Family Temporal Organization and Children's Affect Regulation: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study of First Generation Dominican Families

by

Alba Cabral, M.A.

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York

2007

UMI Number: 3283590

Copyright 2007 by
Cabral, Alba

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 3283590
Copyright 2007 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2007

ALBA CABRAL

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Peter Fraenkel, Ph.D.

Date — Chair of Examining Committee

Joseph Glick, Ph.D.

Date — Executive Officer

Paul Wachtel, Ph.D.

Steve Tuber, Ph.D.

Jackie Gotthold, Psy.D.

Mary Kim_Brewster, Ph.D

Supervision Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Family Temporal Organization and Children's Affect Regulation: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study of First Generation Dominican Families

By

Alba Cabral, M.A.

Adviser: Peter Fraenkel, Ph.D.

This study examined the hypothesis that temporal organization of family life is associated with children's affect regulation in first generation Dominican families. Eighteen families with children between ages one and half and five participated in this study, completing questionnaires about family time and routines, children's affect regulation, and child behavior problems. The families participated in interviews that inquired into family routines, family time and children's affect regulation according to the parent. Four of these families were selected for qualitative analysis of themes that illuminated the hypotheses tested. Correlational analysis confirmed the main hypothesis tested, namely, the existence of a relationship between family temporal organization and children's affect regulation. The results also showed general level of child problem behavior to be related to

both temporal organization and to a measure that examined inappropriate regulation of emotion and emotional lability. This confirmed the hypothesis that temporal regulation at home may relate to a child's overall behavioral problems and that a child's ability to regulate emotions may be a factor in a child's general level of problem behavior. No relationship was found between family routines and a measure that assessed parenting behavior geared toward encouraging affect regulation by the child. Qualitative analysis proposed that child affect regulation may be linked to family temporal patterns that are both structured and flexible. The findings of this study suggest that the establishment of predictable day-to-day routines which allow space for some flexibility in the meaning of family time as a series of unpredictable instances to value togetherness, may be essential in supporting their own children's ability to regulate their emotional lives. Additionally, a parent's ability to focus on details of family schedules and child affective states may explain part of the connection between affect regulation and temporal organization. Clinical Implications of these findings are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude and respect to the families that participated in the Immigration to Work Project through The Columbia University Head Start and Early Head Start Programs. I am grateful to them for opening their remarkable life stories to me. I wish them the very best in their struggle for a better life.

Thanks to my committee members for their help in completing this dissertation. I am especially thankful to Dr. Peter Fraenkel for his care, support and dedication throughout the completion of my training. His insight and faith in me contributed to my growth as a psychologist and as a human being.

I am also thankful to Dr. Celia Falicov for her time and wisdom in discussing the results of this dissertation.

I am especially indebted to three smart and very hard working women: Dr. Letisha Marrero, Leticia Pérez and Laura Díaz, who made the completion of this dissertation a reality. *Mujeres*, your sense of humor, sensibility and intelligence made this journey an enjoyable and memorable one.

I would also like to thank Dr. Carmen Rodríguez, Ms. María Guzmán and to all the staff at Columbia University Head Start and Early Head Start for their collaboration and support in this project.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my dearest friend Samantha DeCouto, a very special person in my life. Sam, your spirit, optimism and clarity of mind has taught me not only the importance of having dreams but of not being afraid of making them a reality.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Juan and Gloria, and to my brothers, Fabio and Iván, for their unconditional support and faith in me during this long and arduous path. No words can describe how grateful I feel to have them in my life and for believing in each one of my dreams. Los quiero mucho!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Over the last decade, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of Dominicans residing in the New York City metropolitan area. Although they are expected to become the largest Hispanic group in New York City during the course of this decade (Navarro, 2000), the literature concerning mental health issues in Dominicans is scarce. This population faces the many psychosocial stressors involved in immigration such as the separation between members of the nuclear and extended family (Zuniga, 2002), the loss of the country of origin, an unsteady financial situation, low level of educational attainment, precarious living conditions (often in poorer neighborhoods that are filled with violence and drugs) and often have limited social supports in place. In addition, Dominicans who migrate to New York City struggle with the difficulties of raising their children within values of two cultures and within the time and work schedule demands of the host society. The presence of all these stressors may interfere with the psychological well being of immigrant children, including the healthy development of affect regulatory skills (Walsh, 1998).

The present study evolved from my interest in

exploring how the quality of family life among Dominican immigrants bears a relationship to the development of their children's emotional development. How does the environment that these children live in, including family members' inner worlds as well as their routines, influence children's internal lives? The broader question posed is whether the child's emotional life is influenced by the rhythms, flow, and pace of daily family life. In other words, how do the temporal patterns of daily life in the family influence the quality and intensity of children's emotions and their ability to control the quality and intensity of their emotions? A central purpose of this study is to focus on the lives of poor immigrant families, not only because these families are often neglected in psychological research, but also because their resiliency has so much to teach us about how adversity influences families' functioning and children's emotional experiences.

This study was informed by Dr. Skye Wilson's (2001) pioneer investigation on the relationship between family temporal organization and affect regulation in children. She examined this relationship in families living in a New York City homeless shelter. In the current study, I am interested in examining the relationship between these

variables in a group of first generation Dominican families living in Washington Heights, Manhattan. Quantitative analysis of Wilson's (2001) data showed a significant correlation between parent's reports of regularity of family routines and parent's report of child affect regulation. In addition, the qualitative results suggested that the link between these variables may be provided by a parent's focus on detail, both in terms of schedules and in terms of child affective states, along with a belief in flexible, but regular, family time. Utilizing a modified version of Wilson's (2001) research methodology, I plan to determine whether a similar relationship between family routines and child affect regulation sustains in a sample of Dominican immigrants. More broadly, this investigation should contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between the patterns and quality of family life and the emotional well being of children. The findings of this investigation are also expected to provide additional jumping-off points for further work that explores these empirical relationships in other populations.

Overview and Significance of the Study

Through providing an integration of psychoanalytic and family systems theories, this study draws together two

characteristics of a family's functioning in a format that has never been examined before among Hispanics. It investigates the organization of family time and how this organization relates to the emotional functioning of the family's children.

Immigration offers a unique perspective from which to examine the relationships between family time and child emotional functioning. With all the stressors involved in the immigration process, including separation from family members, limited physical living space, difficulties getting a job because of language barriers and the stress of adjusting to the time demands of the host society, these families may need to depend even more on the margins of a regular schedule and family routine to establish a sense of regularity and predictability in their world. The daily structure of a schedule can create a sense of predictability of activities, which may partially make up for the absence of the consistent, safe, and familiar temporal structure provided in the past by the culture and community of the country of origin. In addition, regular temporal routines, particularly when they insure regular, daily periods of parent-child communication, may provide the necessary opportunities for children to develop affect regulatory skills (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target,

2002). If temporal organization is found related to child affect regulation among Dominican families, this might argue for the creation of a family temporal intervention that would contribute to the positive emotional development of children in this and other immigrant populations. Thus, encouraging families to develop clear, regular activities for their children may be a coping mechanism clinicians encourage in underprivileged families struggling with emotion regulation.

In recent years, time and affect regulation have become two central areas of discourse and research within the social sciences. However, there has been little study of the relationship between these two core aspects of life. Even though sociologists (Daly, 1996; Hochschild, 1997; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Levine, 1997; McGrath & Kelly, 1986; Schor, 1991) have examined the way time influences the family, little attention has been devoted to understanding the specific role of time in determining the emotional life of the family, and it's members (Fraenkel & Wilson, 2000). In addition, although affect regulation is increasingly understood as a vital aspect of psychological health (Greenspan & Pine, 1998), there are few studies exploring how features of family life, including temporal patterns in families, may contribute positively or

negatively to the healthy development of children's emotions (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1998).

Furthermore, very few descriptive data have been collected on the diverse rearing environments that children encounter in the United States, as most research has involved children from middle-class families with Euro-American backgrounds. Since many subpopulations live in the United States, it is essential to explore differences in the amount and regularity of time children spend with their mothers, fathers and others, as well as other differences in their everyday experiences (Leyendecker, Lamb & Scholmerich, 1995). Essentially, very limited research has investigated the quality of family life in poor, "ethnic" families. Wilson's (2001) study is among the few groundbreaking investigations examining this topic in unprivileged families. The present study is intended to contribute to the clinical psychology research literature on Dominican families, which is among the least studied Hispanic populations.

The Welfare-to-Work Legislation Frame

Although the present study does not focus on welfare-to-work issues, one of the premises driving the larger study from which the data are drawn is that family's time regulation and children's affect regulation are two

variables that may influence welfare-dependent parents' capacity to maintain a job (Wilson, 2001). This hypothesis argues that regular routines at home will facilitate and support the parent's ability to go to work by creating regular patterns of time together and time apart, regular wake-up times, mealtimes, and bedtimes, as well as predictable patterns of household management. In contrast, when such routines do not exist, the often-conflict ridden negotiations about these daily events and responsibilities, absorbs much parental and child energy. It depletes parents and reduced their capacity to focus on maintaining employment. Additionally, it is hypothesized that to the extent that these regular daily routines contribute to a child's ability to successfully regulate affect at a home and at a school, these temporal patterns play a vital role in a parent's being able to focus successfully on a job, rather than on their children's emotional and behavioral difficulties. For instance, Wilson (2001) suggested that behavior related to dysregulated emotions in the child is likely to hinder a parent's ability to work by forcing the parent to react to recurrent phone calls and requests for meetings from the school because of child misbehavior or emotional difficulties.

Furthermore, the relationship between temporal

dysregulation and affect dysregulation may form a mutually reinforcing vicious cycle (Wachtel, 1977, 1993), each exacerbating the other, which could significally interfere with a parent successfully obtaining and maintaining a job. It could also decrease the potential for positive and transformative experiences, as a vicious cycle comes into place and deteriorates the overall conditions in the family (Wachtel, 1977, 1993). Devoting close empirical attention to the impact of this cycle of temporal-emotional dysregulation may provide a useful point of intervention.

Applied Clinical Aspects of This Research

The existence of a reliable correlation between the rhythm of family life and children's emotion regulation abilities in Dominican families could offer a clinical intervention for evaluating the quality of the parenting environment present in a family. The qualitative findings of this study could provide the basis for creation of culturally sensitive and minimally intrusive clinical tools to help Hispanic immigrant families in their adjustment to life in the United States. Wilson (2001) argues that an assessment of family time and routines can be perceived as a more "objective," less potentially hypercritical approach to parents than directly inquiring about their parenting practices. It can serve as point of entry for discussion

of what is often a sensitive area for families – the relationship between their parenting practices and their children's emotional functioning. Family temporal organization can be understood as a form of what Fraenkel (1998)[1] refers to as a "marker variable" of affect regulation. Focusing on changing family temporal routines provides a concrete intervention to initiate change.

Findings from this investigation may also contribute to the creation of preventive, psychoeducational interventions for immigrant, Hispanic families adjusting to life in the U.S. These interventions could be utilized as a component of community-based programs for Hispanic families needing help in the transition from immigration to work. For instance, interventions might be designed to make informed changes to the typical days of families that have particularly chaotic environments. Ideally, these interventions would enable families to establish greater predictability, resulting in their children's increased ability to modulate their emotions.

Review of the Literature Part 2

The following summarizes relevant literature that informs this dissertation. The first section reviews research about time and its relationship to family life,

[1] Wilson personal conversation with Fraenkel, September 15, 1998.

including an overview of literature on family life and organization among Dominican and other Hispanic families. Next, I explore theory and research on affect regulation. I then discuss the theoretical basis for the intersection of family time and affect regulation. An overview of the Dominican culture, the Dominican socio-economic situation in the U.S., and history of migration to the United States follows. Finally, to elaborate the larger context of the questions examined in this dissertation I examine the literature on Dominican's mental health and the impact of migration on this population.

Time and the Family

The Time Famine and the Current Discourse about the Family and Time

In the midst of increasing working hours, less leisure time and technological changes that blur the boundaries between home and work, frantic families have become the norm in American society. Family time is, perhaps, the most visible victim of overwork in America. The family time famine (Daly, 1996) has been described as "the unacknowledged elephant in America's family room," (Burger, 2004 in press release[2]). American public policies protecting

[2] Burger is the national staff person of the Take Back Your Time campaign. www.timeday.org

our family and personal time come to nothing in contrast to those in other countries. A recent study released by the Harvard School of Public Health (cited by Doherty & Carlson, 2003), covering 168 of the world's nations concluded that: "the United States lags dramatically behind all high-income countries, as well as many middle- and low-income countries when it comes to public policies designed to guarantee adequate working conditions for families." The study found that 163 of 168 countries guarantee paid leave for mothers in connection with childbirth, 45 countries offer such leave to fathers, and 139 countries guarantee paid sick leave: the U.S. does not partake in any of these practices. In addition, 37 countries guarantee parents paid time off when children are sick: the U.S. does not. According to Graaf[3] (2003) "Every other industrial country takes the need for time to care seriously" (pp.1). For instance, Canada recently passed a law guaranteeing a year of paid parental leave at partial pay when children are born. England's legislative system guarantees parents access to flexible work hours and shortened workdays. To put this all into perspective, Americans are working nine full weeks more each year than Europeans do.

[3] Graaf is the national coordinator of the Take Back Your Time coalition.

Over the past years, different researchers and health practitioners around the country developed organizations, conferences and books to discuss the impact of the loss of family time on the family's well being. *Putting Family First* (Doherty & Carlson, 2003), *Take Back your Time* (Graaf, Ed., 2003) and *Families & Time: Keeping Pace in a Hurried Culture* (Daly, 1996) are among the major scholarly contributions to this discussion of time's impact in the family.

Early attempts to discuss the issue of time and family centered on issues of quantity – in essence how little time family members seem to have for each other and for themselves. For instance, the common stereotype is of parents feeling desperate to find more time to share with their children while each morning screaming at their children to rush so as not to make the parents late to work (Daly, 1996). Some scholars refer to this as people feeling "time poor" (Daly, 1996; Galinsky, 1996; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Schor, 1991), especially as two-career couples have become more common, and people are experiencing an overall "speed up of work and family life" resulting in a feeling of tremendous strain at home (Hochschild & Machung, 1989, p. 9). Schor (1991) found that since the early 1970's there has been a one third

decrease in leisure time enjoyed by Americans and that the average employed individual is on the job an additional 163 hours a year, which is the equivalent of an extra month of work. The most palpable change has been in women's lives; women are working the equivalent of 7.5 more weeks per year, while men's work schedules increased the equivalent of 2.5 weeks per year.

Since there is a limited quantity of time during a day, other aspects of life are condensed to make up for the time spent at work, including time spent with children. Researchers found that between 1960 and 1986, the time parents could spend with their children dropped ten hours a week for Caucasians and twelve hours a week for African-American (Fuchs as cited in Hochschild, 1997, and Schor, 1991). Nowadays, children are more frequently left alone, with up to one third of children caring for themselves while their parents work (Schor, 1991). Women in two-career couples tend to carry much of the responsibilities of work at home on top of their full-time jobs, mainly taking responsibility for "the second shift" while their husbands have more leisure time and get more sleep than they do (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

This loss of family time in American society has come upon us at an incredible pace. This change in American

family life is profound and wide, affecting people across all income and ethnic groups in the population. However, most of the writing concerning the loss of family time has been focused on middle-class, two parents, two-career families who are overwhelmed by emails and cell phone calls burdening their home life (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). Although the very poor lack some of the same resources that result in middle class families being overscheduled, they are also confronted with challenges in finding time to connect as a family. Poor families are affected by the extensive changes in the labor market resulting from technological and economic shifts, such as the large increase in low-paying service jobs catering to a twenty-four-hour society without a parallel increase in support systems like health insurance and child care (Chavez-Thompson, 1999; Seccombe, 2000; White & Rogers, 2001). Thus, the time famine and the perceived acceleration of time affect families of different socioeconomic levels for different reasons. There is a need for research that can illuminate our understanding of the impact of the loss of family time, not only in families of low socio economic status, but also in families of different ethnic groups.

The Meaning of Time in Evaluating Family Life

The scholarly writings on the meaning of family time

and family temporal structure are limited, in contrast to the literature on the quantification of family time. Daly (1996) suggests that in the family literature there is a noticeable emphasis on documenting the changes in the numbers of hours that family members spend together during different activities, while there is less of an interest in understanding the experienced significance of time for families.

Scholars writing about the qualitative aspects of family time have focused on theory-based explanations of temporal variations between families. According to writers, such as Fraenkel (1994, 2003), Kantor and Lehr (1975) and Reiss (1981), the way families utilize their time exposes underlying dynamics of their relationships. The balance of time at work versus time at home, time together versus time apart and time for shared activities versus time for individual interests, are among the patterns that reveal aspects of family dynamics (Fraenkel, 1994, 2003). Kantor and Lehr (1975) further argue that "in a very immediate sense, the way in which the family clocks its movements [regulate daily cycles of time] determines its members' access to affect, power, and meaning… it is no overstatement to suggest that family's clocking patterns operationally reveal what the family considers most

important" (pp. 85-86). In other words, these writers suggest that daily temporal cycles offer a compelling point of entry into family dynamics, which include hierarchical structure, power relations, the type of affect shared between family members, the quality of attachment, and the level of closeness allowed among members.

Overview of Research on Family Temporal Organization

Empirical research on family time and family functioning has increased in the last two decades. In 1986, Ausloos published the findings of an early study looking at the experience of time in two types of poorly functioning families. He concluded that in families characterized by rigid family values, boundaries with the outside world were impermeable and there was almost no experience of change in the family. Ausloos described time as "arrested" in these families. In contrast, in families with chaotic interactions, in which boundaries with the outside world were open and there was an absence of stable rules, observers noted constant temporal changes, with no apparent effects on the family interaction style (Ausloos as cited by Wilson, 2001). For these families, time moved to the rhythm of constantly-occurring events, and they also appeared to experience it as unpredictable and arbitrary. Finally, it was that since neither of these family types

could use information effectively from outside itself, neither could change its poor functioning. Thus, the patterning and experience of time may be a clinical indicator of the type and degree of dysfunction affecting particular families.

Moreover, in his clinical observation and pilot research, Fraenkel (1994, 2002) hypothesized that distressed couples are more likely to have difficulties than non-distressed ones in the temporal patterns of their relationships, revealing underlying struggles around closeness and power. He also argued that marital distress or satisfaction is not reflected in any one definite group of temporal patterns. Instead, Fraenkel suggests that the degree of satisfaction is linked to partners' understanding of the meaning of the temporal patterns in their relationship and how similar their understanding of that meaning is. For example, a couple in which both partners prefer to expend weekends catching up on house tasks and family duties and seeing each other in the evening, and are able to do so, are more likely to be satisfied with the marriage than a couple in which one partner would like to spend the day with the other partner, who instead views weekends as time to spend with extended family and close friends (Fraenkel, 1999; Wilson, 2001).

Family Time and Routines

Academic researchers are beginning to explore the effects of over-scheduled family lives on child development. A national survey conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center (2003), found that since the late 1970s, there has been a remarkable change in children's schedules and activities. Children have lost twelve hours per week in free time, including a 25 percent drop in play and a 50 percent drop in unstructured outdoor activities (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). During the same time period, the time dedicated to structured sports doubled and "passive, spectator leisure" (i.e. watching others play and perform, but not including television) increased from 30 minutes to over three hours per week. This indicates that children are spending a greater amount of time in supervised sports and as passive observers than constructing their own play activities (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). The problem does not only rest on the fact that children are busier, but to a great extent highlights the fact that families spend less time together because parents today are working more than ever. Based on the Michigan Survey, household conversations between parents and children (i.e. time for just talking) have dropped nearly off the radar screen, and there has been a 28 percent

decline in the number of families taking vacations (Doherty & Carlson, 2003).

Other national surveys have found a one-third decline in the number of families who say they eat dinner together regularly (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). The University of Michigan study found that time eating as a family was a considerably stronger factor in young children's academic success and psychological well-being than the time spent at school, doing homework, or participating in sports, religious activities, and arts. A large national study of American teenagers found a strong link between regular family meals[4] and a broad range of positive outcomes: academic success, psychological adjustment, and lower rates of drug use, alcohol use, early sexual behavior and suicidal risk (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). In a national poll of teenagers, funded by the White House in the spring of 2000, it was found that over one-fifth of the children sampled rated "not having enough time with parents" as their top concern. This percentage was tied for first (along with education) on their list of concerns (Doherty & Carlson, 2003).

A number of studies about temporal organization of

[4] This study defined family meal as one in which the teenager ate with at least one parent.

family life have concentrated specifically on family routines --the focus of the present study. As a whole, flexibility and regularity in routines have been found to promote healthy family functioning (Henry & Lovelace, 1995). McCubbin, Thompson, Pirner & McCubbin (1988) found significantly greater strength of bonding, flexibility, hardiness and coherence in parents who reported that their families had predictable activities and routines, and who valued these experiences as providing purpose, meaning, regularity and predictability to togetherness. These families were referred to as "rhythmic families" (McCubbin et al., 1996). In addition, rhythmic families had a significant association with family satisfaction, marital satisfaction, and child development satisfaction, factors which were viewed as indicative of greater family adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1988). Furthermore, it has been argued that regularity in daily family routines allows families both to create a sense of continuity and decrease the number of decisions that must be made in terms of routine matters, greatly facilitating daily life (Broderick, 1990; Wilson, 2001). In turn, decreasing the number of daily temporal decisions -- around the times for meals, homework, bed, and the like -- results in decreased opportunity for parent-child conflict and the resultant

emotional distress.

The positive effects of predictable, regular family routines have also been identified for individual family members. Henry and Lovelace (1995) found that adolescents in remarried households who experienced regularity in family time and routines had significantly higher levels of satisfaction with the new household. In addition, predominantly white, middle-class and upper middle-class families with higher levels of meaningful routines and rituals felt their families were well-functioning, loving and dependable (Henry & Lovelace, 1995). Higher levels of self-esteem and identity integration were observed in adolescents belonging to those families (Fiese, 1992; Fiese & Kline, 1993). Distinct family rituals have also been found to provide protection to children in stressful childrearing situations.

Another line of research has focused on the negative effects of dysregulated homes. For instance, Radke-Yarrow, Richers and Wilson (1988) found that negative affect between mother and child was higher in those coming from chaotic homes, as defined by temporal disorganization and unpredictability in everyday living, than in homes that were characterized by organization and predictability.

In 1997, Brody and Flor published the results of an

investigation of the link between family routines and child academic and psychological adjustment in rural, African-American families headed by single mothers. Young's (1970, 1974) ethnographic research of rural African-American single mothers served as a model for this group of researchers. Young (1970, 1974) found that these mothers attempted to create order and continuity for their children as a way to protect them from the stress of rural poverty. Young (1970, 1974) argues that these mothers believed that this kind of home environment would assist their children in becoming self-reliant and "self-regulated" adults, and so this was the foundation of their childrearing practices. In their study, Brody and Flor (1997) explored the concept of "self-regulation," which they defined as "the ability to set and attain goals, to plan actions, and to consider consequences, and to persevere" (p. 1001). The results of the study showed an indirect positive relationship between family routines and child achievement (mediated by child self-regulation) and an indirect negative relationship between family routines and externalizing problems (defined as conduct and antisocial behavior) and internalizing problems (defined as depression). They also found a direct link for boys for both of these variables: boys who came from more routinized homes showed greater academic

achievement and fewer internalizing problems.

