing PPAT more firmly within the schools where they are located.

Situating PPAT in schools brings the parent educators in closer proximity with the school life of teen mothers which enables the parent educators to better coach students and to regularly reinforce the importance of earning a diploma for their future and the future of their children. In interviews students have talked about the importance the parent educators put on earning a diploma and the positive model their lives set for them.

[The parent educator] helps me with lots of things, like school credit.

When I wanted to drop-out and go to a GED [the parent educator] pointed out the difference between a GED and a high school diploma.

[The parent educator] stresses that education is important. I kiss as much butt as I can to get an A and go to nursing school. Other girls get mad, I was thinking I would go to night school and get my GED, but I want to walk down the aisle and have a prom. That's why I stay in.

Their attitudes are consistent with changes which have taken place in graduation rates for teen mothers. The literature indicates that teens giving birth to their first child when they were 17 or younger, although still the group least likely to graduate from high school, are also the group with the greatest gains in their graduation rate. African-American teen mothers are more likely to graduate than their white or Hispanic counterparts (Upchurch and McCarthy 1989).

Although the majority of the teen mothers in the program are staying in school and many articulate a commitment to graduate, they are still having difficulty accumulating credits towards graduation (see section on Program Participants). While the parent educators support them through encouragement, they have not been able to overcome the problems many of the teens have in engaging in teaching and learning processes. Lack of engagement is especially acute for the youngest participants in the program. (This is also consistent with the literature which indicates that the younger women are when their first child is born, the less likely they are to graduate [Upchurch and McCarthy, 1989]). The February 1992 report showed that difficulties with school often pre dates pregnancy--even before becoming a parent, many of the students were overage for grade.

Multiple constituencies, school officials, teachers, PPAT staff and program planners, need to consider the school performance of pregnant and parenting teens. The continuing presence of teen mothers in school is a great accomplishment. The next step, however, must be to consider what all the interested parties can do to increase the teens engagement in the learning process and to help the pregnant and parenting teens accomplish their goal of earning a diploma.

D. Supporting the Work of the Parent Educators

Staffing: Both Centers are staffed by social workers who have been trained as parent educators. In 1992-93 the level of two staff was maintained at West, but as a result of budget reductions, only one full time social worker/parent educator was at King. She was assisted for part of the year by a student social work intern. The parent educators are supported by a lead parent educator, whose background is in early childhood education, and the program director, who is also the director of Comprehensive Services for School Age Parents (CSSAP). The lead parent educator and program director are based at CSSAP.

The social workers at both sites bring a history of working with pregnant and parenting teens to their role as parent educators. They are familiar with the social and emotional issues teen mothers face, and with the realities of multigenerational families, the family configuration in which the majority of teen mothers live with their babies. In addition, their social work background has provided them with skills to work directly with clients and knowledge about how to help clients access resources. In keeping with their background as social workers, they believe that their first and most important task is to establish "rapport" with the teen and her extended family.

Staff Development: In 1991-92 the social workers were trained as parent educators through certification procedures developed by the Pennsylvania Department of Education. In 1992-93 they continued to participate in periodic training sessions provided by the Department of Education, a requirement to maintaining their certification. In addition, the social workers, along with parent educators from a variety of other School District programs, participated in staff development sessions at CSSAP led by the lead parent educator. These sessions, which were weekly all fall and early winter, were disrupted in late winter when the lead parent educator was injured and could not return to work. At that time, the Program Coordinator took over the staff development sessions, which continued but on a less regular basis.

Staff development time frequently is used to allow parent educators from the variety of School District programs to report on what is happening at his/her site. In addition, there are presentations on topics of special interest, for example, on how to give the Denver Screening, on correct use of smoke detectors, etc. The time is also valuable for making logistical arrangements and sharing other information important to all the sites.

Drawing on the social work background of the parent educators at the two high school centers can strengthen PPAT by utilizing their capacity to contextualize the delivery of parent education within the social and cultural environment of the teens and their extended families. Staff development could be an opportunity for the parent educators to reflect on their knowledge about teen parents in order to adapt PPAT in ways which are appropriate to African-American teen mothers and their families.

Documentation: Program documentation is designed to provide parent educators with a running history of their interaction with the teens, to allow program planners to monitor service delivery, and to provide the research evaluators with demographic information, information on the range of services delivered, and the intensity of service activity. Documentation forms for following the history of services to particular teens and their children has come from the national PAT program, enrollment forms and service/activity logs have been locally designed.

Parent educators find the amount of documentation burdensome and often repetitive. They believe that some of the information they are required to gather is overwhelming to new enrollees and may discourage their participation. Review of documentation procedures and processes has occurred on several occasions and adjustments have been made to documentation processes and procedures. As understandings of

the program evolve, however, documentation must continue to be reviewed and revised.

The Parent Questionnaire, required by the National PAT Institute, is a survey instrument which examines knowledge and attitude of parents about early child development. Ideally, the survey is administered when a parent enters the program, and 36 months later when the parent exits. The survey has been administered by the PPAT parent educators to teen mothers as they have entered the program. Because they often do not know when a teen might leave the program it was administered again in Spring 1993, 24 months into the program. Twenty-two teen mothers completed the survey at 24 months.

The parent educators have commented on the language and length of the survey and their belief that it is inappropriate for the teen population they serve. In addition, in conversation with the National PAT Institute, the research evaluators discovered that the instrument was not proving useful in their recent experience with minority populations and they were discontinuing its use. In a similar fashion, our analysis of the pre and post surveys indicated wide inconsistencies in the responses.