Furthermore, contrary to the authors' hypothesis, maternal depressiveness did not impact the level of family routines in this population. The writers proposed that perhaps, the chronic nature of the poverty of the families in their study served to buffer them from the outermost ends of depression. On the other hand, the findings of a research study by McLoyd (1990, 1998) showed that chronic negative conditions, such as poverty, are consistently associated with more harmful effects on children's socio-emotional functioning than shorter-term stressful events, such as temporary poverty.

Family Life and Hispanic Families

Falicov (1998) argues that the family is the basic unit of and the major source of emotional, physical and psychological support for Hispanic people. Essentially, family loyalty surpasses individual interest and family relationships tend to be intense and the behavior of the individual members perceived as a reflection of the entire family (Slonim, 1991). The extended family unit is formed by the grandparents, aunt, uncles, cousins, *compadres* (godparents), and often neighbors and close friends. Strong attachment to the nuclear and extended family is described as one of the most important aspects of Hispanic-

American culture (Gonzales, 1992; Massey, 1981; Sabogal, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Moore (1976) found that more than two-thirds of Mexican Americans interviewed in her study believed that they had stronger family attachments than did other Americans. Keefe and Padilla (1987) reported that both Mexican Americans and Anglos believed that family attachment is valued more highly by Mexican Americans than by Anglo Americans. Keefe (1984) also found that although the most significant social ties for both Anglos and Mexican Americans were between parent and child and between siblings, Mexican Americans interacted more with a larger number of relatives and placed more importance on these interactions.

The special respect that Hispanics devote to the traditional family is referred as *familismo* (familism). So central is *familismo* to Hispanic culture that it tends to resist the effects of assimilation after migration. For instance, according to Keefe and Padilla (1987), Mexican immigrants' local extended families in the U.S. continue to grow over time, even as immigrants become more assimilated. Sabogal et al. (1987) also reported that Hispanic families maintained stronger ties between members, even among more-assimilated groups such as Italians. Although these investigators found that the strength of *familismo* tended

to diminish with increasing assimilation, family attachment continued to be strong, and significant differences were found between Hispanic and white non-Hispanic groups regarding the perceived importance of the family. In other words, attachment to an extended kinship network appears to be a central value of Hispanic-American culture that is often preserved despite assimilation in other aspects of social life (Marie & Marin, 1991). It is not clear, however, whether this value carries on across social classes within Hispanics.

LaRoche (1997) noted a high level of *familismo* in his study of 82 low-income Dominican-born adults. Hernández and López (1997) also argue for the prevalence of a kinship model among Dominicans: "…It is only normal that relatives perceive themselves as directly responsible for the well being of other members of the family, whether they are children or adults" (Hernández and López, 1997, p.67).

Furthermore, the maintenance of *familismo* may be facilitated through leisure behavior. Leisure activity occurs mainly in the context of family and friendship groups (Kelly, 1987; Carr & Williams, 1993). In the case of Mexican Americans and other Hispanic populations in the U.S., intimate social life within the home and family tends to be ethnically enclosed (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). People

associate mainly with members of their own ethnic group. Thus, leisure activities in such environments can provide a secure and supportive space for the expression and transmission of subcultural identity.

Time, Routines and the Hispanic Family

It is argued that the time orientation of a culture has an effect on the personality and the behavior of children (Slonim, 1991). For instance, there are differences between cultures in terms of orientation to the past, the present or the future. Time orientation is even a factor in learning the accepted rules of interpersonal relations. In Hispanic or Latino cultures, time orientation, traditionally is to the present, not the future or the past (Slonim, 1991). This sense of time is often misinterpreted as laziness. However, it more precisely reflects a relaxed concept of time in which "people are considered more important than schedules" and there is a total immersion in the activity of the moment (Bransford, Baca & Lane, 1974). Slonim (1991) describes that time and clocks have different meaning in different cultures: in German time, the clock "functions", in Anglo time, the clock "runs", in French time, the clock "runs"; and in Hispanic *el tiempo*, the clock "walks" (pp. 165). Generally, the present time is important for Hispanics and

it should be enjoyed.

Very few researchers have explored the notion of time and temporal organization in Hispanic families in or outside of the United States. Leyendecker, Lamb, Scholmerich and Fracasso (1995, 2002) studied the everyday worlds of eight- and twelve-month old infants from families who migrated recently from Central America to the US. They also included a comparison group of infants from middle class families of Euro-American background. Despite cultural and economic differences the infants' experiences and activities were very similar in both groups, and the effects of the mothers', fathers' and others' presence on ongoing activities were similar, too. However, there were differences in the organization of the infant's social ecology, in the social contexts of major daily activities, in the circadian distribution of the activities, and in the discrepancy between weekday and weekend patterns.

For instance, the Central American (CA) infants spent little time with just one person and much time in the company of several people, including relatives and family friend who often live with the family. It was not uncommon for the infants to spend time regularly with parents, relatives and babysitters, since non parental care was provided mainly by relatives and friends when the mothers

were at work (Leyendecker et al. 1995, 2002). Therefore, the extended family arrangements and wide social networks may not only represent adaptive strategies for sharing available resources (Harrison, 1990) but they also may shape the family ecology experienced by infants from early on in life.

Overall, the Euro-American (EA) children in the study were noticed to have fewer social partners and more opportunities for interactions on a one-on-one basis. There was limited overlap between the presence of babysitters and parents. The authors argue that individualism, which is often described as a value in the tradition of Protestant work ethic (Spence, 1985), is a cultural value bearing on the earliest childhood experiences.

Furthermore, Leyendecker et al. (1995, 2000) also found that the daily lives of the EA infants appeared quite structured and predictable. There were substantial differences between weekday and weekend patterns: on weekends, EA fathers spent more time with their partners and children than on weekdays. In contrast, the daily life of the CA children was less routinized, with no significant difference between weekend and weekdays. The authors suggested two factors to explain these findings. First,

parents in the EA families had similar regular work hours. Second, variations in the CA children bedtimes and mealtimes may result from their specific living conditions (crowded apartments, infants co-sleeping with their parents) as well as from different attitudes toward the infants. The authors noticed that the CA children appeared to follow their parents' daily routines more closely than did the EA children. The CA parents did not look to create special schedules and environments for their infants and included the children in their own lives and routines.

This more flexible integration of infants into their daily habits is in concordance with the relaxed concept of time ascribed to the Hispanic cultures. This may explain why in CA families, feeding of the infant occurred around the clock depending on when the family was together, rather than on a three-meal-a-day cycle. The contrast between the flexibility of the CA families and the regular circadian distribution of activities in EA families points to the importance that Euro-American tend to place in schedules, even in early infancy.

Moreover, some authors argue that the everyday, routine care-giving tasks and interactions of recent immigrants are likely to reflect the traditional patterns of their own socialization (Leyendecker et al., 2002).

When having a first child in a new country, immigrant parents are faced with the dual challenge of maintaining a sense of their own cultural identity while at the same time incorporating values of the new country that may improve the children's chances of economic success in the new environment. However, it is not clear whether the cultural value regarding family time and routines can resist change when the temporal organization of the host society is so demanding and radically different.

In the case of Dominican families who migrate to New York City, one of the busiest, crowded, and fast-paced cities in the world, the findings of the proposed study will elaborate on the experiences these families go through as they adjust to the schedule and time demands of New York society. It is possible that their schedules and notion of family time will change in concordance to the pace of life in the host society. Thus, this study will explore whether the families feel they have to renounce the relaxed notion of time valued in the homeland in order to be able to cope with the often frenzied lifestyle of New York City.

Affect Regulation

Over the past two decades, the study of affect regulation has become a major area of interest in psychology (Cicchetti & Izard, 1995; Cummings & Davies,

1996; Dodge & Garber, 1991; Fox, 1994; Katz and Gottman, 1996, 1997; Shields & Cichetti, 1997, 1998, 2002; Thomson, 1994; Walden & Smith, 1997). While adequate affect regulation was originally viewed to be exemplified by a demonstration of positive affect with only a limited amount of negative affect, currently, a well-developed capacity for affect regulation is considered to be achieved by a balance between positive and negative emotions that are in relation to the surrounding environment (Walden & Smith, 1997). As a whole, affect regulation is considered to be more a question of quality than quantity; what is important in promoting mental health is not how much one regulates affect but the range of responses to which an individual has access, and their appropriateness to the situation (Gross & Munoz, 1995). Excessive "regulation" can result in constricted affect, which can lead to psychopathology. For instance, if a child can manage feelings of anxiety caused by a social setting either by letting her needs be known to another child, by finding another child to play with, or by taking a break from social interactions while she re-establishes her equilibrium, she is drawing on a variety of responses to make herself feel better in the moment (Wilson, 2001). On the other hand, if her only response is to shut down emotionally in the face of anxiety

and not communicate with anyone, in the long term this "one-note" response leaves her out of the social mix and inhibits her from learning how to negotiate interpersonal conflict, even if on occasion this singular response proves helpful to her (Wilson, 2001).

Different authors have established distinct clinical models for understanding affect regulation. For Cole, Michel, & Teti (1994), affect regulation encompasses a number of aspects: (1) access to a full range of emotions, which is necessary for optimal functioning; lack of access is typical of dysregulation or psychopathology. For example, these authors believe depression is partly the inability to access positive affect as much as the dominance of the feelings of hopelessness; (2) the modulation of intensity and duration of emotions, including experiencing intense emotions when appropriate; (3) fluid transitions from one emotion state to another, the opposite of which is characterized as lability-or abrupt, unexpected, frequent, or dramatic changes in emotions and mood; (4) conformity with cultural display rules, because there are cultural variations in affect expression; (5) the ability to integrate dissimilar emotions, such as feeling anger and hurt simultaneously (the absence of this ability is referred to the as the psychological defense of

splitting); (6) the verbal regulation of emotion, meaning the ability to think and talk about emotions; and (7) the establishment of an observing ego, to facilitate the ability to recognize one's emotional response and to be able to reflect on it.

The Acquisition of Affect Regulation Capacity

Regulation of affect happens via the reciprocal influence of mother and child, as well as through the self-regulatory efforts in which the child engages in an effort to manage the nature of these ongoing interactions (Beebe et al. 1992; Beebe, 2000, 2003; Slade, 2000, 2004). The behavior of the infant determines the behavior of the mother and vice versa. Slade (1999) argues that a mother's failure to contain the child's emotional experience leads to the infant's failure to regulate and integrate emotional experience. Kopp (1989) argues that affect regulation begins in the first few months of life when the mother and infant are primarily involved in the modulation of the infant's affect, state and arousal. He explains that the mother's effort to respond to and support her baby teaches the infant's regulatory system what to expect in response to her or his states.

Tronick (1980) argues that the mother's effort to support the baby creates a context of mutual communication

and regulation. Over the course of time the infant internalizes the mother's way of organizing these interactions (Bowlby, 1969), from taking her food and clothing as well as from the interpersonal act of soothing, such as holding (Calkins, 1994). If everything goes well, parents respond to their children's distress in a manner that encourages the child's developing capacity to sooth her or himself. This model argues that the child ends up internalizing the affect-regulating abilities engaged in by the parents. However, when parents are under stress or suffer some pathology, they are hypothesized to transmit their own dysregulation of affect to their children.

Affect regulation acquisition is also discussed in the context of developing signal anxiety. Pine (1985) argues that the parent helps the child to develop signal anxiety by acting as an auxiliary ego, modulating the child's affect at times of distress. Over time the child develops the capacity to delay the escalation of anxiety in anticipation of future relief. In the space provided by the delay, the child is able to mobilize defenses that regulate anxiety and allow for the creation of new learning exercises. Consequently, when the child becomes distressed, the anxiety signals the activation of defensive operations that hold the distress. However, for the child

whose distress was not consistently met with relief, her distress is only associated with prior experiences of unmodulated anxiety. The anxiety primarily signals impeding dysregulation, and distress ends up quickly escalating into panic. The child's escalating anxiety interferes with the capacity to delay, cutting off opportunities for new learning experiences and mobilization of defenses that could provide a space between anxiety and dysregulation. In turn, the child's increased anxiety poses an additional challenge for the parent who already is not skilled in emotion regulation, resulting in the parent's increased anxiety, anger and resentment, withdrawal, or other negative parenting responses, which in turn result in further escalation or other maladaptive responses in the child.

Affect Regulation within the Broader Interpersonal Context

A number of writers have gone beyond the parent-child dyad to understand the role that the broader interpersonal and social context have in the development of affect regulation (Cole & Kaslow, 1988; Cole et al., 1994; Fox, 1994; Schor, 1994; Shields & Ciccetti, 1998, Thompson, 1994; Walden & Smith, 1997). Within this conceptualization, effective affect regulation is a vehicle to social success. As a consequence of successful

regulation of emotion and action, the person can free herself to influence others (Cole et al. 1994; Walden & Smith, 1997). According to this view, affect regulation happens in response to something and its correspondence with the demands of that situation is one measure of how well someone regulates her or his feelings.

Other authors such as Shield and Cicchetti (1997) define affect regulation as "the capacity to modulate one's emotional arousal such that an optimal level of engagement with one's environment is fostered" (p. 907). Katz and Gottman (1991) consider affect regulation as " consisting of children's ability to: (1) inhibit inappropriate behavior related to strong negative and positive affect, (2) self soothe any physiological arousal the strong affect has induced, (3) focus attention, and (4) organize themselves for coordinated action in the service of an external goal" (p.130). However, it is important to distinguish that Katz and Gottman consider the early childhood years (i.e. four to five) and not the years of infancy as most vulnerable to disruption of affect regulation from environmental stressors, because of increased interpersonal demands of peer relationships.

A Systemic Approach to Affect Regulation

Some authors such as Sroufe and Fleeson (1988)

understand affect regulation as emerging not only from the parent child-relationship but also from the total family system. These authors also perceive the acquisition of affect regulation as one of the main functions of a family. Sroufe and Fleeson (1988) argue for the existence of a link between family organization and affect regulation: "Organizational features of the family and affect regulation may be thought of as two sides of the same coin with respect to family assessment. If there are organizational abnormalities, there will be problems with affect regulation. Likewise, difficulties in affect regulation will interfere with maintenance of functional family organization. Family pathology may be accessed either in the organization or affect regulations domains" (pp 43). Giving these ideas, one can argue that the lack of clear boundaries and roles between parents and children can be dysregulatory for the family as a unit. Dysregulation in turn can alter the basic hierarchical structure of the family.

Empirical Research on Affect Regulation and the Family as a System

There are a number research studies looking at the regulatory processes in family systems. Cummings and David (1996) refer to this as the "family-wide perspective"

(p.136). These authors reviewed the research on the effects of "family wide functioning" on the development of individual deregulatory processes. They found that history of destructive marital conflict results in decreased regulatory capacities of spouses (or vice versa) and in their children, which includes regulatory physiological systems. They concluded that repeated exposure to family anger sensitizes children's emotions.

Cummings and David (1996) propose a model for dysregulation similar to that of Shields and Cicchetti (1998). Under stressful situations, the child's threshold for identifying and reacting to emotion is lowered, which may be initially adaptive in that it calls for attention to the potential danger to the child, allowing children to be prepared for future stress (Wilson referring to Ciccheti, 2001). On the other hand, repeated exposure to certain family conflicts over time also lowers the threshold for psychological dysregulation. This decreases the child's set point for emotional security.

A study by Jaycox and Repetti (1993) found that child adjustment was predicted by family conflict and not marital discord or parent-child discord, particularly for externalizing behaviors in children. Family conflict includes siblings' relationships, which children in

particular consider to be a significant component of family conflict (Jaycox & Repetti, 1993). Siblings' relationships were also important for authors Dunn and Brown (1991), who concluded that family relationships other than parent-child are powerful forces in a child's emotional development. For instance, children are more likely to engage in pretend play with siblings than with parents. Play is significant in that it is an experience in which children are most likely to come to appreciate other people's feelings (Wilson, 2001). Dunn (1994) showed that early acquisition of the capacity to reflect on feelings and attitudes is predicted by degree of playfulness in the family. Thus, it seems that there is support for the premise that child affect regulation ability is determined by the family environment and the quality of time spent together.

The Role of Affect Regulation in Optimal Development and in Psychopathology

The absence of affect-regulation abilities defines many disorders of affect and thought. Chronic worry and tension, avoidance of emotions, unpredictable fluctuation of emotions and inappropriateness of affect, are among the affect-dysregulation characteristics that define many clinical disorders (Cole et al. 1994). Affect regulation appears to be involved in the disruption of attention or

social relations as seen in children diagnosed with Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder. Affect regulation also appears to be involved in the development of depression. For instance, Cole and Kaslow (1998) have defined depression as a "failure in the regulation of negative affect" (p. 311). Understanding the effects of affect regulation and the consequences provoked by dysregulation is crucial for the prevention of mental health problems.

Moreover, Garcia (2002) examined the ways in which anxious children and their mothers differ from children without a primary anxiety disorder in the way they regulate their emotions. Parental philosophies about emotions were assessed using the Meta Emotion Interview (Katz & Gottman, 1986); in addition, mothers and children completed a number of parent-report and child-report questionnaires. The data suggested that although children with anxiety disorders are less able to regulate sadness, anger and anxiety than children with no psychiatric diagnoses, they are in fact more able to regulate anger and sadness than children with other types of psychopathology. Thus, for children with anxiety disorders it may be easier to regulate emotions than for children with other difficulties when adequate treatment is provided.

Katz and Gottman (2002) developed a line of research investigating children's physiological reactions to stressful parent-child interactions. More specifically, these authors tested the notion that vagal tone is a physiological index of the ability to regulate emotion. Path analyses showed that age four-to-five regulatory physiology predicted child emotion regulation scores at age eight, and that this was partially mediated by the four-to-five year-old child's ability to maintain a low heart rate during stressful parent-child interactions. The data also showed that children with higher basal vagal tone had both a larger heart rate increase to these events as well as faster recovery than children with lower vagal tone.

Empirical Research on Parental Factors Related to Children's Affect Regulation Acquisition

Most research on affect regulation is based on infants and very young children and focuses on the role of attachment relationships in the development of children's affective control. Recently, more attention is being given to understanding the role that family and parenting processes may play in the development of older children's and adolescents' ability to regulate distressed affect. Some research examines the intersection of parents' style of emotional relating, including their regulatory style,

and children's emotional style (Calkins, 1994; Fox, 1994; Izard & Kobak, 1991). For instance, it was found that preschool children who displayed a high degree of positive emotion with peers had parents who were more affectively positive, and children whose parents were more negative were less socially competent at preschool (Denham, Mitchel-Copeland, Strandberg, Auerbach, & Blair, 1997). Preschoolers are more responsive to others' displays of distress (Garner, Jones, and Miner, 1994) and toddlers are better at self-soothing behavior (Garner, 1995) when their mothers report more expression of positive emotions in the family as opposed to negative ones, such as sadness.

Shields and Cicchetti (1998) have conducted empirical studies of affect regulation in poor, maltreated children. They found that abused children displayed comprised attentional capacities that interfered with their behavioral and affect regulation in social settings. These researchers suggest that in response to extreme environmental stress, maltreated children develop adaptive defensive processes such as hyper-vigilance that help them in unpredictable and dangerous environments, but which also interfere with the flexible stance required for successful affect regulation.

In a later study, Shields and Cicchetti (2001)

examined whether children who were maltreated by caregivers were more likely to bully others and to be at risk for victimization by peers. This investigation also explored the role of emotion in bullying and victimization among children at risk. The results showed that maltreated children were more likely than non-maltreated children to bully other children. In addition, bullying was especially prevalent among abused children who experienced maltreating acts of commission (physical or sexual abuse). Maltreatment also placed children at risk for victimization by peers. Gender did not moderate these findings, in that maltreated boys and girls appeared to be at similar risk for bullying and victimization. As the authors expected, both bullies and victims presented problems with emotion regulation. Finally, the results pointed to emotion dysregulation as a mediator of the effects of maltreatment on children's risk for bullying and victimization.

Other authors have done extensive work attempting to understand the links between parents and children in terms of acquisition of affect regulation and the relationship to the social environment. In their early work, Gottman and Katz (1989) found that children who are highly stressed at home reduced their level of play with peers, apparently in order to avoid confrontation. As a result, these children

gained less social skills experience. Later work refined the variables involved and found a specific correlation between parental awareness of their own emotions and child affect regulation (Gottman et al, 1997; Katz, Gottman, & Hooven, 1996). In general, they found that when parents show an awareness of differentiated emotions in themselves and in their five-year old children, and assist their children with their feelings of anger and sadness --a phenomenon they call coaching-- at age eight these children were better able to successfully down regulate their physiological state in the face of negative emotions and had more socially competent peer relationships than children whose parents were not as good as coaching and were less aware of their own feelings. In similar ways, Denham el al. (1997) found that parents who were better "coaches" of their children's emotions had children who understood emotions better and functioned better socially.

Affect Regulation and Hispanics

The literature on affect regulation in Hispanics is scarce. Most work on this population focuses in attachment patterns between mothers and infants (Fracasso, Fracasso, Bush-Rossangel, & Fisher, 1994; Posada, Jacobs, Richmond, Carbonell, Bustamante, & Quiceno, 2002). Attachment develops in the context of the mother-infant dyad as it

happens in the development of affect regulation (Bowlbly, 1958). It is through this relationship that the child learns strategies to cope with emotional arousal and learns to self regulate. Within the field of object relations, Bowlby argued that the infant is predisposed at birth to form a selective attachment relationship with one or multiple caregivers (Bowlby, as cited in Slade & Aber, 1992). Mary Ainsworth developed the Strange Situation research method as a way to examine Bowlby's theoretical ideas. In this situation, mother and child undergo separations and reunions in the presence of a stranger who attempts to offer the child comfort during his mother's absence (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). In examining the separation-reunion episodes, Ainsworth identified three patterns of attachment behavior: secure, anxious-avoidant and anxious-resistant. Her findings indicate that securely attached infants are freer to play at higher levels of symbolism (Aber et al, as cited in Slade & Aber, 1992), are more persistent and positive in difficult problem-solving tasks (Matas et al., as cited in Slade & Aber, 1992) and are more successful in adapting to new teachers at school (Slade & Aber, 1992).

The different ways the mother and child interact around the child's affect characterizes the mother-child

interactions that result in different attachment styles. Work by Haft and Slade (1989) found that securely-attached mothers were more emotionally attuned to their babies than were mothers who were insecurely attached. Secure mothers were also found to attune to a range of child affect while insecure mother's responded to some affect and dismissed others. Aber, Slade, Belsky and Crnic (1999) found that mothers with secure and autonomous working models of their relationships with their own caregivers developed representations of their toddlers which were high in joy, coherence and pleasure. This representational schema influenced parenting style in that these mothers engaged in more positive and less negative parenting behaviors. It is evident that the attachment relationship is the context in which affect regulation develops.

Recent research has challenged the argument that the Strange Situation classification system is unbiased across cultures (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000). It is important to take into consideration the infant's assessment of pre-separation episodes as well as their response to the "stranger." In different cultures infants have various levels of exposure to strangers, which may affect their level of stress and their parents' behavior during reunion. For instance, Israeli kibbutz infants and

Japanese infants have far less exposure to strangers than infants reared in the United States, therefore appear more anxious during pre-separation (Sagi, Vanjzendoorn, & Koren-Karie, 1991).

The mistake of using Western cultural values in examining and classifying mother-infant dyads in other cultures was exposed in the work by Harwood, Schoelmerich, Venture-Cook & Schulze (1996). In their study mother-infant dyads from middle-class Anglo families in rural Connecticut were compared to a matched group of dyads from Latino families of the same social class and similar living contexts in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican mothers were found to engage more in "physical control" and active structuring of their children's behaviors than did Anglo mothers who encourage autonomy and exploration. Based on the Anglo-attachment theory this type of high control is believed to result in insecure attachment. On the other hand, the research found that high control in Puerto Rican families was associated with warmth and responsiveness resulting in secure attachment and positive behaviors in the children (Harwood et al., 1996). Furthermore, a study examining attachment patterns and its relationship to parenting behavior in Puerto Rican and Dominican mothers showed that increased parental interventions was related to secure

attachment classifications (Fracasso & Fisher, 1994).

The research described above supports the idea that parenting style and child socialization are culturally-mediated variables which may influence a child's behavior differently in the Strange Situation. For example, in Latino families the child develops in close interaction with the family and the socialization process demands the child's acceptance of the family as the central focus of their lives. Child rearing implies insistence on conformity to parental and extended family authority. Immigrant parents rate the development of autonomous behaviors as being less important to inculcate in their children than conforming to external standards (Zayas & Solari, 1994).

Other authors have explored the impact that psychosocial stressors such as immigration can have in the person's ability to regulate his/her affect. It is possible to argue that a mother's ability to regulate her own and her child's affect may be compromised by her immigration experience (Marrero, 2005). For instance, if the immigrant mother is struggling with the loss of her homeland and this causes her to maintain closer physical proximity to her child, the risk that she will do too much for the child instead of letting her explore for herself

may compromise the development of her regulatory skills (Marrero, 2005).

Pauline Boss (1999) argues that immigration creates in the immigrant "ambiguous loss", defined as incomplete or uncertain loss, and if this loss is not processed and the immigrant is unable to reconcile his/her feelings between his/her psychological and physical families, "the legacy of frozen grief may affect his/her offspring for generations" (p. 4). Boss also adds that ambiguous loss is stressful and disturbing because it is unclear and indefinite. Therefore, the immigrant is left in a state of endless pain. The inability to process these feelings prevents the person from re-structuring the roles of physically present relationships which can develop into psychopathology.

Theoretical Contributions to Understanding the Role of Time in Shaping Affect Regulation

It is almost a truism that the mother-infant dyad relationship appears to form the basis for child development, including the capacity for affect regulation. Regulation of affect happens via the mutual influence of mother and child, as well as through the self-regulatory efforts the child engages in so as to manage the nature of these ongoing interactions (Beebe et al. 1992; Beebe, 2000, 2003; Slade, 1999, 2004). The behavior of the infant

determines the behavior of the mother and vice versa. As was noted earlier, Slade (1999, 2004) argues that a mother's failure to contain the child's emotional experience leads to the infant's failure to regulate and integrate emotional experience.

However, it is only more recently, researchers have examined temporal aspects of mother-infant interactions and their role in the development of affect regulation. As a way to obtain entrance into the internal world of a young child, infancy researchers such as Stern and Beebe have delved into the world of infants by breaking down mother-infant interactions into microseconds and analyzing what these interactions reveal about the child's experience. Time is a crucial element of these micro-interactions. Beebe states, "the timing of the communicative process affects what it feels like to be with the other and contributes to the representation of self and other at every developmental level" (Beebe et al., 1992, p. 72). Moment-to-moment analyses of mother-infant interactions show the way mother and child take turns in relating, regulating attention and responding affectively. In addition, they also show how both partners adjust their behavior to each other (Beebe et al., 2000).

Furthermore, Stern (2000) emphasizes the importance

that temporal rhythms play in understanding the emotional life of the infant. He reviews empirical studies demonstrating the infants' remarkably fine abilities to detect temporal structures even in utero, such that newborns can recognize sound patterns heard in their third trimester and can discern the difference between their mother and another woman reading the same phrases (Stern, 2001). Stern writes, "this should not be surprising, because the initial communication natural to our species is highly structured in time from the very beginning of life. Accordingly, if the infant was not so endowed, he would not be able to read social signals embedded in stream of sounds; in short he would be unable to become a functioning social animal" (Stern, 2000, p.21).

In the first year, daily cycles of attending to the infant's psychophysiological needs, such as feeding and sleeping, are repeated over and over, but not exactly the same way each time (Stern, 2000). The feelings are unified by what Stern refers as "vitality contours" or the feelings that accompany these experiences. According to Stern, the vitality contour (a unit of feeling and time) becomes the basis for forming object relations.

Beebe's and Stern's research on parent-child rhythms of interaction focuses on what Fraenkel (1994) refers as

the micro level of temporal phenomena – with sequences of interest lasting no more seconds. Other studies on parent-child interaction have examined what Fraenkel terms the "molar" level of time – sequences that last from minutes to hours (Wilson, 2001).

Several infant researchers maintain the idea that predictability in interactions is a powerful force in development. Beebe (1992, 2003) thinks of the dyad as "the route to predictability in development" (Beebe et al., 1992, p.73). Target and Fonagy (1996) argue that the child's ability to develop a representational capacity is dependent on a relationship with a caregiver who reflects on the child's experience and thus creates the necessary experience of predictability of others. Children are able to develop their own ability to manage their own internal experience as well as the ability to anticipate the other's through mutual interaction with caregivers.

The parenting-advice literature (Leach, 1997) emphasizes the behavioral component associated with schedule regularity. This approach encourages parents to set regular bedtimes in order to instill in children soothing, constant experiences in the daily psychophysiological transition from wakefulness to sleep, which Leach (1997) has called "ritualized time" (p.259).

Parenting experts strongly argue that these experiences promote children's ability to develop their own means of calming themselves. Repetition makes bedtime become automatically associated with this physiological shift. Eventually, children readily adjust their level of arousal in order to "downshift" into sleep. The goal is for the infant to develop an early ability to manage events like making the transition from wakefulness to sleep through the help of a predictable schedule. The child is expected to build in this capacity and to be able to make the increasingly difficult analogous transitions in arousal level that come later, such as concentrating on school after playing activities at recess (Wilson, 2001). Leach (1997) argues that if families fail to provide an environment that regulates these transitions, the family itself will become distressed in relation to the child's upset and cries, and the child will not develop a capacity to adequately self-sooth and mange daily changes. Fraenkel (Wilson quoting Fraenkel after personal communication, 1997) suggests that "without such daily activities occurring at regular times and in regular manner, transitions between activities occur only when parents initiate them" (p.41).

Winnicott's Theory of the Holding Environment and its Relationship to Time

Winnicott's theory of the holding environment is a building block for the notion that the development of a child is related to the child's experience of time as managed by the parent. In essence, for Winnicott, time is a part of the auxiliary-ego functioning that the parent provides to the growing child, and as the child develops, she or he acquires an essential "time-sense" (Winnicott, 1963/1965, p.7). Time is a dimension of the "good-enough mother's" holding environment, with reliable maternal care providing the groundwork for healthy development and unreliable maternal care forcing the child to react to environmental impingements that create a discontinuous and unintegrated development of the self and object relations.

Moreover, Winnicott constructed the notion of "holding" as a maternal provision that facilitates the environment that the dependent infant needs. According to Winnicott (1960,1965), holding, refers to the natural skills and constancy of care of the "good enough mother." Through this holding, the infant experiences an omnipotence regarded as an essential and ordinary feature of a healthy child's development. This provides sufficient security that eventually the child is able to tolerate the

inevitable failures of empathy that result in the rage of terror when the holding is lost.

The holding phase is the first phase of the parent-child relationship (Winnicott, 1960/1965). For the infant the holding environment is characterized by her or his experience of what is being provided: it exists before the more object-filled concept of living-with takes root (Winnicott, 1960/1965). In the absence of this experience of maternal care, there is no infant, according to Winnicott: the infant who is born is no more than "inherited potential: without the reliable care of the mother" (Winnicott, 1960/1965). With this care the child develops a structured interaction of the ego–and thus becomes "an individual in his own right" (Winnicott, 1960/1965, p.44).

Although the mother's capacity for empathy with the child determines the holding environment, it is the environment itself that Winnicott stresses, an environment that is a "three-dimensional or space relationship with time gradually added" (Winnicott, 1960/1965, p.44). Thus, time becomes a factor of the child's experience of maternal care in this earliest stage, more explicitly than the experience of the mother herself. Time plays a more specific role as the child's development continues to

unfold, especially in terms of the object relations. Winnicott (1963/1965) argues that: "integration *in time* has become added to the more static integration of the earliest stages. Time is kept going by the mother, and this is one aspect of her auxiliary ego-functioning, but the infants becomes able to have a personal time-sense, one that lasts at first over a short span" (p.77, italic in original). In the statement above, Winnicott explicates more directly his consideration of time as an essential dimension of the child's development, which the mother provides to the child. Eventually, as the child matures the child integrates this dimension. The development is linked to the child's unfolding object relations.

Winnicott's concepts apply to the developmental stage of children under investigation in this study. He establishes the basis for understanding how a pattern of rupture in one's environment disrupts the development of an integrated of self, a self that needs to incorporate the dimension of time to achieve full functioning. Winnicott also argues that "most of the processes that start up in early infancy are never fully established, and continue to be strengthened by the growth that continues in later childhood, and indeed in adult life, even in old age" (Winnicott, 1963b/1965, p.73-74).

Borrowing Winnicott's terms, the lack of a continuous and predictable rhythm of life may be experienced by the child as a constant disruption of his/her environment. Thus, this disruption can create impingements on the child -- to which the child must often react -- and as a result impact the child's development. These impingements may impact the child's integration of self, development of object relations, and in later life manifest in the symptoms of affect dysregulation.

The intrusions on family life of the population investigated in this study are countless and exhaustive. Acculturative stress, the frustration of the language barrier, limited immigration-to-work programs, limited job-training opportunities, limited childcare services and the difficulties that come with raising children in hectic, crowded apartments without enough financial resources are among the many challenges face by Dominican immigrants living in Washington Heights. These families struggle all the more to contain and protect their children's lives from this array of demands. In the absence of a stable, physical space to protect the family and children from numerous disruptions as well as from the many challenges involved in adjusting to life in the U.S., constructing strong, daily routines may be a mechanism to establish a

good-enough holding environment. In order to explicate the possible impact of the larger social and economic context on the processes of family time and child emotion regulation in Dominican families, I turn now to the literature on the effects of immigration on Dominicans and other Hispanic families.

Overview of Dominican Culture, History, Socio-economic Situation and History of Migration to the United States

The Dominican Republic: Geographic, Political and Ethnic History

The Dominican Republic occupies the western two thirds of the island of La Espanola while Haiti occupies the other third. The island is located between the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, between Cuba and Puerto Rico, approximately 600 miles southeast of Florida. The country is slightly more than twice the size of New Hampshire (CIA, 1999).

When Christopher Columbus arrived in 1492, there were approximately 500,000 Taino aborigines who were believed to descend from Arawak groups in South America (Moya Pons, 1990). Hunger, diseases and forced labor led to the disappearance of the Taino people by the end of the sixteenth century. At that time, Santo Domingo (as it was known then) was the port of entry for the first African

slaves into the new world, and the black population grew dramatically until it outnumbered the white population. Over the course of the next centuries, other groups, including Europeans, West Indians, Arabs, Jews, Canary islanders, Chinese and other Caribbean people migrated to The Dominican Republic.

The Spanish settlement on the island became the center of Spanish colonization in the Western hemisphere. In the 17th century, the French gained control of what is now Haiti and of the entire island in 1795. The rebels of the western side of the island formed Haiti in 1804, and Haiti unified the island under their rule in 1822 (Moya Pons, 1990). Twenty-two years later, in 1844, The Dominican Republic became an independent country from Haiti. The country was briefly annexed to Spain from 1861 to 1865. There followed a long history of connections with the United States, including two periods of U.S. military occupation: from 1916 to 1924 and a civil war in 1965. There were a number of regimes governing the Dominican Republic throughout the 20th century, the most important one being the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, who ruled for thirty years until his assassination in 1961 (Moya Pons, 1990).

Current Socioeconomic Status

The Dominican Republic's population is 8,833,634 (CIA, July 2004 est.) of which 16 percent is white, 11 percent is black and 73 percent mixed. The heaviest concentration of the population is located in the capital city, Santo Domingo (2.73 million). 90 percent of Dominicans are Catholic, the language is Spanish and the literacy rate is 82 percent. 25 percent of the population is below the poverty line, and in 2003 there was 16.5 percent unemployment. In addition, the country suffers from marked income inequality; the poorest half of the population receives less than one-fifth of Growth National Product (GNP), while the richest 10 percent enjoys nearly 40 percent of national income (CIA, 2004 est.).

There are three main transnational issues affecting the Dominican Republic: the illegal migration of Haitians to the country, the illegal migration of Dominicans to Puerto Rico and the illicit traffic of drugs. Despite efforts to control illegal migration, destitute Haitians fleeing poverty and violence continue to cross to the Dominican Republic every day. In addition, in the last decade there has been a noticeable increase in the illegal migration of Dominicans and other nationals across the Mona

Passage to Puerto Rico with the ultimate goal of entering the U.S. mainland.

Furthermore, the illicit traffic of drugs is the most problematic transitional issue involving the Dominican Republic currently. In the last fifteen years, the Dominican Republic has become an important transshipment point for South American drugs destined for the U.S. and Europe. It is also a transshipment point for ecstasy from the Netherlands and Belgium destined for U.S. and Canada (CIA, 2004). There is a substantial money-laundering activity in the country with Colombian narcotics traffickers favoring the Dominican Republic for illicit financial transactions.

Overview of History of Dominican Migration to the U.S.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century Dominicans migrated in very large numbers to the United States. In the 1960's and early 1970's, Dominicans were motivated to migrate for political reasons, yet in the 1980s—after years of economic crisis in the Dominican Republic—the immigrants were more diverse, including both lower class as well as professionals (Graham, 1998). Duany (1994) suggests that the majority of Dominicans moved to the U.S. for economic reasons and for hopes of a higher

standard of living. In their study of Dominican women, Hernández and Lopez (1997) also wrote that the decision of the women to migrate was primarily due to poor job prospects and low earnings in the Dominican Republic. Migration to the U.S. has also been seen as an easier way to advance materially (Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991).

Dominicans tend to maintain continued ties to the Dominican Republic once they establish themselves in the U.S. (Drachman, Kwohn-Ahn, & Paulino, 1996; Duany, 1994; Graham, 1998). Duany (1994) describes the Dominican community as "transnational" one which is "characterized by a constant flow of people in both directions, and dual sense of identity, ambivalent attachments to two nations, and far-flung network of kinship and friendship ties across states frontiers" (p.2). Graham (1998) described the acknowledgement by the Dominican government of the economic importance of migrants (e.g. in money sent to the Dominican Republic), leading to legislation changes such as the 1994 approval of the dual nationality among Dominicans. As Dominicans migrated in large numbers to the U.S., most of them settled in the Northeast area of the country. The 2000 census reported that there are almost 765,000 Dominican living in the U.S. (US Census Bureau, 2000). Approximately 60% of Dominicans reside in the New York City

area and they are the fastest growing racial/ethnic group in New York City (Hernández and Rivera-Batiz, 1996). Dominicans are expected to become the largest Hispanic group in the New York City in the next ten years (Navarro, 2000). After Puerto Ricans (who are U.S. citizens), people from the Dominican Republic form the largest foreign-born group in the New York City metropolitan area. In addition, the 1990 U.S. census for the New York City area revealed that: 1) Dominicans are the largest foreign-born group of non-U.S. citizens (and not having citizenship has implications for their immigration status and benefits); 2) they are over one and half times more numerous than Italians (Italian born not Italian-American), the next largest foreign-born group in this area; and 3)they are almost three times more numerous than the next largest Hispanic group in this area, Colombian (US Department of Commerce, 1993). Paulino (1998) referred to the Dominican community as a "sleeping giant" (p.63) due to the untapped voting potential of its members and noted the existence of limited demographic information about them because they were not counted as a separate group by the US Bureau of the Census until 1990. The Dominican-American population has experienced a variety of problems living in the U.S. Because they have been undercounted in the census, it is

possible that services are not adequate for the actual number of Dominicans residing in the metropolitan New York City area (Paulino, 1998, Hernández, 2002). It is also likely that undocumented aliens undergo considerably more stress than legal aliens and other residents (Smart & Smart, 1995).

Hernández and Rivera-Batiz (1997) discussed the severe economic situation of many Dominicans. This community has the largest proportion of individuals working in manufacturing jobs in New York City. Thus in the 1989-93 recession, they were disproportionately affected by the sharp drop in manufacturing jobs. In addition, Dominicans have one of the highest poverty rates and one of the lowest socioeconomic statuses (SES) in New York City. It has been documented that people with low SES have fewer services available, have less experienced clinicians and are put often medication more frequently and have less adequate service settings (Aponte & Crowuch, 1995). In 1994, Paulino reported that 1) a large numbers of Dominicans were on public assistance; 2) over one third of immigrants did not speak English; 3) they suffered from housing problems, and d) they had a low level of education, with both sexes on average completing just over eight years of education (for more information see Hispanic Research Center, 1995).

"El Alto Manhattan:" Washington Heights

This study focuses on Dominican families living the Washington Heights area, in upper Manhattan. Washington Heights/Inwood is located in the north tip of Manhattan extending from West 155th Street to West 220th Street, and contains the largest Dominican settlement in the United States (Duany, 1994). Census data shows that from 1980 to 1990, 78 percent of all new immigrants who settled in the neighborhood came from the Dominican Republic, and that by 1990, almost one out of every two persons in Washington Heights/Inwood was of Dominican descent. Graham (1998) stated that Washington Heights is among the most crowded sections of the city. Weiss (1992) further argues that Washington Heights contains perhaps the largest number of Dominicans outside of the Caribbean. In addition to this area, Dominicans are also concentrated in the lower east side of Manhattan, the South Bronx, the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn, and Jackson Heights in Queens (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991).

In response to the overwhelming number of Dominicans in the area, the neighborhood is referred by some as "Quisqueya Heights" and "Platano City" (plaintain city). In Duany's 1993 study of a city block in Washington Heights, he found that the cultural atmosphere was similar

to that found in the Dominican Republic, "…a place where Dominicans can speak Spanish, meet fellow Dominicans, attend mass in Spanish, shop in 'bodegas', listen to 'merengue,' and remain encapsulated within a Hispanic culture" (Duany, p.46). There are some social service agencies in Washington Heights serving the Dominican Community, including the Alianza Dominicana and the Dominican Women's development Center (see Recourt, 1998 for other agencies).

Despite the cultural homogeneity, many Dominicans do not experience Washington Heights as an idyllic terrain to live (Hernández, 2002). The natural beauty of the East and Hudson rivers, the hills and the view of the New Jersey coast line is outweighed by the ugly symbols of poverty, social destitution, overcrowding and architectural decay of the area. In 1990, one in two Washington Heights Dominican households lived below the poverty line, and one in five did not have a phone (Hernández, 2002). In 1990, Washington Heights ranked third, after Central and East Harlem, among the five poorest communities in Manhattan. In the last decade there was a ten percent population growth, while the housing units decreased by one percent. The high rents and the rising demands for housing forced many families to double up within single family units. The

spontaneous, informal living arrangements normally take the form of individual rooms of different sizes that are rented by single tenants or a whole family (Hernández, 2002). The often impoverished rooms, built around garbage depositories and incinerators, often violate safety and sanitary housing regulations.

The fate of Dominicans in the New York City school system is also of concern. A 1994 study on school enrollment found that within the borough of Manhattan only District 6, the district with the largest number of Dominican students, was included in the list of the ten most overcrowded school districts in the New York City region. Hernández (2002) argues that poverty among Dominicans could be partially explained from the perspective of the disparity between the skills Dominicans possess and the exigencies of a specialized labor market; many Dominicans have no jobs while others are poorly paid. The difficulty of employment and the hard times confronted by most Dominicans in the labor market seem to challenge the theory that the mobility of workers is a direct response to the labor-market needs of the host country. Some authors argue that poverty and marginalization among Dominicans migrants result from their migration and settlement into a society that has been unable to absorb

them effectively in the process of production. Consequently, a large number of Dominicans have joined the rank of the working poor, a historically forgotten segment of the American population. However, it is still up for question whether Dominicans' present socioeconomic condition represents a common and temporary stage faced by any new immigrant group in the process of integration, or whether Dominicans' current socio-economic situation, if not addressed, will become a permanent state for the majority of Dominican people in this country.

Migration and Hispanic Families

Migration is an enormous life-changing experience for people. In spite of the often good reasons for leaving their homeland, all immigrants face the complicated period of adapting to the demands of a new culture and society. All immigrants engage to varying degrees in a struggle to construct a new identity. This experience has been referred as "the refashioning of the self" (Sant-Wade & Radell, 1992). Immigrants face a "dual frame of reference" (Suarez-Orozco, 1991) as they make comparisons between "here" and "there" (Talbani, 2000).

One process that all immigrants participate in to some extent is acculturation. Acculturation has been defined as the process by which immigrant ethnic groups are exposed to

and incrementally adopt the ways of the dominant culture through the modifications of values, norms, attitudes, and behaviors (Upchurch, 2001), including also how families define family time, establish daily, weekly, and monthly routines, establish the balance between work and family time, and other temporal aspects of life. Through the process of acculturation they learn the behavioral repertoire that is appropriate to the new cultural context. In the process, some "cultural shedding" may also occur that may be accompanied by "cultural conflicts" (Talbani, 2000 citing Berry,1992).

The experience of cultural conflict may lead to what Berry (1992) calls "acculturative stress." Acculturative stress is found to vary on three dimensions: duration, pervasiveness and intensity (Smart & Smart, 1995). In the acculturation process, Hispanics face attempting to preserve enduring traditional cultural values and gender expectations while at the same time incorporating attitudes and norms of the dominant culture regarding values such as gender and sexual expression.

Berry (1997) delineate four patterns of acculturating to the U.S.: (1) assimilation, a process whereby the individual has no wish to maintain his cultural identity and so seeks daily interaction with the host culture; (2)

separation, which occurs when the individual places value on retaining his original culture and simultaneously wishes to avoid interaction with the host culture; (3) integration, whereby there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time the individual seeks participation as an integral part of larger social network; and (4) marginalization, where there is little possibility and interest in integrating with others.

Berry (1997) also identifies other factors that influence the level of acculturative stress experiences: 1) Age-younger individuals tend to experience less stress in connection to the acculturative process, 2) Gender—Females tend to be at higher risk than males for negative effects of acculturation, 3) education—higher levels of education reduce acculturative stress, and 4) socio-economic status (SES)—higher SES tends to be a protective factor against negative consequences of acculturation. Most Dominicans who migrate to the U.S. come from low SES and have low educational level which may impact the level of their acculturative stress experience.

Researchers have also outlined a number of factors that foster and sustain acculturative stress and impede adaptation in Hispanic immigrants. Among these are: discrimination on the basis of skin color, the state of

illegal immigration status, and the often close proximity to the home country (Smart & Smart, 1995). Illegal immigration status often pushes the person to abandon crucial aspects of her identity in order to obtain housing and jobs. Some individuals use false documents for identification (i.e. Social Security Card, Alien Registration Card, etc.) to gain access to jobs and to secure their status in the host country. Illegal status also makes immigrants afraid of utilizing public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and the police, as authorities in these institutions may report them to the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), resulting in deportation. The mistrust of the host's country public institutions makes it difficult to establish new relationships and support networks and gain access to crucial resources Marrero, 2005).