The current Parent Questionnaire is probably not a reliable instrument for measuring the knowledge and attitudes of teen parents toward issues of child development. Although it is not useful as a pre and post survey instrument, however, it should be up to the parent educators to decide whether to continue using it as a pre-test. While some parent educators regard it as a burdensome documentation requirement, others find it a useful initial assessment of what the teen mother knows about child development. In the meantime, program planners and research evaluators should try to identify another survey instrument which is more appropriate to the families the program serves, in order to try to gain an overall picture of the ways in which attitudes and knowledge change as teens participate in PPAT.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Considering the Goals of PPAT

1. Parent educators and program planners must continue to review both the explicit and implicit goals of PPAT and their effect on the ability of parent educators to establish and maintain rapport with adolescent mothers. PPAT staff are aware that some of the program's goals are problematic, such as the postponement of second and third pregnancies. All levels of staff need to continue to give careful consideration to issues such as this one and how they can be presented to avoid alienation of teen mothers and to continue to nurture positive parenting behaviors.

B. Reaching out to New Recruits and Maintaining Those who are Difficult to Serve

2. Recruitment and enrollment must be an ongoing activity of the parent educators. Constantly bringing in new teen mothers, however, places a special burden on the parent educators who must find ways to balance the needs of longer-term participants with those of teen mothers less familiar with one another and PPAT. PPAT staff might consider strategies which involve longer-term participants in this activity by involving them in orienting new participants and, where appropriate, doing peer counseling.

3. Maintaining teens in a program like PPAT can be difficult for a variety of reasons. Parent educators have identified the youngest teen mothers as among those most difficult to maintain. Program planners and parent educators should consider strategies for providing additional support to those most difficult to serve, including the youngest participants. In a program in New York, a support system coupling community women to pregnant and parenting teens was developed (Polit, et al, 1988). This might be one strategy for providing extra supports to the population most difficult to serve.

C. Adapting Parenting Education and the PAT Curriculum to Meet the Needs of Adolescent Mothers

4. Parenting education must be congruent with the lives of adolescent mothers. PPAT staff at all levels need to continue to discuss how to adapt the current PAT model of parenting education to fit the cultural, social and emotional realities of the African-American adolescent mother population the program serves. In addition, all PPAT staff need to continue to review the PAT curriculum for the purpose of revising it to be appropriate, in language and content, for adolescent mothers.

5. Building knowledge about child development with adolescent mothers must be done in the context of the multigenerational families in which they live. In almost every family the baby has multiple caretakers. PPAT staff need to continue to consider strategies for including the baby's multiple caretakers in parenting education sessions. In addition, parent educators should continue to consider how they can best introduce ideas about young children and their development which vary from the traditional beliefs of the families they are serving, thus broadening the repertoire of parenting behaviors with which the adolescent and other caregivers are familiar.

6. PPAT staff should continue to explore methods for building the capacity of teen parents to be good observers of their infants and toddlers. This capacity is not only invaluable for detecting developmental lags in babies, but also can make a parent a valuable informant to teachers when their child first enters school and as the child accommodates to school. PPAT staff should discuss and develop evidence for assessing whether teens are learning to be good observers of their children.

D. Embedding PPAT Within Communities and Schools

7. PPAT staff at all levels should consider ways to build firmer linkages between PPAT and the communities in which the programs are situated. Firmer linkages might provide greater access for teens to available services as well as make the issues of adolescent mothers more visible. The Advisory Committees might be one source for creating stronger community ties, but exploiting the connections teens and parent educators already have within their neighborhoods --with clinics, churches, day care centers, etc.--might be yet another way to strengthen these linkages.

8. In its first two years, PPAT administrators have established contact with school principals and the parent educators have developed informal networks within their schools. A next step might be to make the linkages between PPAT and the schools in which they are located more formal. Principals, PPAT administrators and the parent educators might consider ways to coordinate PPAT with the existing school services that support students. Such coordination might provide the parent educators with additional resources for meeting the needs of the teen mothers and might provide the teen mothers with more comprehensive support.

9. It is important that PPAT administrators and the principals of King and West continue to work toward rostering groups into the school day. Such a step would

encourage the participation of teens in PPAT activities, making it easier for them to attend group sessions, and would provide adequate time for parent educators to cover the curriculum. Including PPAT in the school day could signify an expanded vision of the purposes of schooling, to include preparing young people to assume family as well as civic and economic responsibilities.

10. Although many adolescent mothers are staying in school, many of them are still having difficulty earning credits toward graduation. Multiple constituencies, including school administrators, teachers and PPAT staff and administrators need to consider what can be done to increase the engagement of adolescent mothers with teaching and learning processes.

E. Supporting the Work of the Parent Educators

11. The job of the parent educator is difficult and complex. Parent educators should be encouraged to bring all their resources and experiences, as social workers, mothers and fathers, parent educators, and members of the African-American community, to the effort to reach out to adolescent mothers and support them as mothers and as students. Staff development sessions should be a place where the parent educators share, problem solve and get support. Staff development sessions ought to include opportunities for parent educators to reflect on their knowledge of teen mothers and on ways to adapt the PAT curriculum to be appropriate to the African-American teen mothers and their families they serve.

12. Review of documentation needs to be done periodically as understandings of service delivery evolves. It is especially important that the coding system for services and activities on the activity/service log reflect the understandings of the parent educators. It is also important that the parent educators at each of the sites use similar codes for similar events and activities.

13. The current parent questionnaire on parenting attitudes and knowledge required by the National Institute of PAT did not prove useful as a research tool. Its use should be continued only in cases where parent educators believe it would be helpful for assessing new teens joining the program.

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