The fear of American institutions also results in the often protective attitude Hispanic immigrant mothers take with respect to their children and adolescents at home. Often, parents do not know their neighborhoods during the initial months after arrival and they do not know the parents of their children's friends. Parents typically express fear about the drug and related violence in their neighborhoods. Many are afraid of losing their children to

gangs and they literally lock them up. This has an impact on the children's way of life and developing peer relations. In addition, the families' living conditions are profoundly different from those in their native countries. Here, their home tends to be smaller and crowded, and they work multiple jobs to survive. The absence of extended family or community support gives them no choice but to leave their children alone while they are at work. Under stress, it is common to hear parents threaten their children to send them back to their country of origin.

Poverty, language barriers, and decrease in social status increase the acculturative stress for many immigrants. Keefe et al. (1987) studied the psychosocial stressors among Mexican and Central American immigrants. Followed by lack of employment and undocumented status, they found that not knowing English was rated as the most difficult stressor. The use of the social support network was identified as an effective coping mechanism in seeking and obtaining employment, locating a place to live and overcoming language difficulties. Stress is often high in the initial months or year following immigration because social networks are usually limited. The stressors that accompany immigration can have a profound impact on family

life and family function. As mentioned earlier, it is common for immigrant parents to obtain several jobs in order to support the family, decreasing the amount of time available to children and the family unit as a whole. It is also common that adolescents are forced to join the work force and are often expected to provide economic support for the family here and back in the country of origin.

Numerous studies of parent-child relationships show that stressful life events are related to less positive parenting and an increase in children and adolescent behavioral problems (Wilson, 2001). Given what we know about the stress involved in immigration and acculturation, it is likely to have effects on the regulation of affect among Hispanic children. The way they regulate their affect may be an indication of how they cope with all the changes happening at all levels of their lives. They are not only stressed by the social economic factors, but they are also likely to experience distress as they learn that they must adjust their concept of identity to be attuned with the demands of the new culture. This may create feelings of insecurity and anxiety in relation to their representation of themselves, which may affect their interactions with their parents, peers, their security of attachment, and ways of regulating themselves. The present

study seeks to shed some light on these processes.

Acculturation and Dominicans

It is argued that Dominicans strongly resist being assimilated into the dominant U.S. culture. In addition, some writers suggest that the Dominican migration experience is more accurately explained through the concept of selective acculturation. Selective acculturation refers to the retention by an ethnic group of certain core cultural traits, such as family organization, child-rearing practices and traditional foods and music preferences, while other traits of the majority group that contribute to socioeconomic advancement (such as language) are adopted fairly quickly (Shaull & Gramann, 1998). In the case of Dominicans, selective acculturation may be facilitated by the geographical concentration of this ethnic group in the New York City area and by the continuing contact of Dominicans with the homeland. The expectation of one day returning to the "motherland" seems viable for many Caribbean immigrants since their countries are barely hours away. However, this wishful thinking may prevent them from conceiving the US as a permanent home. The immigrant often cherishes the illusion that after working in the US and saving enough money, she/he will return to the country

of origin (Marrero, 2005). Based on this view, education, jobs, investments and other goals are seen as vehicles to achieve the final objective of returning to the country of origin.

The limited writing in this area indicates that for Dominican women who migrate by themselves, the intention is to return to the country (Duany, 1997; Hernández & Pessar, 1991). Dominican immigrants tend to maintain constant ties to the homeland by keeping in touch with relatives left behind, and many, travel back and forth from the island every year. In this way, they maintain simultaneous access to two nations, languages, politics and geographies as parallel models to define their concepts of self and society. The values retained from the homeland in addition to those acquired in the host country, shape Dominican's cultural forms in New York City. According to Duany (1994), "transnational migration transforms social relations and generates a new identity that transcends traditional notions of physical and cultural space." He argues that Dominicans in the United States have developed hybrid cultural forms that overpass the values brought from the homeland while at the same time transforming the cultural forms of the host country.

The study of the process of selective acculturation in

Dominican and Hispanic families in general is limited. Gramann, Floyd, and Saenz (1993) examined the process of selective acculturation as it related to the perceived benefits of outdoor recreation participation. They reported that some benefits, in particular those related to family cohesiveness, were perceived as more important to Mexican Americans than to Anglo Americans, even among the most culturally assimilated Hispanic groups. The authors concluded that this pattern reflected the continued influence of families in Mexican-origin culture (Gonzales, 1992). Consistent with a selective-acculturation pattern, the very high emphasis on recreation as a means to promote family cohesiveness occurred, even though many respondents exhibited substantial assimilation along other cultural dimensions, such as language. Other studies also have reported a greater emphasis on family participation in Hispanic vs. Anglo outdoor recreation, such as (describe typical Hispanic outdoor recreation that's different from Anglo) (Baas, Ewert, & Chavez, 1993; Carr & Williams, 1993; Hutchison; 1987; Irwin, Gartner, & Phelps, 1990).

Other writers comment on the changing gender roles for Dominicans. Burgos-Sevedio and Paulino (1997) argue that in Dominican culture, gender roles are historically more rigidly demarked. On the other hand, immigration and

acculturation are creating conflicts in those roles. Hernández and López (1998) studied women who left the Dominican Republic illegally in "yolas" (small boats),and they described a still more complex picture of gender roles for both migrants and women who stayed in the Dominican Republic. These researchers noted that in public settings, men are more dominant and women more submissive, but that this is not necessarily true in the U.S. Citing Gómez, "women…have resisted men's domination through insubordination" (Hernández and López, 1997, p.75). Hernández and López further argue that Dominican women's behavior is complex and this is not due only to migration to the U.S., but originates in the complex gender arrangements in Dominican society and culture.

Dominicans and Mental Health

Despite the large numbers of Dominicans and the severe problems they face in the U.S., a number of scholars have noted a lack of research concerning this population (Drachman et. al 1996; Paulino, 1998; Zayas, Rojas, & Malgady, 1998). For instance, Duany (1994) has made notice of the extensive research on the Dominican exodus, but not on Dominican life in New York City. Other researchers argue that much previous research has focused on certain Hispanic groups, including Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans

and Cubans (Zayas et al. 1998), but there has been limited attention to people from other Spanish-speaking Caribbean nations such as the Dominican Republic and Central and South American immigrants. The Dominican Studies Institute of the City University of New York, the only institute of its kind in the U.S., was specifically created to address the lack of research material in the field of Dominican studies.

Some of the studies have focused on the effect of migration in mental health. As was described in an earlier section, migration adds to the stresses that people have to cope with. Falicov (1998) argues than even when migration is freely chosen, there are culture shocks and stresses involved with the change. Dominican migration was the most rapid from any Caribbean society (Torres-Saillant & Hernández, 1998). In her study of Dominican women with major psychiatric disorders, Weiss (1992) argues that Dominican patients and relatives believe that migration was stressful enough to be the cause of mental illness, and Hispanic psychiatric staff believed that Dominicans were more vulnerable than Cubans and Puerto Rican to migration-related mental health difficulties.

There is a lack of information regarding psychotherapeutic treatment of Dominicans (Itlis, personal

communication with Dominican Studies Institute, 1999). In her study of fifteen Dominican women with major psychiatric disorders, Weiss (1992) discussed the view of patients and their relatives concerning the cause of mental illness, which included immigration, physical problems, family conflicts, and witchcraft or supernatural illness. Weiss (1992) further noted that stigma of mental illness and the fear and shame of being labeled "crazy." Ataque de nervios" (attack of nerves) were more readily acknowledged in this sample? than 'locura' or 'craziness' (Weiss, 1992, p.249). This researcher also pointed out that patients' relatives were fearful that their kin would be isolated or unsafe when hospitalized.

In 2001, Itlis published the findings of a qualitative study exploring how adults from the Dominican Republic present in psychotherapy, as perceived by the psychotherapist who treated them. Itlis interviewed twenty psychotherapists (including psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, and doctoral students in clinical psychology) in the metropolitan New York City area. Most of the therapists were Hispanics, including four Dominicans, and they described their experience working with 2,800 Dominican clients, primarily of low socioeconomic background. The importance of family was

among the major themes discussed by the subjects: "…their family is important, and it comes before therapy…That's going to come first, period" (Itlis citing Elena, one of the subjects). The data showed that almost three-quarters of the therapist endorsed how important family is for Dominicans. Furthermore, while one of the American therapists of Hispanic background considered Dominican families as enmeshed, a Dominican therapist argued the opposite (Itlis, 2001).

Following upon the importance of family, the idea of the family's taking care of its own members was also raised during the interviews. This may be in concordance with *familismo.* Some therapists spoke of the responsibility of Dominicans in the U.S. to provide for the family left behind in the homeland. Two therapists talk about the shame of placing an elderly family member in a residence home instead of taking care of them in the family household. Another therapist described the level of devotion that families had to the relatives participating in day-treatment program, with several of the patients living at home when one might have expected them to be institutionalized. These findings suggest that maintaining family unity and connection are important values when considering treatment of this population. Perhaps, the

qualitative analysis of the data collected in the proposed study will bring light on the challenges and coping skills of this population in maintaining family unity after immigration.

Summary and Hypothesis of the Study

The previous sections provided a basis for understanding the context and value of the proposed study. The families that will be explored in this investigation are first-generation Dominican immigrant families living in New York City struggling to make a better and more stable future for their lives. On a daily basis, these families face unstable financial situations, as well as other stressors involved in the immigration process such as low level of educational attainment, a loss in socio-economic status, low incomes, lack of fluency in English, as well as precarious living arrangements and housing conditions. In addition, these families are confronted with the hectic time and work schedule patterns of New York City, which may place children at risk for poor emotional regulation. Despite the fact that these families have limited control of many of these stressors, they do have the capacity to establish some temporal structures.

The aim of this study is to examine the temporal

patterns that these families rely on to reorganize themselves in the face of challenge and adversity, and the relationship of these patterns to their children's affect regulation abilities. The guiding premise of the study is that establishment of predictable and flexible daily routines may serve as an adaptational mechanism of survival of the family unit, and as a means to encourage optimal emotional development of the children.

As has been reviewed, relatively little is known about the relationship between the temporal organization of family life and children's affect regulation. In this study, I am utilizing a modified version of the methodology of Wilson's (2001) ground-breaking study looking at relationship between these variables in sheltered homeless, mostly African-American families living New York City. Her investigation revealed that the children of parents who reported regular and flexible temporal organization had a greater capacity to regulate their emotions than did the children of parents who reported less temporal organization. Although in the proposed study, I am expecting to find similar pattern of results as Wilson (2001), the findings of this study will reveal culturally-specific characteristics of family life and organization

among Dominican families[5]. For instance, previous research in this area suggests that Hispanic families may have different ways of organizing and conceptualizing time than other ethnic groups (Leyendecker et al. 1995, 2002). The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data will expand the empirical and theoretical literature in this area, which could be further explored in other populations of the U.S.

Statement of Hypothesis:

It is hypothesized that parents reporting a regular temporal organization to family life on a measure of family time and routines will have children who will demonstrate better capacity to regulate their emotions, as measured by parent-report affect regulation scales than parents who report less temporal organization. Moreover, the qualitative data may reveal possible links between these variables. It is expected that a parent's focus on detail, both in terms of schedules and in terms of child affective states, along with a belief in flexible, but regular, family time would be among the themes explaining the connection between parent's reports of regularity of family

[5] This study does not examine differences between Wilson's population and the population of present study.

routines and parent's report of adequate child affect regulation.

In addition, it is hypothesized that parents reporting a regular temporal organization of family life on a measure of family time and routines will have children who will show less behavioral problems, as measured by parent-report of general behavioral childhood problems, than parents who report less temporal organization. Furthermore, parents of children who demonstrate better capacity to regulate their emotions, as measured by parent-report affect regulation scales, will report less behavioral problems in their children than parents of children who experience more difficulty in regulating their emotions. These findings would support the ideas that --temporal regulation at home may relate to a child's overall behavioral problems and that a child's ability to regulate emotions may be a factor in a child's general level of problem behavior.

Additionally, it is expected that the qualitative analysis of the data will reveal themes describing the families' views on how the immigration experience has affected their concept of time and the quality of their family time. For example, I expect that families will comment on the effects that the hectic and rushed rhythm of life in New York City has had on the organization of their

family and routines. In addition, when comparing the families with higher level of temporal organization with those with lower level, I expect to find distinctive themes regarding each groups' ways to cope with the schedule and time demands of the U.S. Perhaps, families with less structured and predictable temporal organization would appear more overwhelmed by regular family demands (i.e. childcare, household chores, etc). Finally, it is expected that those families with higher levels of family temporal organization would describe their children's affective experiences with more details and appear less overwhelmed by them.

CHAPTER 2

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study will be 18 first generation Dominican families living in the Washington Heights area, who participated in a larger study conducted by The Center for Time Work and the Family, located at the City College of the City University of New York, in collaboration with the Columbia University Head Start and Early Head Start Program (CUHS/EHS). The targeted population for the present study was families with children between ages 1.5 and 5 who were attending the CUHS/EHS program. The parents, who were all mothers, were the primary caretakers of all the children that participated. 44 percent of the families targeted were married, 22 percent were living together, 17 percent were separated, and 17 percent of the mothers were single. One of the children in each family who was within the age range for this study (1.5-5 years) will be randomly selected for quantitative analysis.

Method of Recruitment

In an effort to include families at different levels of functioning, the larger study selected families using a two-stage process (a mixed selection procedure involving

stratified sampling and random sampling within stratifications). In the first step each eligible CUHS/EHS family who had been in the program for a minimum of three months was given a global rating of overall level of adjustment to life in the United States, on a scale from 1 (Extremely Difficult Adjustment) to 6 (Excellent Adjustment). The ratings considered adjustment in terms of employment, social/community connectedness, mastery of pragmatic resources (shopping, use of medical facilities, etc…), family interactions and stability, psychological and emotional adjustment of family members, and mastery of English. The ratings were made independently by the Director of CUHS/EHS, the Adult Development Coordinator and the Program Coordinator, each of whom had the extensive knowledge of the families' level of adjustment. The three raters met to discuss their ratings of each family, came to consensus and assigned each family the consensus score. The families were divided into three adjustment groups: High (rating 5-6), Medium (rating 3-4), and Low (1-2) adjustment. Families within each group were then randomly selected using a random numbers table. The study was then presented to the mothers while they were attending parent groups at CUHS/EHS by the project coordinator. If mothers were interested they met individually with the project

coordinator, were given explicit information about the study and if still interested signed Informed Consent to Participate. Within two weeks of this initial contact mothers were then scheduled for the first interview session. Those mothers that declined to participate were replaced by the next family randomly selected (Frankel, 2000).

Materials/Instruments

Demographics Questionnaire

This questionnaire asks for demographic information about the participants. It includes items on educational level attained, job history, current employment status, and family income. This questionnaire was used by Dr. Fraenkel in a previous study examining the impact of homelessness on work. For the purpose of this study the information regarding age, educational level, family income, amount of time living in the U.S., marital status, number of children in household, and employment condition will be utilized.

Qualitative Measures:

Immigration, Family, Work and Affect Regulation Interview

These interview questions were designed by Dr. Fraenkel, Dr. Slade, Dr. Wilson and Dr. Marrero (1997, 2001). The first portion of this interview contains

questions regarding the family's experience of immigration and the impact this process has had on the family. The first several questions attempted to tap the sense of homeland loss evoked by the immigration process (Marrero, 2005). Interview items also inquired about changes in parenting practices and level of support the family has experienced in the United States.

The next portion of the interview asked questions about the mothers' work histories, and their hopes for future employment. The first portion of the interview from which data will be qualitatively analyzed for the present study (See Appendix A, Fraenkel & Wilson, 1997) asked families to talk about their ideas about family time and some time problems they might experience in their family. The next portion of the interview that will be analyzed began by having families describe in detail a typical day from the time when the first person wakes up until the last person in the family goes to sleep. Interviewers rated on a scale 1 to 5 the ease with which each participant described her schedule (These was a mix of qualitative and qualitative questions through out the interview. The numerical ratings will be analyzed qualitatively in the present study.). Subjects were then asked to describe a shared mealtime and rate on a scale of 1 to 5 how often

during this mealtime (usually dinner) they talked together, joked, watched TV, and argued or disagreed and how regular are these shared mealtimes.

Mothers were then asked to describe daily routines, their children moods during different times of the day, and their response to these moods, and then to rate the regularity of these routines. A similar format was given at bedtime routines. Next mothers were asked to describe specifically what their children are like when they are feeling sad, happy or excited, scared or nervous, and angry or frustrated. Mothers were also invited to say how they respond to those emotions and what they observe as the effect of their response has on the child. Finally, mothers were asked to rate their children on a scale 1 to 5 on how well they feel their child "copes" with those feelings, which was defined as being able to stay in control when feeling a strong emotion; being able to comfort her or himself; finding something else to do to change the feeling; talking about her or his feelings; or reaching out for help. Families ended the interview by describing the mood the family was in most of the time.

Quantitative Measures:

Family Routines

Family Time and Routines Index (FTRI; McCubbin, McCubbin & Thompson, 1986). This questionnaire assesses families' efforts to "orient and routinize family life in a predictable pattern of living" (McCubbin, McCubbin & Thompson, 1996, p. 74) by looking at routines of leisure time, bedtime and mealtimes, among others. It takes approximately five minutes to complete. Two dimensions are rated: endorsement that the routine occurs and its importance. Endorsement is rated on a four-point scale, from 0 to 3. Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .88. In this study only endorsement scales were used to measure the extent to which families routines' occur in the participating families; importance ratings were not well-distributed within the sample, tending to be rated overall as "very important" by the sample. Items not applicable to this population were excluded (such as questions that assume a two-parent home). Other studies (Brody & Flor, 1997; Henry & Lovelace, 1995; 1995; Manne et al., 1996) have similarly excluded non-applicable items using this and its predecessor measure, the Family Routines Inventory (Jenses, James, Boyce & Harntnett, 1983). The only one of these studies that reported the reliability of the modified

measure was that of Henry and Lovelace, who reported an alpha of .79.

Child Affect Regulation Measures

Despite a fair amount of agreement on the definition of affect regulation, there is a great deal of variation in the literature regarding the measurement and operationalization of this construct. Some researchers focus on attention or effortful control as indicators of emotion regulation while others focus on dysregulated behavior. Seminal research on emotion regulation typically focused on school-age children from middle-class families who are not at special risk for behavior problems other than emotion regulation deficits, and hence the conceptual distinctions may appear simpler than might be found in more complex samples. The present study expands the scope of previous study samples by looking at children of working-class Hispanic families.

For the present study, I selected two of the affect regulation scales utilized by Wilson (2001) in her study: the Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC; Shield & Cicchetti, 1997), and the Katz-Gottman Child Regulation Index[6] (CRI; Katz & Gottman, 1997). Both scales were completed by the

[6] The CRI was revised by its authors and is referred as well as the Emotion Regulation Questionnaire, ERQ (Katz & Gottman, 1997)

mothers. These measures are the main parent-report questionnaires in use to measure affect regulation. Since this was a fairly new area of study, none of these scales was thought to be superior to the other. Both of these measures were included to determine which is most sensitive to other variables so that the best can be used in future studies. These scales were also selected for the present study because they had language which was easily translated into Spanish without much change in content. The scales are further described below:

The Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC; Shields and Cicchetti, 1997). This checklist has 24 questions that are positively and negatively coded to assess degrees of emotionality and regulation, including affective lability, intensity, flexibility and situational appropriateness of affective response in children (Shields & Cicchetti, 1998). From this perspective, emotion regulation is assessed by examining whether or not the child generally shows appropriate expression of emotion as well as whether the child is able to adapt emotional responses to specific events. The ERC has been used successfully to study the relationship between reactive aggression, attention and emotion regulation in maltreated children (Shields & Cicchetti, 1998, 2001). These authors also used it to

assess the construct validity of the "Emotion Regulation Q-Scale" (Shields & Cicchetti, 1998). In addition, Stoker (2002) utilized the ERC to examine emotion regulation in 67 children aged 35 to 83 months who were at high risk for conduct problems. Most recently, the ERC has also been utilized to examine the relationship between emotion regulation, language ability and reticent behavior in children with specific language impairment in elementary school children (Fujikki, 2004).

The checklist can be completed in approximately ten minutes by adults familiar with a child. The ERC asks the parent to rate the child's affective behavior directly in certain situations (e.g. how often a child is "easily frustrated). Raters judge on a four-point Likert scale (from "almost always" to "rarely never/rarely") how characteristic each item is of the child. There are two factors to the scale: 1) lability/negativity, which consists of 15 items examining inappropriate regulation of emotion, variability, mood swings, reactivity and dysregulated positive emotions; and 2) emotion regulation, consists of eight items examining appropriate display of emotion, empathy, equanimity, and emotion understanding (Shields & Cicchetti, 1998). Low scores in the lability subscale and higher scores in the Emotion Regulation

Subscale mean more successful affect regulation and vice versa. It has been studied with low income parents of children 3-12. Cronbach's alpha was .96 for the lability/negativity subscale and .83 for the Emotion regulation subscale. A composite score was generated of the two scores that had an internal consistency on .89 (Shields & Cicchetti, 1998).

The Katz-Gottman Child Regulation Index (CRI; Katz & Gottman, 1997). This is a 45-item measure filled out by parents about the "degree to which the child requires external regulation of emotion" (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997, p. 162). It takes a parent approximately seven minutes to complete. This questionnaire includes both items that reflect instances in which the parent needs to "down-regulate" the child (i.e. help the child soothe themselves after an intense emotional state) and "up-regulate" (i.e. help a disinterested or bored child to engage in an activity). The CRI/ERQ focuses in particular on the parent's behavior in response to the child's behavior, specifically how often the parent had to do something in response to the child's behavior or to tell the child something (e.g. "how often did you have to tell your child 'let me talk on the phone' even though he/she is excited about telling me something"). Katz and Gottman

found that items that reflected when the parent needs to respond to the child in order to reduce the child's misconduct, inappropriate behavior, or activity level (the down-regulation subscale) were the most predictive of affect-regulating capacities (Katz, in personal communication with Wilson, 1997). Higher scores in the down-regulation subscale indicate poor affect regulation in the children (i.e. they require more external regulation of emotions by parents). The alpha coefficient for the whole scale was .89; and the alpha coefficient for the Down-Regulation Subscale was .74. The Katz-Gottman CRI in its revised version, the ERQ was used in recent years to study children's emotional reactions to stressful parent-child interactions with the interest to find a possible link between emotion regulation and vagal tone (Katz & Gottman, 2001).

Child Behavior Problems:

Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991 & 1992). The CBCL is a general behavioral measure of a wide-range of childhood problems, including attention problems, thought problems, somatic complains and aggressive behavior. It does not target child's affect-regulatory capacities specifically. There are two versions of the CBCL depending on age range: CBCL 2-3 years and the CBCL 4-18 years. This

measure includes 118 behavior problems rated on a 0- to 2-point scale. It takes between 15-17 minutes to complete. The CBCL has three global scales: internalizing, externalizing and total behavior problems. Raw scores for these subscales are converted top T-scores according to the appropriate gender and age-group norms for each subject. The CBCL is one of the most widely well-validated measures of children's adjustment and has been normed with both clinical and non-clinical populations. It is also desirable because it has been shown that socioeconomic status and race have little effect on scales scores (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1991). The reliability for the CBCL for ages 4-18 was determined using intra-class correlation coefficient, which was found to be in the .90s for inter-interviewer and test-retest reliabilities of the items scores. The test-retest reliabilities for scale scores were r=.87 for competence and r=.89 for problem scores. The Cronbach's alpha for the CBCL 2 to 3 for internalizing behavior was .88 and for externalizing behavior was .93. The alpha for total problems was .96. The total behavior problem scale is the most reliable and clinically valid measure of the CBCL.

The CBCL was included in analyses following Wilson's (2001) model to determine whether the degree of family

temporal organization is associated with variations in general child behavior or more specifically related to child affect regulation. Wilson (2002) found no association between the CBCL and the degree of family temporal organization.

Procedures

The interview session, which was videotaped and conducted only with the mother while the child was in a separate room playing with an assistant began with the interviewer describing the purpose and sequence of the research activities. Interviewers reminded participants that their answers would be kept confidential, that they did not have to answer any question they did not want to, and that they could withdraw from the study at any point without consequence. They were informed that their answers would have no impact on their receiving any services or public benefits, but that at the end of the interview they would be eligible to participate in an elective family support group. Participants were paid thirty dollars at the end of the first interview for their time. During a second meeting, mothers were asked to complete a packet of questionnaires for which they received twenty five dollars after completion.

Data analysis

Utilizing Wilson's (2001) data analysis approach as a reference, in the present investigation I will combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyze the data. Quantitative research allows the study of a larger sample using standardized measures, allowing many individuals to be compared with each other. This also allows for the possibility of more generalizable conclusions to be drawn. On the other hand, qualitative research permits an intensive, open-ended exploration of a topic, most often set in a natural context (Moon et al., 1990). Typically, a small sample is used because of the degree of detail that comes from analysis of even a single participant (Moon et al.,1990). The objective of qualitative research is to create rich descriptions and to develop theory from observations (Charmaz, 1995; Moon et al.,1990; Strauss and Corbin, 1998); it is a method well suited for a clinical orientation. Stake (1998) refers to this method as the "study of the particular" (p.90); it adds depth to the question under study and does not emphasize generalizability of findings to others (Wilson, 2001). It is a vehicle for the families to voice their issues and ideas in their own words and it allows for theory to develop from their own ways of communicating

about their lives.

The use of qualitative methodology enriches the quantitative data by looking not only at the content of responses but also at the way in which participants present their thoughts. In addition, it allows different viewpoints, even from the same individual, to emerge. In the present study, four cases representing two opposing possibilities on the quantitative measures (High FTRI and high ERC emotion regulation subscale/low in ERC lability subscale and vice versa) will be selected for case analysis to carefully delve into the relationship between the two variables of concern (see below for details of this analysis).

Quantitative analysis

The degree of association between the FTRI and the affect-regulation and child-behavior scales will be measured by correlation coefficients. I will use a Pearson's r correlation to determine the degree of relationship between family routines and affect regulation, and family routines and child behavior, in separate analyses. Operational hypothesis follow:

1) It is hypothesized that parents who score high in the FTRI will also score high on the ERC emotion regulation subscale; and that parents who score low on the FTRI will

also score low on the ERC emotion regulation subscale. In addition, it is hypothesized that there will be a negative correlation between the parent's FTRI scores and their scores on the ERC lability subscale and on the CRI.

2) It is hypothesized that a negative correlation will exist between parent's scores on the FTRI and their scores on the CBCL. Specifically, higher scores in the FTRI will correlate with lower scores in the CBCL.

3) It is hypothesized that a negative correlation will exist between parent's scores on the ERC emotion regulation subscale and their scores on the CBCL. That is, parents who score high on the ERC emotion regulation subscale will score low on the CBCL; and that parents who score low on the ERC emotion regulation subscale will score high on the CBCL. In addition, it is hypothesized that there will be a positive correlation between the parent's CBCL scores and their scores on the ERC lability subscale and on the CRI.

Qualitative analysis

The second stage of this study will closely examine four family cases. If the quantitative results support the hypothesis of the investigation, the cases to explore will be two families indexed as high on temporal organization and high on affect regulation; and two families indexed as

low on temporal organization and low on affect regulation. These cases will be indexed according to their scores on the quantitative measures. Responses from the mothers of these two pairs of families will be compared with each other for differences in themes and presentations since this study investigates a hypothesis about a relationship between two domains.

The videotaped interviews about time, work and the family as well as the interview on affect regulation will be coded using grounded-theory methodology (Charmaz, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) for careful analysis of the organization of family time and their children's experience of specific emotions. Grounded-theory methodology is a systemic approach to qualitative data analysis that involves labeling raw interview data with codes that emerge from and capture the meaning of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Furthermore, statements will be compared and contrasted with existing codes and new codes will be generated as needed. This process is referred as "the constant comparative method of analysis" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 101-116). The grounded-theory approach can be utilized with single or multiple cases. In addition, codes can be applied to smaller units of data, such as a word or

sentences, or larger units. The analysis of this study will use a combination of smaller units (sentences) segmented by the interview questions. Each sentence will be assigned a code. Basic codes will then be clustered into higher-order, "theoretical codes." Coding will be performed by a consensus approach in teams of three trained individuals: one clinical psychologist, one doctoral clinical psychology student and by one master level psychology student.

CHAPTER 3

Results

Quantitative Results

What follows is a description of the quantitative analysis of the data. In a later section, results of the qualitative analysis will be discussed.

The mean age of the mothers who participated (n=18) was 31.78 (S.D. = 5.86 and range= 21-45 years), and the mean age of the children was 2.06 years (S.D. = 1.18, range= 1-5 years). The average number of years of living in the U.S. was 10 (S.D. = 6, range 2-23) and 22% of the women were working outside of the home. In terms of level of education: 5.56 % had not attended high school, 16.67% had completed some high school, 61.11% had a high school or GED diploma, 11.11% had some college and 5.56% of the women had some graduate school level (For these and other demographic information, see Appendix A, Table 1 & 2).

Descriptive statistics reveal that the mean score for the Family Time and Routine Index (FTRI) is 55.33 (S.D.= 6.89), the mean score for the Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC) lability subscale is 29.44 (S.D.= 4.16), the mean score for the Emotion Regulation checklist emotion regulation subscale is 24.06 (S.D.= 3.058), the mean score of the Child Regulation Index (CRI) is 40.67 (S.D.= 6.33)

and the mean score for the Child Behavior Checklist is 50.83 (S.D.= 9.39) (see Appendix A, Table 3).

Hypothesis 1: Family Temporal Organization and Child Affect Regulation.

As highlighted in Table 4 (Appendix A), there is a statistically significant, positive correlation between the FTRI and the ERC emotion regulation subscale ($r= .602$, $p < 0.01$). This result indicates that the more parents establish regular daily schedules and routines, the more their children appropriately display emotions and emotion understanding, confirming the first hypothesis of the study. In addition, results showed a marginally significant negative correlation between the FTRI and the ERC lability subscale ($r= -.452$, $p < 0.05$). Parents who scored high on the FTRI tended to rate their children lower on the ERC lability subscale; and parents who scored low on the FTRI tended to rate their children higher on the ERC lability subscale. This suggests that the children of parents who reported less temporal organization also reported having children with inappropriate regulation of emotions and dysregulated positive emotions, hence children with greater affect lability.

There was no significant correlation between the FTRI and the Child Regulation Index (CRI). Therefore, the family

routines measure did not correlate with a measure of parent behavior in response to child's affective behavior.

Hypothesis 2: Family Temporal Organization and Children's Behavioral Problems.

Results showed a significant negative correlation between the FTRI and the CBCL total score ($r = -.600$, $p < 0.01$), as was predicted in the second hypothesis of this study. These results suggest that the greater the family temporal organization the less the child exhibits behavioral problems.

Hypothesis 3: Children's Affect Regulation and Children's Behavioral Problems.

Results also demonstrated a significant positive correlation between the CBCL and the Emotion Regulation Checklist lability subscale ($r = .473$, $p < 0.05$). This suggests that the children of parents who reported more child behavioral problems also reported having children with inappropriate regulation of emotions, mood swings, reactivity and dysregulated positive emotions, confirming the third hypothesis of this study. However, the CBCL did not correlate with the ERC emotion regulation subscale which measures those aspects of a child's affect regulation capacity involving the appropriate display of emotions and emotion understanding. The CBCL did not correlate with the

Child Regulation Index either. Therefore, the child behavioral problem measure did not correlate with a measure of parent behavior in response to child's affective behavior.

Qualitative Results

Grounded-theory methodology was used in the qualitative analysis to analyze interviews of four families. Two families were in the "High" category, that is, the mothers endorsed more regular family time and routines and more successful affect regulation in their children as compared with the average responses on these measures for the whole sample. The other two families were placed in the "Low" category: these mothers responded to these questionnaires in a way that suggested they saw their families' temporal structure as less regular and their children's affect regulation as less successful than the average sample. In an effort to deepen the understanding of the data, the backgrounds and immigration histories of the four mothers are briefly described below. These descriptions help to contextualize the data by emphasizing the individuality of each participant. All names and identifying information have been altered.

Brief Biographical Information

High Family Temporal Organization and Child Affect Regulation:

Yolanda

Yolanda is a 27-year-old woman who was born in the City of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. She migrated to New York City three years before the date of the interview. Yolanda migrated to join her husband, Jorge, who had already been living in the U.S. for a year. Although Yolanda spent about a year preparing to migrate, she still felt it was a not a planned or well though-out process. A few months after their marriage, Jorge was granted permanent U.S. residency, which he had applied for eight years earlier. He then moved to New York so he could start working while Yolanda stayed for a year in Santo Domingo waiting to be granted a U.S. visa. Once in New York, they could not afford their own housing and they lived with extended family for the first few months. Within the first three months after migrating, Yolanda found out that she was pregnant. While she described her pregnancy as a source of joy because it was her first child, it was “very stressful” given their unstable financial situation and recent immigration.

Yolanda described in detail how difficult, sad and

frustrating the transition into life in New York was since she had left behind her nuclear and extended family, her college studies and her long-time job as a secretary. Although she was not working outside of home at the time of the interview because of lack of childcare, she enthusiastically expressed her wish to improve her English and get a job. Yolanda, Jorge and Melvin (3), their only child, share a single room, which they rent in an apartment in Manhattan.

Lucía

Lucía is a 38-year-old woman who was also born in the city of Santo Domingo. She migrated to New York City in 1989 at the age of 24. Lucía's mother migrated first to work and to prepare the legal immigration documentation for her daughter. Lucía described that although the decision to migrate to the U.S. was a planned process, it interrupted her "life" in Santo Domingo. She left her college studies halfway through when her mother finally decided to bring her to the United States. Lucía felt her process of adapting to life in the U.S. was "terrible" because she was "used to my life there (in Santo Domingo), with my friends, going out on the weekends, etc. and when I moved here I spent most of time enclosed in an apartment watching TV." She also described her first years after migration as

"depressing" because she hardly knew anyone. For Lucía, life in New York City began to change when she obtained her first job as a cashier in a supermarket and was able to have enough financial independence to move into her own apartment. At that point she also decided to marry Juan, who is also Dominican. Having her first child was a turning point in Lucía's life after migrating: "life got just much better when she was born, it was so terrible to be by myself before…"

At the time of the interview, it was three months since Lucía separated from Juan because they did not get along anymore. Juan is also the biological father of her three children, Amelia (10), Emely (3.2) and Jonathan (.9). Juan sees the children three times a week. Although, Lucía began working outside of the home at 18 years of age, at the time of the interview she was unemployed. She felt that the lack of adequate childcare, her poor knowledge of English and her lack of training impeded her from looking for and obtaining a job. She described her life as happy and tranquil despite the stress and problems of raising three children.

Low Family Temporal Organization and Child affect Regulation:

Miguelina

Miguelina is a 35-year-old woman who was born in Santiago, the second largest city in the Dominican Republic after Santo Domingo. She migrated to New York City at age 17 when she was granted the permanent resident status which her mother had petitioned for a few years earlier. Miguelina described a long family history of immigration to the U.S. which began with her maternal aunt over twenty years ago. Miguelina's mother moved to the U.S. in 1977 and for ten years she traveled back and forth between the Dominican Republic and New York City. During those years, she gradually brought all nine of her children, including Miguelina, to live in the U.S.

Miguelina described her transition to life in New York as a very difficult experience because she was used to her life left behind. She had an especially difficult time adjusting to the change in school environment leading her to repeat all the years of high school she had already completed in the Dominican Republic. Ultimately, she dropped out of high school and completed her GED in an outside institution.

Miguelina is the mother of three children: Melvin

(12), Jessica (3) and Jessenia (1) who all share an apartment in Manhattan. At the time of the interview, she had been separated for two months from the father of her children, who is also Dominican. Miguelina started to work outside of her home when she was twenty. She was unemployed but interested in obtaining a job if she found adequate childcare.

Carmen

Carmen is a 21-year-old woman who was born in the city of Santo Domingo. She migrated to New York City at the age of 11. Carmen described that her mother migrated first and later, once she was financially stable and obtained Carmen's legal immigration documents, she brought Carmen to the U.S. Carmen remembers feeling ambivalent about moving to the U.S. While she felt happy because she was going to reunite with her mother and because she was "coming to New York to progress," she also felt that the decision was abrupt and left her feeling sad about leaving her father and other relatives behind. Lucía is the mother of two boys Ryan (3) and Marc (1) who live with her and Jose, her partner of seven years and biological father of the children. At the time of the interview, Carmen was unemployed and her highest degree of education was 9th grade. She felt that taking care of the children impeded

her from working at the time. Carmen described her life in New York as “good, I feel adapted here, I would not adapt to live back in Dominican Republic”. However, she also expressed regretting not having completed high school. She wished to continue her education and find a good job in the future.

Qualitative Analysis: Major Themes

There was extensive micro-coding of the data which produced a large volume of information on each woman and her family. What is described below is a summary of the major themes across the two categories (High Temporal Regulation and High Child Emotion Regulation vs. Low Temporal Regulation and Low Child Emotion Regulation (For a summary of the qualitative codes refer to Table of Codes in Appendix B).

Definition of Time and Family Time (Appendix B, 1-6)

It was found that women in the High category were readily able to answer questions about time and seemed to have a clear and precise meaning of time. In contrast, mothers in the Low category had a more global and vague concept of time. For instance, while for Lucía time "is a scale to mark your life”, for Carmen, who needed more prompting, “time means to think, reflect and to be calm…”

For mothers in the high group, time also seemed to be

a tangible construct that can be measured by real experiences. For Yolanda, for example, time is a way to measure personal accomplishments: **"**I've been here for three years and I have not done much, just take care of my son". "I want to be able to study, and go to school so that five years don't pass without doing anything". In contrast, mothers in the Low group did not describe their lives in terms of a temporal frame.

Furthermore, mothers in the High group used more details and were more specific in their description of rituals and family daily schedules than did mothers in the Low group, suggesting that they are more aware of time as a challenge and a resource. Their descriptions were also more clear, organized and easy to follow. Both Yolanda (High) and Lucía (High) provided long and detailed descriptions of family daily schedules without any prompting: "I wake up at 6:15 am to prepare my daughter for school. If I have an appointment, I take my son to the babysitter. If not, I begin cooking, more or less, while doing things here and there. Then my daughter gets home. I help with homework, then the others, I begin with them...then the night comes, I help them go to bed. Then I have to clean the dishes, organize everything for the next day. I am the last one to go to bed." (Lucía).

When defining family time, women in both groups agreed that family time is not solely a specific, regular, bounded period. Instead, for all mothers, family time happens whenever family -nuclear or extended- is together.

However, all participants also expressed making an effort to have a set recreation time every weekend with the family, usually involving outdoor activities. For example, both Miguelina (Low)and Yolanda (High) had their boys involved in a baseball league and their families set time every weekend to go to practice with them.

For both groups, family time also seemed to be associated with positive emotions and experiences involving both the nuclear and the extended family. It was noticeable how the affect of all women changed when talking about the activities they do when they are together as a family. As a whole, they became more talkative and excited when describing their time not only with members of their nuclear family but also with members of their extended family.

Operationalization of Time (Appendix B, 1-3)

Women who were in the High category clearly translated their definition of time into concrete family routines and rituals. They seemed to have a proactive position towards time. In addition, these mothers seemed to dominate and

control time rather than be controlled by time. For example, both Yolanda (High) and Lucía (High) had set meal times, bedtime rituals and regularly set family time. They also seemed more comfortable and adaptable when responding to changes in typical daily schedules. When asked to reflect about how time affects her family, Yolanda provided a detailed description of some of her coping strategies by giving an example: "I have so many things to do always, today, for example, I had this appointment to come to. So I had to make sure everything was set for my kids: the food, clothing, their snacks and so I woke up earlier to get ready and explained to them…" Perhaps, setting predictable patterns within the changes in family life may decrease the sense of chaos and increases family cohesiveness.

In contrast, women Low in family temporal organization seemed baffled by time. The codes of their statements reflected themes of running out of time or time eluding them. This translated into lack of family schedules and routines; for example, members of the family eating meals at different times or in separate rooms. Carmen (Low) described how her family became accustomed to not having mealtime in the same area of the apartment together: "My sister eats by the computer, my son on the couch, and my mom and other kid on the table".

The lack of an overall set schema or structure in organizing family life among mothers in the Low group was also reflected in their tendency to focus on how their schedules were disrupted by, common child incidents (i.e. soiling, changing diapers, feeding etc.). They also appeared more overwhelmed by regular family chores than mothers in the High group. For instance, Miguelina (Low) vividly described lose grasp of time when confronted with her children's demands: "I have to make sure I get everything done before kids wake up because the minute they wake up, I lose control." In contrast, common child chores did not seem to weigh down the schedules of women in the High category. Lucía (High), for example, acknowledged time as a challenge in her schedule but still seemed to be at ease when handling its' demands: "I write a schedule of my activities of the day and post it on the fridge". Without prompting, she then described in detail her schedule for the day almost as if processing her daily routine during the interview.

An emphasis on controlling child behavior during family time also reflected the sense of temporal chaos and disorganization in women in the Low group. For instance, Carmen's family time is dominated by conversations in which she attempts to teach her child appropriate behavior. In

contrast, family time in women in the High category was characterized by conversations about family goals and about family members living in the country of origin. Yolanda (High) smiled as she described how during family time "we imagine what it would be like when we buy a house and move to a nice place…". Lucía's (High) family tends to talk about their lives back in Dominican Republic: "the other day my brother and I went to bed at 4 am talking about when we were kids in DR, and about our parents and siblings who still live there now".

Shift in the Notion of Time and Family Time Due to Immigration (Appendix B, 7)

Both groups were similar in that they felt that the rhythm of life in the U.S. is faster and more hectic than in their country of origin. "Here I come and I get all anxious, everyone here is in such a rush, even the old people who cannot even walk, rushed here", said Yolanda (High) when talking about the pace of life in New York. Mothers also emphasized that their days were more filled with work, appointments and "things" to do rather than with quality time to spend with family. For example, in referring to her daily life, Lucía (High) said: "You always are rushed by all the appointments for the kids if not by the strict work schedule demands..." Lucía and the other

mothers tended to feel that the fast rhythm of life here gets in the way of people spending more time together and as she stated “enjoying the moment.”

In addition, women in both groups reflected that in their homeland they had more time to share with family because people tend to work less and/or there are less job opportunities. They felt that there is more quality and quantity of leisure time in the Dominican Republic.

Furthermore, mothers in both groups provided a sense that having a family plays a secondary role when you arrive to the U.S.: For Lucía (High), “the real dream is to come to the U.S. to work, send money to family in D.R., you don't think of having a family because you think you are going back, but then you end up starting a family and is hard to set the family as priority when you need to work to fulfill the initial dream.” For both groups of mothers, work takes over family life in U.S.

Women in both groups also agreed about feeling that family time in their homeland was better because they had more physical space to share. For instance, Yolanda, whose family lived in one single room, felt that the lack of space limited her privacy and sense of freedom for family time.

The lack of regularity of shared family mealtimes with

extended family was another aspect that both families used in describing the difference between family life in Dominican Republic versus New York City. All women emphasized how in their homeland they shared more family meals together with grandparents, aunts and cousins. Miguelina (Low) clearly described how her family “used to eat breakfast, lunch and dinner all together, with brothers, parents. Here it is so difficult to get everyone to sit and eat meals together."

Results also showed that all women felt that the quality of family life gets disrupted by the separation of the nuclear and extended family during immigration. Women in all groups described that during family time here, their families’ tended to talk about the responsibility they feel about helping the relatives left back in Dominican Republic. "We talk about my sister living in D.R. who complains how bad she is doing. We think of how bad the situation is there and how to send her money and clothing for their kids…," Lucía (High) described.

In addition, they felt that family time here is different than in the country of origin because here, there is less interaction with relatives and neighbors than in the homeland: "there, I could sit in the porch of my house to drink my coffee and I could say hello to my neighbors

and to my sister who lived next door and would always bring me food, cake… and I could watch my daughter play outside…" (Lucía, High).

Both groups had similar activities during family time: play with kids, read books, watch TV and rent movies, listen to music and dance and spend time in the kitchen talking while cooking. Both groups also placed an emphasis on outdoor recreational activities and leisure time involving extended family as a way to promote family unity and to keep aspects of the culture of origin alive. For example, all families talked about going out to parks and playing outdoor sports as activities with the family. Miguelina, for instance was enthusiastic when describing their weekend family time routine: "my child is on a baseball league and plays every weekend so we go with him every time. Everyone goes, the grandma, the cousins, is big things for the family. Then we go and have dinner together that my mother cooks. It happens every weekend as if we were back in D.R.".

The difference between women from each group in explaining the shifts of family life after immigration appeared to be based in how they adapted to the changes. Women in the High category appeared better able to adapt to the time and schedule shifts of the host country. These

mothers seemed to make more of an effort to set consistent routines in their daily lives as a way to keep up with the new pace of life. Lucía (High), for example, stressed the importance of eating together everyday as a way to preserve consistency and continuity of family togetherness: "this is a tradition (having daily mealtime together) that I want to maintain.”.

Impact of Family Temporal Organization on Children’s Affect Regulation (Appendix B, 8-17)

Women in both categories seemed attuned to their children’s affective states. They all reflected a capacity to identify both the negative and positive emotions of their children as well as the events that tend to evoke each feeling from their children. All women also made an effort to regulate their children’s negative affective states. The difference seemed to be that women in the High category had time-tested or set strategies that appeared effective in regulating their children’s emotional upsets. For example, the two women in the High category reported playing soothing music when the child was sad or afraid, bathing them to calm them down when angry or upset and engaging the child in favorite play activities when the child was sad. In contrast, women in the Low category seemed to be more reactive and did not always have a set

strategy in place for soothing their children. This difference seems to be associated with the idea that women in the High category appeared more organized, consistent and predictable as reflected by their adherence to daily temporal routines.

In addition, the children of the mothers in the Low category appeared to emotionally overwhelm and dysregulate their mothers more during daily family routines than the children of the mothers in the High group. As was noted earlier, mothers in the Low group tended to focus on how their schedules were interrupted by ordinary child activities such as changing diapers, feeding and soiling. Typical family household activities appeared to overwhelm mothers in the Low group more than mothers in the High group. For Miguelina (Low), "Time is for the children not for me, I have to live in their time, like I am in my house but I have to wait for them… sometimes they dysregulate me, they make me lose control of time”.

There were differences between each group’s approaches and descriptions of emotional reactions and behavior during mealtime. For instance, while Lucía (High) described dinner time as “tranquil”, Miguelina (Low) described it as a time of struggle: "The kids are fighting and they do not always finish their meals." Differences were also seen in the

mother's definition and approaches to bedtime. However, these differences were not between groups. While Lucía (High), Yolanda (High) and Miguelina (Low) had set external rituals for kids which signaled bedtime, Carmen (Low) differed in the structure of bedtime hours and in her definition of bedtime as a marker to end the chaos in the her house: For Carmen: "My youngest kid goes to bed when he is done with bothering around."

Although mothers in both groups appeared to describe their children's emotional states appropriately in terms of the content of the situation which evoked the feelings, mothers in the High group used more details and were more specific in describing their children's affective states and emotion regulatory skills. Women in the Low category required more prompting to describe their children's emotions and reactions as well as their own. For example, when Lucía (High) described a incident in which she noted her child was happy, she gave a lively description of the event: "When I got may daughter a bicycle she was very happy, she ran from one side of the room to the other, hugged and kissed me (Lucía smiled and used her hands to describe how her daughter reacted when she was exited as if mimicking her)". Carmen's answer was more simple and did not have the same non-verbal affective details as Lucía's"

(Low): “He likes when I take him outside to play, he starts jumping.”

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

Interpretation of the Results

Dominican immigrants face the many stressors involved in the immigration process such as low socio-economic status, low incomes, lack of fluency in English and unsteady housing conditions. Additionally, as with many other immigrant groups, Dominican families deal with adjusting to the frantic time and work schedule patterns of New York City, which may place their children at risk for poor emotion regulation. This study evaluated the hypothesis that the temporal organization of family life among first-generation Dominican families is related to affect regulation of their children. It is an area that has not yet been studied in this population, thus these findings are proposed as starting points for further work in exploring this topic in greater depth in this and other minority and immigrant populations.

The quantitative data indicated a statistically significant correlation between parent reports of the degree of regularity of family routines and parent reports of their child display of adaptive affect regulation. More specifically, the hypothesis that temporal organization is related to children's appropriate display of emotion,

empathy, equanimity and emotion understanding was supported. Additionally, a marginally significant correlation was found between family routines and a measure that examines inappropriate regulation of emotion, variability, mood swings, reactivity and dysregulated positive emotions, which also confirms the first hypothesis of the study.

Similar to Wilson's (2001) results, no relationship was found between family routines and a measure that assessed parenting behavior geared toward encouraging affect regulation by the child. This is a surprising finding since parenting behavior has been theoretically associated to both child affect regulation and temporal organization through out development. There are two possible reasons for this lack of relationship. First, it is possible that a parent's effort to externally regulate the child's affect does not exclusively account for the relationship between the child's affect regulation capacity and the family's temporal organization. A parent's effort to externally regulate a child's feelings may not be as strong a factor in the child's emotion regulation as the establishment of organized family schedules and routines in helping a child modulate his/her emotions. Despite the fact that there was no correlation between the scales that

measured affect-regulation-oriented parenting and parents' ratings of kids affect regulations, there may be a specific aspect of the child's internal modulation of his or her own feelings, independent from parental behavior geared toward affect regulation, but which does relate to the temporal organization of the family.

Additionally, there is a possibility that temporal regulation and affect-regulation oriented parenting may be two different ways that parents affect their children's affect regulation. One could hypothesize that temporal regulation works by creating predictability in daily life and events that require children to down-regulate and regular times. On the other hand, parenting practices may work directly at the level of response to children's emotional displays. Some parents may be good at one approach but not the other. This could be an area that could be further explored in future studies.

The lack of relationship between family routines and a measure that assessed parenting behavior toward encouraging affect regulation by the child could also be in part attributed to limitations of the parenting questionnaire. Although, the questionnaire utilized to assess parent response to the child's affect is considered psychometrically sound (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996),

this measure may not be culturally and empirically sensitive enough to use with the population of this study. This scale may not be sensitive to specific aspects of parenting behavior targeting affect regulation skills among a subgroup Hispanics – namely, Dominicans. For example, the scale asked the parents to rate the frequency with which they do certain things to get their children to behave the way the want (i.e. How often do you calm him down when she/he is afraid of being left alone, being afraid of the dark, etc.). None of the items included specific non-verbal "things" (such as hugs, kisses, caresses, hand gestures, etc.), a common form of emotional expression among Hispanics, which parents could identify with. Since no other scales have been designed to measure this and other variables of emotion regulation among Hispanics, in further studies involving this population, the scale used in the present study could be revised to be more culturally appropriate.

Furthermore, as was expected, the results showed a relationship between temporal organization and the general level of child problem behavior. In addition, the findings also showed a relationship between a measure that examines inappropriate regulation of emotion and emotional lability and a measure of general level of child problem behavior,

which confirms the third hypothesis of the study: namely, that temporal regulation at home may relate to a child's overall behavioral problems and that a child's ability to regulate emotions may be a factor in a child's general level of problem behavior.

The results of this study replicate Wilson's (2001) findings of a relationship between family temporal organization and child affect regulation in primarily African American homeless families, and extend this finding to a sample of poor first generation Hispanic immigrants, another underserved population. The present results are also in line with previous findings of a link between family routines and child psychological adjustment (Brody and Flor, 1997; Doherty and Carlson, 2003). Thus, the data presented here reinforce the hypothesis that predictability of family time and family routines is a significant factor in the development of a child, since it interacts with a basic aspect of a child's emotional well being: the ability to manage effectively his/her feelings in response to both external and internal stimulation.

Wilson's findings, along with the data presented here, speak to a possible cross-culturally valid model for understanding the impact of a family temporal organization on a child's affect regulatory development: when families

establish more regular daily rhythms, children are more likely to be better able to regulate their emotions. The temporal structure of the day may become internalized by children and guide their up- and down-regulation without additional parental intervention. When families have less regular daily rhythms, children may require more incident-to-incident parenting interventions to help them regulate emotions.

Furthermore, the qualitative data presented here illustrate the larger context of the relationship between temporal and affect regulation. In the case of the population investigated in this study, which faces the adverse situations involved in the immigration process (i.e. low income, language barrier, limited housing etc.), having predictable rhythm of life and routines might serve an adaptive function in the family's adjustment to the demands of the host society.

However, as the present data are correlational and not causal, the question of directionality of influence between temporal and affect regulation remains. That is, it may be that temporal regularity results in greater affect regulatory abilities in children through training children in up- and down-regulating, as is suggested above. Or it may be that children who have better affect regulatory

skills -- developed through some other means of parent-child transmission or through biological factors such as temperament – make it easier for parents to set and maintain regular temporal routines at home. Or there may be a third, underlying variable that is manifested in level of temporal regulation and child affect regulatory abilities. For instance, it may be that mothers who are more proactive and generally competent establish more regular family temporal patterns and are also more skilled at regulating their children's difficult emotions. That there was no significant correlation found between temporal regulation and the scale examining parents' affect regulating behaviors argues against this "general maternal competence" model. Another possibility, especially given the literature indicating the relationship between attachment and emotion regulation (Fonagy, Target, Jurist, & Gergely, 2001) is that parents who establish more secure attachment patterns with their children also establish more regular temporal patterns in the home. Future research needs to assess the possible underlying dimensions of the parent-child relationship that may surface in both emotion and temporal regulation, among other positive aspects of child functioning and family life.

The qualitative part of the study may help to answer a

host of questions that may arise in a clinical context. These data reveal aspects of the quality of family life among Dominicans not addressed by the quantitative findings. Overall, the mothers who were rated as “High” in temporal organization and affect regulation had a more precise definition of time than mothers who were rated as “Low”. For both Yolanda (High) and Lucía (High), time seemed like a tangible and controllable construct to measure real experiences. For instance, this was evident in Yolanda’s frustration about not having had time to continue her education because of childcare and the transition to life as an immigrant. A belief in time not as a vague concept but as a challenge and resource that can be controlled may explain why mothers in the High group had better temporal organization that those in the Low category. Thus, a close study of these two groups of women suggest that the quality of a family temporal organization may be in part a reflection of the parents overall understanding and “take” on time.

Another aspect in which women from each group differed was in the quality of their descriptions of family routines, schedules and of their children’s emotional experiences. Women in the High category provided more detailed descriptions of their daily schedules as well as

of their children emotional states. This observation supports the notion that there may be a general parent competence dimension underlying the correlation between temporal regulation and affect regulation. In contrast, those in the Low category appeared more disorganized in their descriptions of family schedules and their children's feelings and behavior. Miguelina (Low) and Carmen (Low), for instance, often described feeling overwhelmed by time demands and by common childrearing tasks. Yolanda (High) and Lucía (High), in contrast, had specific and concrete set family rituals and time-tested activities to sooth their children in times of distress which seemed to provide a sense of predictability to the children. Having consistent family meals together was an activity highly valued by Lucía as a way to preserve family unity. Consequently, the establishment of distinct, predictable and consistent family rituals or "ritualized time" (Leach, 1997), may provide part of the link between affect regulation and family temporal organization.

Women from the two groups differed in their level of education (Lucía and Yolanda finished half of their college degrees while Miguelina had a GED degree and Carmen did not finish high school), which may account for some of the differences in their responses when it came to use of

details and to their appreciation of time. However, despite the fact that Yolanda and Lucía (High) were clearly more eloquent and had some college education, which neither Miguelina (Low) or Carmen (Low) did, there were occasions when Carmen and Miguelina's description were equivalent in evocative detail as the other mothers'. This was especially noticeable in their descriptions of the qualities of the time spend together with nuclear and extended families. This observation, which was also noted by Wilson (2001) in her study, may be supported by the findings from the Adult Attachment interview research that intelligence or verbal fluidity does not affect participant's coherency of detail (Main, 1995).

As observed through the qualitative findings so far, mothers from each group have differed from each other in a number of ways that provides support and greater detail for this study's hypothesis. However, looking at these women's commonalities also indicates that they overlap in how they view family time. Interestingly, all mothers agreed in their belief of family time not as a specific set time but more as "whenever family is together". This flexible approach to family time may serve as a protective factor against the demands of the hectic schedules and change in lifestyle in the host society. For instance, a rigid

notion of family time as "set time" that could only occur when all members of the family are together is not likely to happen as consistently given the busy working schedules and uncoordinated schedules of members of the extended family. Instead, allowing family time to be a *flexible global* notion encompassing any moments that is shared with members of the nuclear or extended family is a more adaptive approach to the limits set by the host culture.

This more flexible understanding of family time is in concordance with the relaxed concept of time ascribed to the Hispanic cultures (Slonim, 1991). It seems that despite the adjustment that these families have to make to the life in New York City -- one of the busiest, crowded and fast paced cities in the world (Levine, 1997) a flexible, relaxed and open take on family time may be a cultural value that as *familismo* resists assimilation into the new society. In addition, the preservation of a flexible and open take on family time may work as away to sustain Hispanic identity within the process of adapting the host culture.

An overall positive outlook and affect toward family time was also present in women from all groups. This optimistic stance toward family time may be supported by the high level of *familismo* found among Dominicans (La

Roche, 1997). Women in all groups also agreed in their effort to have *set* leisure times but also *flexible* times with the family on the *weekends* usually involving an outdoor activity such as playing baseball. This finding is supported by previous studies showing that leisure activities occur mainly in the context of family and friendship groups among Hispanics (Kelly, 1987; Carr & Williams, 1993). This planned leisure time may serve as a way to maintain *familismo* which could be threatened by the limited time availability. In addition, the focus on leisure time as a family in the outdoors, which may works a form of "ritualized time" (Leach, 1997), may be a way to preserve a connection with the homeland, in which many if not most family time was spent outdoors.

Although it may seem contradictory to emphasize the idea that flexibility and relaxed family time may serve as an adaptive structure, when one applies it to the notion of emotions, this relationship could become clearer. The ability to be flexible in responding to situations and the ability to structure ones emotions in the moment are both important elements of effective affect regulation (Cole et al. 1994; Walden & Smith, 1997), which are both attributes that appear to be present in effective temporal organization (Wilson, 2001). Thus, by creating a system in

their regular daily lives that is predictable but which also allows some variation through the relaxed concept of family time, families in the High category may be shaping an adequate affective environment for the family. This combination brings to mind Stern's (2000) description of the infant's first experiences as repetition that is never precisely the same but connected by a similar feeling. When Lucía (High) sets time everyday to have dinner with everyone together at the same table every night, or when she follows a schedule of the family's activities for the day, she creates a temporal support for the rest of the family. Within these series of set predictable duties, she also is flexible in appreciating that any time she gets to spend with any members of her nuclear or extended family is precious and valuable family time to her children.

Furthermore, none of the women in this study saw themselves as perfect or imperfect, as a heroine or as a failure in managing the struggles of everyday life and immigration stress. In their responses to the interviewer's questions, they were all palpably concerned about their children's welfare – with optimistic views and great hopes for their children's future -- but worried about the consequences of the turmoil in their lives due to demands of the host society on their children's emotional

wellbeing. All mothers expressed genuine concern about the impact that the hectic and frenzied pace of life in New York was having on their families' lives. A special concern was evident in their feelings about the way the fast rhythm of life can get in the way of people spending more time with each other, a value that is at the core of *familismo*. Yolanda (High), Lucía (High) and Miguelina (Low) were quite vocal in expressing, for instance, how "work" in American society seemed to dominate family life.

Despite the fact that all women agreed on the negative impact that the frantic pace of life was having on the quality of their families' lives, women in the High category clearly differed from the women in the Low group in their approach to dealing with time pressure. Women in the High group seemed to have a better grasp of their schedules and seemed to be able to dominate time instead of being overtaken by it. For instance, "Time is gold here (in the U.S.)…. You can't play with time here" were among the expression Lucía (High) used to referred to her proactive handle of time in her life. For her as well as for Yolanda (High), consistency and predictability of family schedules was important in dealing with the time demands. In some ways, it seemed like women in the Low category were set on the idea of preserving the rhythm of life of their homeland

– for which they did not need to exert much structure -- while women in the High category seemed to realize that a shift in their style had to occur to reduce family stress. In their approaches to time difficulties, it appeared as if Yolanda and Lucía could anticipate how time would affect family life on stressful days.

Some of the data presented by the participants in this study evoke questions about the role of parental affect-regulating capacity, parental attachment quality and the nature of object relations in a parent's capacity to describe in detail a family life, to react to children in ways that promotes adequate or impoverished affect regulation, as well as to mold the temporal structure of the family. Despite the fact that all mothers appeared attuned to their children's different emotional states and they described effortful attempts to regulate their children in their own particular styles, women in the Low category appeared to be more overwhelmed by their children's states. Miguelina (Low), for instance, often expressed both verbally and non-verbally how exhausted and overpowering her children were to her, almost as if while helping her children modulate their feelings she would lose her sense of self. In some of her descriptions, she was not always able to clearly differentiate between her children's

moods and hers. Carmen (Low) showed her overwhelming states by shutting down. Among all the women, Carmen was the one who required the most prompting when describing both the daily temporal structure of the family and the children's emotional states.

In describing the notion of reflective functioning, Target and Fonagy (1996) identify how the psychological development of a child is contingent on a parents' capacity to imagine the child's inner world. Consequently, one can wonder about the impact that Miguelina's and Carmen's struggle with emotions may have not only on their children's affect regulating ability but also on the temporal structures they construct. It might be that what underlies Carmen's and Miguelina's affective uneasiness would also interfere with the type of temporal settings they establish, at the same time as Lucía (High) and Yolanda's (High) relative equanimity and looseness to experience their own and their children's emotions seems to be reflected in the kind of adaptable and dependable temporal structure they have arranged. It may be that as a whole, parents who reported a regular and flexible temporal organization also have more skills in regulating the affect of their children than do parents who reported less temporal organization. However, the extent to which

underlying psychodynamics –including self-other differentiation, quality of attachment, capacity for affect integration and self-perception, -determine the attributes of temporal structure is a salient area to be further explored in future studies.

Nevertheless, one could also envision parents utilizing temporal regulation as a coping strategy to balance their acknowledged struggle with experiencing their own and their children's feelings. For instance, a mother who has learned from her life experiences and upbringing that she can get easily overwhelmed by her and others' emotional states may learn that establishing a rhythmicity to family life can create a "good-enough holding environment." In turn, effectively promotes her children's capacity to regulate their emotions, thereby decreasing the mother's sense of overwhelm. Indeed, previous research supports the idea that one of the key advantages of a predictable routine is that it offers protection against less-than-optimal circumstances, including parents' variations in the responding to the child (Wilson, 2001).

As a whole, flexibility and regularity in routines have been found to promote healthy family functioning (Henry & Lovelace, 1995). In addition, there is a strong

link between regular family meals[7] and a broad range of positive outcomes in children and adolescents: academic success, psychological adjustment, and lower rates of drug use, alcohol use, early sexual behavior and suicidal risk (Doherty & Carlson, 2003). A relationship between temporal regularity and affect regulations may compensate for the limited psychological assistance offered by their parents. Eventually, it would be interesting to expand the ideas presented in this and her study to explore the relationship between family temporal organization, attachment patterns, child object relations, object representations and child affect regulations capacities.

Although mother's age, education and years of immigration were not variables investigated in this study, when examining the qualitative data one may wonder about their possible role in the relationship between family temporal organization and child affect regulation. For instance, research has shown high levels of maturity and level of education to be related to adequate organization and better use of time in women (Leyendecker et al, 2002). Age, however, did not appear to be a strong factor in the responses seen in the qualitative data (each group had a

[7] This study defined family meal as one in which the teenager ate with at least one parent.

woman in her 20's and one in her 30's). Age could be a variable further explored in future studies. Women from both groups did differ in their level of education which could account in part for some of the observed differences -- for example, in Yolanda's and Lucía's definition of time as a way to measure educational achievements. Finally, as there is a large range of years of living in the U.S. among all 18 women investigated in this study, one may wonder if those women with fewer years since immigration will have a more difficult time setting temporal structure in their families due to higher immigration stress and less time to assimilate the host culture. However, Yolanda, who was the mother with least number of years living in the U.S. (3 years) of all four women analyzed in the qualitative part of the study, was in the group with high temporal organization. Similarly, Miguelina, who was the mother who had lived in the U.S. the longest (18 years) was in the Low temporal organization group.

Reflections on Socio-cultural Implications

The findings of this study evoke a number of complex socio-cultural issues ranging from the cross-cultural meaning of family time to the impact of immigration on the value of time and on the meaning of family as structure in society. One may examine the findings of this study in the

context of the constant changes happening in the world in this "Globalization Era". The issues exposed by the families in this study provide a vivid illustration of the effects of the frantic and fast pace of life brought on by globalization and economic development in industrialized nations. The "search for a better life" or for "progress", the main goal for migrating to the U.S. for these mothers, may demand a re-definition and a re-structuralization of family life. One may remember Lucía's words: "*The dream is to come to U.S. to work, send money to family in DR., you don't think of having a family because you think you are going back, but then you end up starting a family…things change… work takes over…*" Lucía may be among the many immigrants who confront the secondary role that family takes once one gets entrapped not only by the time demands but by the work-centered philosophy of life in American society.

Paradoxically, in the quest for the "American dream", Hispanic immigrants may jeopardize, in part, the motivation of their struggle to come to the U.S.: the quality of family life. Immigration may bring what Falicov (2006, personal conversation) refers as the "fragmentation of family time". The findings of this study imply that a shift in the structure of family schedules, organization and

notion of time in general may be required in order to cope with the demands of the host society. In the case of Dominicans and other Hispanic groups, this may mean a shift from the "present" and "relaxed" time orientation to a more Westernized, "future" and "fast-paced" approach to time. Nonetheless, this shift must allow space for some flexibility in the preservation of the meaning of family time not as rigid bounded period but as a series of unpredictable moments to value togetherness.

It would be a mistake to interpret the results of the present study as proposing a hierarchical and judgmental view of different cultures' ways of life. It would be absurd to assume one culture's take on time as superior than another without taking into account the context of the society. A less ethnocentric outlook would be to propose the idea that each culture is "different" and that one approach to time may function better in one country than in another (Falicov, 2006, personal conversation). And given the empirical relationship between temporal regulation and affect regulation revealed in this study, a Dominican family that remains committed to the time orientation which once was adaptive in the homeland may have more difficulties in managing other essential aspects of family life – such as their children affect-regulating capacity --

than a family who re-adjusts to the American time orientation.

The results of this study unavoidably raise questions about possible effects of degree of assimilation and acculturation in the relationship between affect regulation and family temporal structures. Do families that are more acculturated or more "Americanized" have higher temporal organization and have children with better affect regulation than families which are less acculturated? Are there culture-specific practices regarding child affect regulation and family temporal organization that resist assimilation? Future studies investigating the answers to these and other questions may further expand the qualitative data described in this study addressing the shifts and changes in cultural values given the exigencies of the new environment.

What can we learn about the American culture's current view of time and family time based on this study? The present results reconfirm the impact that the family time famine (Daly, 1996), "the unacknowledged elephant in America's family room," (Burger, 2004 in press release[8]), is having on people across all income and ethnic groups. The

[8] Burger is the national staff person of the Take Back Your Time campaign. www.timeday.org

perspective of the women in this study represents a criticism from the margins of American society regarding it's way of handling time, which should not be taken lightly. The population researched in this study is an important group to whom we should listen not only because they represent one of the largest and rapidly growing immigrant communities in this country, but because they are also an essential component of the low-income work force in America. Consequently, as the time famine threatens the stability of the family, the basic unit of and the major source of emotional, physical and psychological support for Hispanic people, it also in turn threatens the socio-economic stability of America. Perhaps, this study could be used to advocate for a revision of American public policies which do little in protecting our family and personal time in contrast to those in other countries.

Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations to this study. First of all, although fathers were invited to participate in the interviews and to complete the questionnaires, data were only collected based on the mothers' perceptions. The fathers could not attend the interviews because they were at work. The fathers' points of view might have produced interesting responses that could help develop theory in

this area. In addition, the interview did not include questions that ask directly the parents' opinion about the connection between their temporal organization and their children's capacity to regulate their emotions. This limitation could have generated fascinating material to compare with the findings presented so far. Also, it would have been interesting to explore in more detail the parents' points of view about the meaning of affect regulation and how that has changed since moving to the U.S.

Furthermore, this study did not directly compare families of similar socio-economic background but of different ethnicities, such as Caucasians or other Hispanic groups. This would have allowed space to explore the generalizability of the present findings or if they could only be attributed to Dominicans. In addition, a larger sample would also have bolstered the findings.

Finally, the results may be limited by the possibility that this sample of families may not be completely representative of families undergoing more psycho-social distress. The participants are already parents who were motivated and organized enough to attend Columbia University Head Start and Early Head Start and who are already trying to integrate into the host society. CUHS may

be already setting a model for temporal structure and organization. A more representative sample of Dominican immigrants would include those in the community that did not initiate contact with an organization like Columbia Head Start, and who may represent an even less assimilated subgroup of Dominicans.

Implications for Future Research

Throughout the discussion of the results of this study, I have addressed a number of ideas that could be further explored in future research. Among these ideas was the examination of possible relationships between family temporal organization and the individual underlying psychodynamics of family members –including self-other differentiation, quality of attachment, capacity for affect integration and self-perception. A study such as this, especially addressing the population of interest, could expand and shed light on the results found here. In addition, the role of acculturation, education, and overall competence or self agency as a moderator or underlying factor in the relationship between family temporal organization and child affect regulation could be another important expansion to the present findings.

Developing a study protocol investigating the temporal and affect-regulatory patterns examined in this study in a

population of Dominican families still living in the homeland would allow the possibility of a comparison of the differences and similarities of cultural values regarding family time. The research model utilized in this study could also be used to study other ethnic groups as well as people from different socioeconomic status.

Clinical Implications

The qualitative findings of this study could provide the basis for the creation of culturally sensitive and minimally intrusive clinical interventions to assist immigrant families in their adjustment to life in the United States. For instance, introducing questions that explore family routines and rhythm may be of help when evaluating the quality of the parenting environment present in immigrant families seeking psychological assistance. Addressing a family's approach to family time and to time in general, can serve as a starting point for discussion of what is usually a sensitive area for families – the relationship between their parenting practices and their children's emotional functioning.

Based on the data presented here, immigrant families seeking psychological support could be encouraged to set regular routines at home to facilitate and support the parent's ability to go to work by increasing the children's

ability to handle strong emotions on their own. Creating regular patterns of time together and time apart, regular wake-up times, mealtimes, and bedtimes, as well as predictable patterns of household management may enhance a parent's capacity to focus on maintaining employment.

The exploration of a family's experience of changes in family life and in the meaning of family time after moving to the U.S. would also be an important intervention when treating distressed immigrant families. The women of this study emphasized the importance holding aspects of the homeland in mind through family mealtimes and outdoor leisure activities, as a way to preserve the part of the self otherwise lost during immigration.

Underserved families such as the ones researched in this study, are affected by the extensive changes in the labor market resulting from technological and economic shifts, such as the large increase in low-paying service jobs catering to a twenty-four-hour society without a parallel increase in support systems like health insurance and child care. Findings from this investigation may contribute to the development of preventive, psycho-educational interventions for immigrant, Hispanic families adjusting to the temporal demands of American society. These interventions could be utilized as a component of

community-based programs for Hispanic families needing help in the transition from immigration to work. For example, interventions might be created to make appropriate changes to the typical days of families that have predominantly chaotic environments. Preferably, these interventions would allow families to establish greater predictability, ensuing in their children's increased ability to modulate their emotions.

This study was an attempt to look at family temporal organization and its relationship to the regulation of children's emotions in a population that is often neglected in psychological research. It is important to study temporal organization because family routines build daily stability and cohesiveness in the midst of adversity (McCubbin, Thompson & McCubbin 1996). The population of this study is highly aware of the way stressors and anxiety facing them can take over the life of a family. Concentrating on temporal structure, an element that families can become in charge of, could be a resilient mechanism families rely on during hardship. The findings of this study propose that the establishment of predictable day-to-day routines which allow space for some flexibility in the meaning of family time as a series of unpredictable instances to value togetherness, may be essential in

supporting their own children's ability to regulate the vicissitudes of their emotional lives.

APPENDIX A

Tables of Quantitative Results

Table 1
Parent Demographics
(n=18)

Demographics	**Means (S.D.) or percent**	**Range**
Parent Age	31.78 (5.86)	21-45
# of Children in household	2.06 (1.18)	1-5
Years living in the U.S.	10 (6)	2-23
Marital Status: married	44.44	
"Living together"	22.22	
Single	16.67	
Separated	16.67	
Education: % no high school	5.561	
% some high school	16.67	
% high school/GED	61.11	
% some college	11.11	
% some graduate school	5.56	
Working outside of the home	22.22	

Table 2
Child Demographics
(n=18)

Demographics	**Means (S.D.) or percent**	**Range**
Age	3 (1)	1-5
% male	44.44	
% female	55.56	

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics

Measure	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
FTRI Routine Total	39	68	55.33	6.894
ERC lability.	21	37	29.44	4.162
ERC emotion reg.	18	29	24.06	3.058
Child Reg. Index	29	55	40.67	6.334
CBC total T	37	76	50.83	9.395
CBC internal T	34	72	50.39	10.118
CBC external T	40	64	48.72	6.332

Table 4

Bivariate Correlations

	FTRI Routine Total	ERC lability	ERC emotion reg.	Child Reg. Index	CBC total T	CBC internal T
FTRI Routine Total						
ERC lability.	-.452					
ERC emotion reg.	**.602(**)**	-.344				
Child Reg. Index	.381	.356	.101			
CBC total T	**-.600(**)**	**.473(*)**	-.254	.055		
CBC internal T	**-.582(*)**	.320	-.379	-.083	.921(**)	

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

APPENDIX B

Qualitative Analysis

Table of Codes

***HIGH Group=** Mothers scored High on the FTRI (score of 56 or above) and High on the ERC-Emotion Regulation (score of 23 or above)*
***LOW Group=** Mothers scored Low on the FTRI (score of 55 or below) and Low on the ERC-Emotion Regulation (score of 22 or below)*
COO= Country of Origin

Family Temporal Organization

1.Concept of Time

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Thinks of the hour, minutes… •Thinks of the weather and how family activities have to be adjusted to weather condition •Time is the most important thing in life -Time is a marker to distinguish one day to the other: *"It is a scale to mark your life."* -Time is a way to measure personal accomplishments: *"I've been here for three years and I have not done much, just take care of my son". "I want to be able to study, and go to school so that five years don't pass w/o doing anything."* •Time means to think, to reflect and to be calm	•Define time by family daily routines and responsibilities •Feeling dysregulated by demands of child rearing and house chores *"I have to make sure I get everything done before kids wake up because the minute they wake up they dysregulate me, I lose control."*

2.How Does Time Affect Family?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Time affects us very much -Because feels like lacks enough time to do everything -Because feels like the life style in U.S. is rushed: *"Time is against me."* •Time is very valuable in U.S. *"Time is like gold."* *"You can't play with time here."* •On daily basis time is a vague concept, but it is a larger order.	•Feeling like children take over all her time: *"Time is for the children not for me, I have to live in their time, like I am in my house but I have to wait for them…sometimes they dysregulate me, they make me lose control of time."* •Children constantly interrupt set daily routines •Concept of time is vague and internal •Thinking of time is associated with maternal conflict regarding her use of time: *"My mom tells me that I should be more strict w/ my child and have more discipline w/ him."*

3.Meaning of Family Time (FT)

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Stresses importance to dedicate time to family: *"Family time is Sacred"* •To laugh and have a good time with family •Wish to have a flexible job so she could spend time with family •Participant rejects the idea of adjusting to America's notion of family time: *"I don't want to be like Americans who get home in the evening and that is it."*	•To Have a good time with family *"To share time with my mother, brothers, kids"*

4.Amount of Family Time

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•4-5 weekdays with nuclear family •Try to have family time every day but feels that has very little FT with extended family: •About 1 day a week with extended family •Feels amount of FT will change when begins to work • During the weekend child's schedule reflect parents' schedule: *"My kid stays up with us, and we play with him, he is around with us all the time, he does not go to bed until we go to bed."* •Participant has a set recreation time every weekend with family: *"We go to play baseball or play music."*	•Also 4-5 weekday with nuclear family •Maintains daily contact with extended family living in U.S. *"I talk to my mother everyday, we go over her house often for dinner and cooking, everyone brings their kids…"* •Participant becomes more lively as she describes family get-togethers •Participant also has a set recreation time every weekend with family: *"My child is on a baseball league and plays every weekend so we go with him every time."*

5.What Happens during Family Time?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Plays with kids •Reads books •Watch TV and rent movies •On Sundays go out to the park •Play music •Cooks and spend time in the kitchen	•Participant appears excited in answering this question: •We eat together •Laugh and gossip •Play music •Go to the park with kids

6. What do you talk about during FT:

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•About relatives left in COO: *"We talk about my sister who lives in DR who complains about how bad she is doing."* •About the economic situation in DR •About childhood memories of growing up in DR: *"The other day my brother and I went to bed at 4 am talking about when we were kids in DR, and about our parents."* •About the plans and things we want in the future: •Avoid talking about problems unless serious	•With extended family also talk about relatives left in DR •Conversation focuses on teaching child appropriate behavior

7.Compare Family Time in U.S. vs. in DR

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•The way of life in U.S. is rushed: *"Working hours in DR are shorter, public offices are closed by 4 pm."* *"There, it is calm. I remember my mom when she used to come from here to visit us in DR, she always came stressed and anxious."* •In DR used to do more outdoor activities and there is more leisure time: *"There we go to the beach and outdoor more and here we just go to the movies."* •in Sto. Dgo. you have more interaction with relatives and neighbors *"There I could sit in the porch to have coffee and say hello to my neighbors, my sister lived next door and we shared food and I watched my daughter play outside."* •Family plays a secondary role when you arrive to the U.S.: *"The dream is to come to U.S. to work, send money to family in DR., you don't think of having a family*	•Family time in DR was better because had more physical space to share •In DR we shared more family meals together: *"We used to eat breakfast, lunch and dinner all together, with brothers, parents. Here it is so difficult to get everyone to sit and eat meals together."* •The fast rhythm of life here gets in the way of people spending more time together and enjoying the moment "*You always are rushed by all the appointments for the kids, here and there, work..."* •Family time now revolves around responsibilities of motherhood *"It was very different because family time was focused on me and not my child."*

because you think you are going back, but then you end up starting a family." •Works takes over family life in U.S. •Family life is disrupted by separation of nuclear family during immigration:	

Routines/Rituals

8.Mealtimes (How any meals do you have together as a family?)

HIGH GROUP •For breakfast each person eats by themselves •On the weekend all meals •Eat lunch with child and saves meals for husband •Dinner together during the weekdays *"I serve the meal to my daughter, I settle my son, and I sit in the middle of the two little ones so I can help both of them. Then we all sit together on the table always."* •Stresses the importance of eating together everyday: *"this is a tradition that I want to maintain"* •Describe mealtime as tranquil	LOW GROUP •Breakfast with most kids •Dinner •Lunch: *"My son sits here, and my daughter Laura here and Rosa sits on my legs and then she starts putting her hands on the food, then my other daughter throws the food and my son throws it back"* •Participant describes mealtimes as a time of struggle: *"The kids are fighting and they do not always finish their meals."* •They eat at the same time, but at different areas of the house: *"My sister eats by the computer, my son on the couch, and my mom and other kid on the table"*

9.BEDTIME

HIGH GROUP •Children already have a bedtime routine *"Easier, I just tell them at that it is time. Then my little daughter I just change her into her pajamas and put her in bed and she falls asleep.* •Mother signals bedtime: *"I tell him is mimi time and he gets his bottle, his pillow, he gets undressed, takes off the TV and light."* •Children go to bed later if they take a long nap during the day	LOW GROUP •Bedtime marks the end of chaos in the house: *"My youngest kids go to bed when he is done with bothering around."* • Bedtime depends on the hours parents go to sleep •Children go to bed later if they take a long nap during the day

10.Mood changes during Bedtime

HIGH GROUP •Some children become more tranquil and play to sooth themselves: *"My little one stays quite and sucks his finger and then falls asleep."* •Other children never want to go to bed and screams: •Some children get irritated	LOW GROUP •He gets in a bad mood, cranky •They cry sometimes •They like to be at home at bed time •They get anxious and overexcited •They need my help to sooth them

11.Ways to handle the children's mood during bedtime

HIGH GROUP •Bathes them •Talks to them, says bed time phrase •Reads to them •Plays soothing music •Sleeps with them until they fall asleep •Gives him a milk bottle and brings him to bed with her	LOW GROUP •Also bathes them •Talks to them with authority •Try to set environment for bedtime: *"I stick the bottle of milk in their mouths and turn the air conditioner on, I anesthetize them with milk and the air conditioner"* •I rock them and rub their back

Systems Affect Regulation: Parental Perspectives

12.How can you tell if your child is *SAD* and what does he do?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
"All my kids had a reaction when they saw my husband and I fighting: my younger daughter grabbed me and screamed at my husband and then the other daughter screamed that he wanted daddy to leave." •Child screams •Child stops playing ·Child cries ·Child comes to me and hugs me	•Child puts a stern face *"Carlos has tendency to get all upset and says a lot of bad words when he does not get what he wants"* •Child uses bad words to talk •Child screams •Child hides in his room and kicks everyone out •Child cries •Child pinches his brother •Child comes to me

13. What do you (mother) do and how do you feel when child is SAD?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Play music •Dances with child •Makes child laugh •Talk to child and engage him/her in activities •Mother feel very bad	•Explain to them the reason for what happened •I hold child and I spoil him/her •I feel very bad because I dislike to see kids upset: *"I feel coldness in my chest"*

14. How can mother tell if child is SCARED and what do they do?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•kid runs towards me •Child Cries •Child points at the things which make them afraid Child gets nervous and anxious	•Child screams •Mother mimics daughter's reaction •Child jumps up and asks me what is happening •Child hides behind me

15. What do you do when your child is scared and how do you feel when child is SCARED?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Try to support child: *"I try to make them feel I am with them."* •Mother carries and holds child •Mother feels the need to protect them	•Mother tries to encourage child to face the fear •Mother tries to calm them down •Mother explains child what is frightening him/her: *"I tell him that the noise that was making him upset,* *it's the lady upstairs walking."*

16. How can mother tell if child is HAPPY and what do they do?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Runs from one side to the other •Hugs me and kisses me •Tells me •He smiles and waves at us •He is a very affectionate child •he looks for his father	•They laugh -They tell me they are excited *"Carlos told me the other day "yey !! We are going to grandmas!! Because he was happy to go there."* •He starts jumping •they look at me

17.What do you do when and how do you feel when child is HAPPY?

HIGH GROUP	LOW GROUP
•Mother mimics their happiness •Hugs them back •We feel good •I play with them	•Mimic their happiness •Laugh back •I play with them, it feels good to see them happy

APPENDIX C

Time, Work, Technology, and the Family (Modified)

Peter Fraenkel, Skye Wilson, Michelle Shannon & Letisha Marrero
Ackerman Institute for the Family

5. We are interested in how families deal with time. We want first to find out what comes to mind for you when you think about time -- what does the word "time" mean for you?

   (**Probe images, words, thoughts, ideas, and feelings**)

6. How does time affect your family?

II. Family Time

7. What does the term "family time" mean to you?

8. Do you have family time? (**circle one**) YES NO

9. On a typical week day (M-F), how much family time do you have? _____

10. On a typical weekend day (Sat-Sun), how much family time do you have? _____

11. What's the smallest amount of time you'd need to call it real family time? _____

Please explain:

12. In a typical week, on how many days do you have family time? ___/7

13. What usually goes on during family time?

14. Is talking and communicating part of family time?(**Circle one**) YES NO

    What do you tend to talk about?

15. What would you most like to do and have happen during family time? (**Have each family member express her/his desires**)

16. Which family member or members take responsibility for making sure that family time happens?

17. Do you feel you have enough family time? Why or why not? What would need to change in order for you to have more (or better) family time?

18. (**To the parent[s]**): How is the family time you have with your family now similar to or different from what you had as a child growing up?

19. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 = not at all important and 5 = extremely important, how important is family time for your family? Why? (**Circle one**)

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	A little bit Important	Somewhat Important	Quite Important	Extremely Important

28. How different is the family time you have now with your family in contrast to the family time you had in your country of origin?

29. How is the rhythm of life in the United States in contrast to the rhythm of life in your country of origin?

30. How much time pressure do you receive here in contrast to your country of origin? Do you feel that here you have more time to do things you have to do (cleaning house, cook, grocery shopping, etc.) in contrast to your country of origin?

31. In general, how is the balance between family time and work here vs. the way it was in your country of origin?

Affect Regulation

Skye Wilson & Peter Fraenkel

I. Rhythmicity and Affect Regulation

SCHEDULE

1. Describe a typical day in the life of your family from when the first person wakes up until the last person is asleep.

2. INTERVIEWER ONLY: Rate how easy or difficult it was for the family to identify a typical schedule.

1	2	3	4	5
EXTREMELY DIFFICULT	QUITE DIFFICULT	A LITTLE BIT DIFFICULT/EASY	QUITE EASY	EXTREMELY EASY

3. Are there times when the family's daily schedule is different from usual? How is the schedule different at these times? What are the reasons for these changes?

4. How easy or difficult is it for your family to handle/adjust to these changes?

1	2	3	4	5
EXTREMELY DIFFICULT	QUITE DIFFICULT EASY	A LITTLE BIT DIFFICULT/EASY	QUITE EASY	EXTREMELY

5. Who in the family has the most power or influence in making or setting this schedule?

6. Who keeps people to this schedule?

7. Who tries to change or not follow the schedule? Why?

8. If you could change your schedule in any way you like, what would you do?

MEALTIMES

9. A. Which meals do family members eat together?

B. At what time or times?

Breakfast _____ Lunch _____Dinner _____ Other? _____

10. Describe a recent shared mealtime as if we were watching a video of your family. Tell us how everyone usually seems to feel, what they usually say, or how they act.

11. How regular are these mealtimes?

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL REGULAR	A LITTLE BIT REGULAR	SOMEWHAT REGULAR	QUITE REGULAR	EXTREMELY REGULAR

BEDTIME

12. In an average week how many nights do children have the same bedtime?

_____ /7 nights

13. When the bedtime is different or if the bedtime is not regular:

A. What is the range of times (earliest to latest)?

B. What affects bedtimes**?** PROBE FOR WHAT DETERMINES EARLY VERSUS LATE BEDTIMES. WHAT LEADS TO IRREGULARITY?

14. Describe a recent bedtime as if we were watching a video of your family. Tell us how your children usually seem to feel, what they usually say, or how they act.

15A.Do they stay in that mood? What changes their mood?

15B. Are there times when your child(ren) changes his/her own mood and how do they do that?

16A. What do you consider to be the best way you handle their moods at bedtime?

16B. And how does your child(ren) respond?

17A. Would you give us an example of ways you handle your child(ren)'s mood(s) at bedtime where afterwards you think it wasn't the best way?

17B. And how does your child(ren) respond?

18. How easy or difficult is it for each of your children to go to sleep? (How much supervision or reminding do you need to give?)

1	2	3	4	5
EXTREMELY DIFFICULT	QUITE DIFFICULT	A LITTLE BIT DIFFICULT/EASY	QUITE EASY	EXTREMELY EASY

19. When there are difficulties with bedtime, what are they and what do you do to handle them?

II. Systems Affect Regulation: Parental Perspectives

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about what

your child(ren) is/are like when they're feeling different emotions.

1A. Tell me about a recent time or incident when your child was sad. Please describe for each child. (How can you tell? What do they say or do, look like, who do they go to, if anyone?)

1B. What do you do? How do you react? What does that bring out in you (What does that feel like for you)?

1C. How does your child(ren) respond?

2A. Tell me about a recent time or incident when your child was happy or excited. Please describe for each child. (How can you tell? What do they say or do, look like, who do they go to, if anyone?)

2B. What do you do? How do you react? What does that bring out in you (What does that feel like for you)?

2C. How does your child(ren) respond?

3A. Tell me about a recent time or incident when your child was scared or nervous. Please describe for each child. (How can you tell? What do they say or do, look like, who do they go to, if anyone?)

3B. What do you do? How do you react? What does that bring out in you (What does that feel like for you)?

3C. How does your child(ren) respond?

4A. Tell me about a recent time or incident when your child was angry or frustrated. Please describe for each child. (How can you tell? What do they say or do, look like, who do they go to, if anyone?)

4B. What do you do? How do you react? What does that bring out in you (What does that feel like for you)?

4C. How does your child(ren) respond?

5. What was the most upsetting or dangerous incident with your child that concerned or worried you? What happened? What did you do?

6. What was the thing your child has done that you have felt the most proud of? What did you do?

Bibliography

Aber, J.L., Slade, A., Berger, I., & Kaplan, M. (1985). The Parent Development Interview. Unpublished Manuscript.

Achenback, T.M. (1991). *Manual for the Child Behavioral Chechlist/4-18 and 1991 profile.* Burlington, VT. University of Vermont Department of Psychiatry.

Achenback, T.M. (1991). *Manual for the Child Behavioral Chechlist/2-3 and 1991 profile*. Burlington, VT. University of Vermont Department of Psychiatry.

Ainsworth, M. S., Blehar, M.C., Waters, E. Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation*. Oxford, England: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Aponte, J.F. & Crouch, R.T. (1995). The changing ethnic profile of the United States. In J.F. Aponte, R. Y. Rivers J. Wohl (Eds.), *Psychological Interventions and cultural diversity, 1-18*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Ausloos, G. (1986). The march of time: Rigid or chaotic transaction, two ways of living time. *Family Process, 25, 549-557.*

Baas, J. M., Ewert, A. W., & Chavez, D. J. (1993). Influence of ethnicity on recreation and natural environment use patterns: Managing recreation sites for ethnic and racial diversity. *Environmental Management, 17, 523-529.*

Baez, A. & Hernández, (2001). Complementary Spiritual Beliefs in the Latino Community: The Interface with Psychotherapy. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, October, 71(4).*

Basic, E.L., Buckner, J.C., Weiner, L.F., Browne, A., Basic, S.S., Dawson, R. & Parlor, J.N (1997). Homelessness in female-headed families. Childhood and adult risk factors. *American Journal of Public Health. 87(2), 241-248.*

Bates, J.E., Buyers, J. & Stockton, L. (in press). *Sleep and adjustment in preschool children.*

Beebe, B. & Bachmann, Frank (2003). The relational turn in psychoanalysis: A dyadic systems view from infant research. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 39(3), 379-409.*

Beebe, B. (2000). Constructing mother-infant distress: The micro-synchrony of maternal impingement and infant avoidance in the face-to-face encounter. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry, 20(3), 421-440.*

Beebe, B. Jaffe, J. & Bachmann, F.M. (1992). A dyadic systems view of communication. In N.J. Skolnick, & S.C. Warsaw (Eds.) *Relations perspectives in psychoanalysis, 61-81.* Hillsdale, NJ.: Analytic Press Inc.

Berry, J.W. (1997).Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46, 5-68.*

Boss, P. (1999). *Ambiguous loss: Learning to live with unresolved grief*. Cambridge, MA, US: Harvard University Press.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment*. New York, Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 3.* Attachment. New York, Basic Books.

Bransford, L., Baca, L., & Lane, K., (1974). Eds. *Cultural diversity and the Exceptional Child, 4.* Reston, Va.; Council for exceptional children.

Broderick, C. (1990). Family process theory. In J. Spray Ed.), *Fashioning family theory: new approaches, 171-206.* Newbury Park, CA, Sage.

Brody, Gogh. & Flor, D.L. (1997). Maternal psychological functioning, family processes and child adjustment in rural, single-parent, African-American families. *Developmental Psychology, 33(6)*, 1000-1011.

Bromberg, P. Bromberg, P. (1998). *Standing in the spaces: essays on clinical process, trauma, and dissociation.* Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.

Burger, G. (2004). National staff person of the Take Back Your Time campaign www.timeday.org. In Press Release: *New "It's About Time" Coalition Challenges Presidential Candidates on Critical Issue for Swing Voters and Working Americans.*

Burgos-Sevedio, & Paulino, A. (1997). Working with immigrant families in transition. In E.P. Congress (Ed.), *Multicultural Perspectives in working with families, 125-141*. NY: Springer.

Calkins, S.D. (1994). Origins and outcomes of individual differences in emotion regulation. In N.A. Fox (Ed), *The development of emotion regulation. Biological and behavioral considerations*, *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 59, 2-3, Serial No. 240.

Carr, D. S., & Williams, D. R. (1993). Understanding the role of ethnicity in outdoor recreation experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research, 25(1), 22-38.*

Central Intelligence Agency, CIA (2004). *The Worldfact Book*. From Web page: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html(page was last updated on 10 February, 2005)

Charmaz, K. (1995). Grounded Theory. In J.A Smith, R. Harre, & L.V. Langehove (Eds.) Rethinking Methods in Psychology*, 27-44*. London, Sage Publications.

Chethik, M. (2000). *Techniques of Child Therapy: Psychodynamic Strategies. Second Edition*. New York: Guilford.

Chavez-Thompson, L., (September, 1999). Shapping our New Economy. *The Boston Globe, A19.*

Chezz, S. & Thoms, A. (1996). *Temperament: theory and practice*. New York: Brunner/Mazel, Inc.

Christensen, A. & Margolin, G. (1998). Conflict and alliance in distressed and non-distressed families. In R.A. Hinde (J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.), *Relationship between families: Mutual Influences, 263-282*. Oxford, England. Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press.

Cicchetti, D., & Izard, C. (eds.) (1995). Special Issue: Emotions in developmental psychopathology. *Development and psychopathology, 7, 1-226.*

Cole, P.M., Kaslow, N.J. (1998). Interactional and cognitive strategies for affect regulation: Developmental perspective on childhood depression. In L. B. Allow (Ed.) *Cognitive Processes in Depression, 310-343.* New York: Guilford.

Cole, P.M. & Michel, M.K, & Teti, L., (1994). The development of emotion regulation and dysregulation: A clinical perspective. *Monographic of the Society for Research on Child Development, 59(2-3), Serial No. 240, 73-100.*

Crittenden, A., DeGraaf, J. & Geraghty, T. (2004). *New "It's About Time" Coallition Challenges Presidential Candidates on Critical Issue for Swing Voters and Working Americans.* Press Release.

Cummings, E. M., & Davies, P. (1996). Emotional security as regulatory process in normal development and the development of psychopathology. *Developmental and Psychopathology, 8, 123-139.*

Dadds, Mark R.; Heard, Paula M.; Rapee, Ron M.; (1992). The role of family intervention in the treatment of child anxiety disorders: Some preliminary findings. *Behavior Change, 9(3), 171-177.*

Daly, K.J. (1996). Families & Time: Keeping Pace in a Hurried Culture. In B. N. Adams and D.M. Klein (Eds.), *Understanding Families, 7.* Thousands Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Inc.

De la Cancela, Guranccia, P.; Carrillo, E: (1986): psychosocial distress among Latinos: a critical analysis of ataque de nervios. *Humanity and Society, 10, 431-447.*

Denham, S.A., Mitchell-Copeland, J. Strandberg, K. Auerbach, S., & Blair, K. (1997). Parental contributions to preschoolers' emotional competence: Direct and indirect effects. *Motivation and Emotion, 21, 65-86.*

Dodge, K. a. & Garber, J. (1991). Domains of emotional regulation. In J. Garber and K.A. Dofge (Eds.). The Development of Emotion Regulation and Dysregulation, *3-11*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Doherty, W. & Carlson B. (2003). Overscheduled Kids, Underconnected Families. In *Take Back your Time: Fighting Poverty in America.* Graaf, J. Ed. Berrtet-Koehler Publishers, Inc. San Francisco, CA.

Drachman, *D.,* Kwon-Ahn, Y., *&* Paulino, A. (1996). Migration and resettlement experiences of Dominican and Korean families. *Families in Society, 77(10), 626-638.*

Duany, J. (1990). "De la periferia a la semi-periferia: La migracion Dominican hacia Puerto Rico." In *Los Dominicanos en Puerto Rico: Migracion en la semiperiferia.* Edited by Jorge Duany, *26-46.* San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracan.

Duany, J. (1994). Quisqueya on the Hudson: The transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights. *Dominican Research Monographs*. New York: CUNY Dominicans Studies Institute.

Dunn, J. & Brown, J. (1991). Relationships, Talk about feelings, and the development of affect regulation in early children. In J. Garber & K.A. Dofge. (Eds.). The Development of Emotion Regulation and Dysregulation*, 89-108*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eisenberg, N. & Fabes, R.A. (1992). Emotion, regulation, and the development of social competence. In M.S. Clark (Ed.), *Emotion and Social Behavior Review of Personality and Social Psychology, 14, 119-150.* Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Eisenberg, N. & Fabes, R.A., Murphy, B., Karbon, J., Smith, M, & Maszk, P. (1996). The relation of children dispositional empathy-related responding to their motionality, regulation and social functioning. *Developmental Psychology, 32, 195-209.*

Falicov, C. J. (1999). Religion and spiritual folk traditions in immigrant families: Therapeutic resources with Latinos. In F. Walsh. *Spiritual resources in family therapy, 104-120*. New York: Guilford Press

Faulstich, O., Marjorie; Thorne, Barrie; Chee, Anna & Shun Eva Lam, Wan. (2001). Transnational Childhoods: The Participation of Children in Processes of Family Migration. *Social Problems*, *48, 572-591.*

Feehan, M., McGee, R. & Williams, S. M. (1993). Mental health disorders from age 15 to age 18 years. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 32, 1118-1126.*

Fiese, B.H. (1992), The prerepresentational self and its affective core. *Psychoanalytic study of the Child, 38, 165-192.*

Fiese, B.H. (1992). Dimensions of family rituals across two generations: Relations to adolescent identity. *Family Process, 31, 151-163.*

Fonagy, P., Gergerly, G., Jurist, E., & Target, M. (2001). *Affect regulations mentalization, and the development of the self.* New York: Other Press.

Fonagy, P. & Target, M. (1998) Mentalization and the changing aim of child psychoanalysis. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues, 8, 87-114.*

Fonagy, P. (1996). The significance of development of metacognitive control over mental representations in parenting and infant development. *Journal of Clinical Psychoanalysis*, *5(1), 67-86.*

Fonagy, P. & Target, M (1996). Predictors of outcome in child psychoanalysis: A retrospective study of 763 cases at the Anna Freud Center. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic association*, *44(1), 27-73.*

Fonagy, P., Steele, M., & Steele, H. (1995). Attachment, the reflective self, and borderline states: The predictive specificity of the Adult Attachment Interview and pathological emotional development. In Goldberg, S., Muir, R., Kerr, J.: *Attachment theory: Social, developmental, and clinical perspectives. ;* Hillsdale, NJ, England: Analytic Press, Inc, 233-278.

Muir, & J. Kerr (Eds*.). Attachment theory: Social, developmental and clinical perspectives*, *233-279.* Hillside, NJ: Analytic Press.

Fonagy, P & Moran, G.S. (1990). Studies on the efficacy of child psychoanalysis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *58(6), 684-695.*

Fox, N.A. (Ed). (1994). *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *59, 2-3, Serial No. 240.*

Fracasso, M., Bush-Rossangel, M.P. & Fisher, C. (1994). The relationship of maternal behavior and acculturation to the quality of attachment in Hispanic infant living in New York City. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 16, 143-154.*

Fraenkel, P. (2003) Contemporary two-parent families: Navigating work and family challenges. *In: Normal family processes: Growing diversity and complexity* (3rd ed.). Walsh, F.; New York, NY, US: Guilford Press, *61-95.*

Fraenkel, P., Markman, H. J. (2002). Preventing marital disorder. In *Innovative strategies for promoting health and mental health across the life span.* Jason, Leonard A.; Glenwick, David S.; New York, NY, US: Springer Publishing Co, *245-271.*

Fraenkel, P. & Wilson, S. (1997). *Time, Work and The Family.* Unpublished Interview. New York: Ackerman Institute for the Family.

Fraenkel, P. & Wilson, S. (2000). Clock, calendars and couples: Time and the rhythm of relationships. In P. Papp (Ed.), *Couples of the Fault Line*. New York, Guilford Publications.

Fraenkel, P. (1994). Time and rhythm in couples. *Family Process*, *33, 37-51.*

Fujiki, M., Spackman, M. & Brinton, B. (2002). Emotion regulation in children with specific language impairment. *Language, Speech, & Hearing Services in Schools*, *33(2), 102-111*.

Fujiki, M., Spackman, M. & Brinton, B. (2004). The Relationship of Language and Emotion Regulation Skills to Reticence in Children With Specific Language Impairment. *Journal of Speech, Language, & Hearing Research*, *47(3), 637-646.*

Gaines, Atwood D. (1998). Religion and culture in psychiatry: Christian and secular psychiatric theory and practice in the United States. In: Handbook of religion and mental health. Koenig, Harold G.; San Diego, CA, US: Academic Press, Inc., *291-320*.

Galinsky, E. (1999). *Ask the Children: What America's Children Really Think About Working Parents.* New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

Garcia, A. M. (2002). The socialization of emotion regulation in the families of youths with anxiety disorders. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences & Engineering, 62(11-B), 5372.*

Garner, P.W. (1995). Toddler's emotion regulation behaviors: the role of social context and family expressiveness. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, *156, 417-430.*

Garner, P.W., Jones, D.C. & Miner, J. (1994). Social competence among low-income preschoolers: Emotion socialization practices and social cognitive correlates. *Child Development, 65, 622-637.*

Glaser, B. & Staruss, A. (1967). *The discovery of Grounded-Theory*. Chicago, Aldine.

Gonzales, Jr., J. L. (1992). *Racial and ethnic families in America.* Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Gonzales, Jr., J. L. (1992*). Racial and ethnic families in America.* Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Gonzalez-Wippler, M. (1979). *Santeria*. New York: Julian Press.

Gonzalez-Wippler, M. (1992). *Powers of the Orishas*. New York: Original Publications.

Goodman, L. Saxe, L., & Harvey, M. (1991). Homelessnes and Psychological Trauma. *American Psychologist, 46, 11, 1219-1225.*

Gottman, J. M., Katz, L., Fainsilber, Hooven, C. (2002). Children's emotional reactions to stressful parent-child interactions: The link between emotion regulation and vagal tone. *Marriage & Family Review, 34(3-4), 265-283.*

Gottman, J. M., Katz, L., Fainsilber, Hooven, C. (1997). *Meta-emotion: How families communicate emotionally*. 366 pp. Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Gottman, J.M., Katz, L.F., & Hooven, C. (1996). Parental meta-emotion philosophy and the emotional life of families: Theoretical models and preliminary data. *Journal of Family Psychology, 10(3), 243-268*.

Gottman, J.M. & Katz, L.,(1989). Effects of marital discord on young children's peer interaction and health. *Developmental Psychology, 25(3), 373-381.*

Graaf, J. (2003). *Take Back your Time: Fighting Poverty in America.* Berrtet-Koehler Publishers, Inc. San Francisco, CA.

Graaf, J. (2003). The Work Ahead: Make Time for Bread and Roses. Article published on *Yes! magazine*: http://www.yesmagazine.org/article.

Graham, P. M. (1998). The politics of incorporation: Dominicans in new York City. *Latino Studies Journal, 9, 39-64.*

Gramann, J. H., Floyd, M. E, & Saenz, R. (1993). Outdoor recreation and Mexican American ethnicity: A benefits perspective. In A. W. Ewert, D.l. Chavez, & A. W. Magill (Eds.), *Culture, conflict, and communication in the wildland-urban interface, 69-84,* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Gramann, J. H. (1996). Ethnicity, race, and outdoor recreation: A review of trends, policy, and research. *Miscellaneous Paper R-96-1, U.S. Army Engineers Waterways Experiment Station*, Vicksburg, MS.

Grasmuck, S. & Pessar, P. R. (1991). *A framework for assessing in multicultural counseling.* Berkeley, CA. University of California Press.

Greenspan, S.I. (1998). *Developmentally Based Psychotherapy*. Madison, Conn. International University press.

Grienenberger, J; Kelly, J, & Slade, A. (April 2001). Maternal Reflective Functioning and the care giving relationship: The link between mental states and mother-infant affective communication. Paper Presented at The Biennial Meeting for the Society for Research on Child Development. Minneapolis, MN.

Gross, J.J. & Munoz, R.F. (1995). Emotion Regulation and Mental Health. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 2(2), 151-164.*

Guarnaccia, Peter J.; Rivera, Melissa; Franco, Felipe; (1996). *The experiences of ataques de nervios: Towards an anthropology of emotions in Puerto Rico. Culture, Medicine & Psychiatry,* 20(3), 343-367.

Gurley, D., Cohen, P., Pine, D. S. & Brook, J. (1996). Discriminating anxiety and depression in youth: A role for diagnostic criteria. Journal of Affective Disorders, *39, 191-200.*

Harrison, A.O., Wilson, M.N., Pine, C.J., Chan, S.Q. & Buriel, R. (1990). Family Ecologies of minority children. *Child Development, 61*, 347-362.

Harwood, R. L.; Schoelmerich, A.; Ventura-Cook, E.; (1996). Culture and class influences on Anglo and Puerto Rican mothers' beliefs regarding long-term socialization goals and child behavior. Child Development, *67(5), 2446-2461.*

Harwood, A. (1977). Spiritist as needed: A study of a Puerto Rican mental health resource. New York: John Wiley.

Henry, C.S. & Lovelace, S.G. (1995). Family resources and adolescent family life satisfaction in remarried family households. *Journal of Family Issues*, *16(6), 765-786.*

Herbert, B. (1999, June 10). *Children in crisis*. The New York Times, A31.

Hernández, R. (2002). *The Mobility of Workers Under Advanced Capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States.* Columbia University Press. New York.

Hernández, R. & Lopez, N. (1997). Yola and gender: Dominican women unregulated migration. In L. Alvarez-Lopez, Baver, J. Weisman, & R. Hernández & N. Lopez, *Dominican studies: Resources and Research questions, (Dominican Research Monographs*, *57-78*. NY: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.

Hernández, R., Rivera-Batiz, F. & Agodini, R. (1996). The socioeconomic status of Dominican New Yorkers. The *Institute for Urban Education Briefs*, No. 5. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Hernández, R., Rivera-Batiz (1997). Dominican New Yorkers: a socioeconomic profile, *Dominican Research Monographs*. NY: CUNY Dominican Studies institute.

Hochschild, A.R. (1997). *The Time bind: When work becomes home and home becomes work.* New York Metropolitan Books.

Hochschild, A.R. & Machung A. (1989). *The Second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. New York. Viking Pinguin.

Hoyert, D.L., Kochanek K.D., Murphy SL. (1999). Deaths: final data for 1997. National Vital Statistics Report. *DHHS Publication,* Hyattsville: National Center for Health Statistics *47(19), 99-1120*.

Hutchison, R. (1987). Ethnicity and urban recreation: Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in Chicago's public parks. *Journal of Leisure Researc*h, *19(3), 205-222*.

Heymann, J., Earle, A., Simmons, S., Breslow, S.M. & Kuehnhoff, A. (2004). The Work, family, and Equity Index: Where does the United States Stand Globally? *The Project on Global Working Families*. Boston, MA. All rights reserved.

Iltis, C. (2001). Adults Dominican in Therapy: Psychotherapists' Perceptions of Cultural Treatment Issues. Dissertation to fulfill Doctor of Philosophy Degree, Antioch University. Irwin, P. N., Gartner, W. G., & Phelps, C. C. (1990). Mexican American/Anglo cultural differences as recreation style determinants. *Leisure Sciences*, *12(4), 335-348.*

Izard, C. E. & Kobak, R.R. (1991). Emotions system functioning and emotion regulation. In J. Garber and K.A. Dodge (Eds.), *The Development of Emotion Regulation and Dysregulation, 303-332*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Jaycox, L.H., & Ripetti. R.L. (1993). Conflicts in families and the psychological adjustments of preadolescents children. *Journal of Family Psychology, 7(3), 344-355*.

Jensen, E.W., James, S.A., Boyce, W.T., Harnett, S.A. (1993). *The Family Routine Inventory*: Development and Validation. *Social Science and Medicine*, *17, 201-211.*

Kagan, J. (1994). On the nature of emotion. In N.A. Fox (Ed), The development of emotion regulation. Biological and behavioral considerations. Monographs of the society for Research and Child Development, *59 (2-3 serial No. 240), 7-24.*

Kantor, D. & Lehr, W. (1975). *Inside the family: Toward a theory of family process.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.

Katz, L, Gottman, J. (2002). Children's emotional reactions to stressful parent-child interactions: The link between emotion regulation and vagal tone. *Marriage & Family Review, 34(3-4), 265-283.*

Katz, L., Gottman; Garber, J.; Dodge, K. A.; (1991). Marital discord and child outcomes: A social psychophysiological approach., John M.; In: Development of emotion regulation and dysregulation. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press, *129-155.*

Katz, L, Gottman, J. (1997). Buffering children from marital conflict and dissolution. J*ournal of Clinical Child Psychology, 26(2), 157-171.*

Katz, L, Gottman, J., Hooven, C. (1996). Meta-emotion philosophy and family functioning: Reply to Cowan (1996) and Eisenberg (1996). *Journal of Family Psychology, 10(3), 284-291.*

Katz, L, Gottman, J. (2000). *The Katz & Gottman Child Regulation Index* (unpublished), University of Washington Department of Psychology, Seattle, WA.

Kazdin, A.E. *Psychotherapy for Children and adolescents: Directions for Research and Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Keefe, S. E. (1984). Real and ideal extended familism among Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans: On the meaning of "close" family ties. *Human Organization, 43(1), 65-70.*

Keefe, S. E., & Padilla, A. M. (1987). *Chicano ethnicity. Albuquerque*, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Keiley, M.K.; Seery, B.L.; (2001). Affect regulation and attachment strategies of adjudicated and non-adjudicated adolescents and their parents. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal*, *23(3), 343-366.*

Keiley, M. (1997). Affect regulation in adolescents: Do males and females manage their feelings differently? *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences & Engineering*, *57(7-B), 4746.*

Kelly, J. R. (1987). *Freedom to be: A new sociology of leisure*. New York: McMillen.

Kendall, P. C. & Kessler, R. (2002). The impact of childhood psychopathology interventions on subsequent substance abuse: Policy implications, comments, and recommendations. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *70, 1303-1306.*

Kopp, C. (1989). Antecedents of self-regulation, A developmental perspective. *Developmental Psychology 18, 199-214.*

Kopp, C. (1982). Regulation of distress and negative emotions: A developmental view. *Developmental psychology*, *25(3), 343-354*.

Lamb, M.E., Leyendecker, B., Scholmerich, A. & Fracasso, M. (2002) Everyday Experiences of Infants in Euro-American and Central-American Immigrant families. In *Families, risk and competence*, Lewis, M. & Feiring, C., Eds. National institute of child health and human development, Bathesda, Maryland.

LaRoche, M.J. (1999). The association of social relations and depression level among Dominicans in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21, 420-430.*

Leach, P. (1997). Your baby and Child: *From Birth to Age Five*. New York: Knopf.

Levine, R. (1997). *A Geography of Time.* New York. Basic Books.

Levy, D.W., and Truman, S. (2002, June). Reflective functioning as mediator between drug use, parenting stress and child behavior. Paper presented at the College of problems with Drug Dependence. Quebec City, Quebec.

Lewis-Fernandez, Roberto; (1994) Culture and dissociation: A comparison of ataque de nervios among Puerto Ricans and possession syndrome in India. In: Dissociation: Culture, mind, and body. Spiegel, David; Washington, DC, US: American Psychiatric Association, *123-167.*

Lewis-Fernandez, Roberto; Garrido-Castillo, Pedro; Bennasar, Mari Carmen; (2002) Dissociation, childhood trauma, and ataque de nervios among Puerto Rican psychiatric outpatients. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 159(9), 1603-1605.*

Lewis-Fernandez, Roberto; Diaz, Naelys; (2002) The Cultural Formulation: A method for assessing cultural factors affecting the clinical encounter. *Psychiatric Quarterly,* Winter Special issue: The Fourteenth Annual New York State Office of Mental Health Research Conference*, 73(4), 271-295.*

Lewis-Fernandez, Roberto; Guarnaccia, Peter J.; Martinez, Igda E.; (2002) Comparative phenomenology of ataques de nervios, panic attacks, and panic disorder. *Culture, Medicine & Psychiatry*, *26(2), 199-223.*

Leyendecker, B., Harwood, R., Lamb, M.E., & Scholmerich, A. (2002) Mothers' socialization goals and evaluations of desirable and undesirable everyday situations in two diverse cultural groups. *International Journal of Behavioral development, 26 (3), 248-258.*

Leyendecker, B, Lamb, M.E., Scholmerich, A., & Fracasso. (1995). The social worlds of 8- and 12-months-old infants: Early Experiences into sub-cultural contexts. *Social Development*, *4(2).*

Lieberman, A.F. & Pawl, j. (1993) Infant-parent psychotherapy. In C.H. Zeanah, (Ed), *Handbook of Infant Mental Health*, *427-442*. New York: Guilford.

Liebowitz, M., Salmán, Esther; Carrasco, J. (1997). Los "ataques de nervios": Un estudio de caracterización diagnóstica. "Ataques de nervios" (nervous breakdown): A study of its diagnostic characteristics; Actas Españolas de Psiquiatría, *25(5), 285-289.*

Lopez, Steven Regeser; Guarnaccia, Peter J. J.; (2000) Cultural psychopathology: Uncovering the social world of mental illness. *Annual Review of Psychology, 51, 571-598.*

Main, M. (1995). Recent studies in attachment: Overview, with selected implications for clinical work. In Goldberg, S., Muir, R. (Eds.). *Attachment theory: Social, developmental, and clinical perspectives, 407-474.*, Hillsdale, NJ, England: Analytic Press, Inc.

Marin, G., & Marin, B. V. (1991). Research with Hispanic populations. *Applied Research Methods Series, 23*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marquez, G., (2001). Qualitative study of the acculturative process followed by immigrant Hispanic families. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences & Engineering, 62(1-B), 601.*

Martinez, E.A. (1999). Mexican American/Chicano Families: Parenting as Diverse as Families themselves. In *family Ethnicity: Strength in Diversity*. Pipes McAdoo, Ed.

Massey, D. S. (1981). Dimensions of the new immigration to the United States and the prospects for assimilation. *Annual Review of Sociology, 7, 57-85.*

McCubbin, H. I., Thompson, E. A. & Thompson, A. (1999). *The dynamics of resilient families* .279. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

McCubbin, H. I., McCubbin, M. A. & Thompson, A. (1996). Family Time and Routine Index (FTRI). In H.I.

McCubbin, A.I., Thompson, & M.A. McCubbin (1996). *Family assessment : Resiliency, coping and adaptation - Invetories for research and practice, 325-330.* Madison: University of Wisconsin System.

McGrath, J.E., & Kelly, J.R. (1986). *Time and human interaction: Toward a social psychology of time*. New York, The Guildford press.

McLoyd, V.C. (1998). The impact of economic hardship in on black families and children: Psychological distress, parenting and socioemotional development. *Child Development, 61(2), 311-346.*

Miller, P. A.; Jansen *op* de Haar, M. A.(1997) Emotional, cognitive, behavioral, and temperament characteristics of high-empathy children. *Motivation & Emotion*, *21(1), 109-125.*

Moon, S. M.; Dillon, D. R. & Sprenkle, D. H.(1990). Family therapy and qualitative research.; *Journal of Marital & Family Therapy*, *16(4), 357-373.*

Moore, B. & Fine, b. (1990). Psychoanalytic Terms and Concepts. *The American Psychoanalytic Association.*

Moore, J. (1976). Mexican Americans. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Padilla, A. M., Cervantes, R.C., Maldonado, M. Garcia, R.E. (1988). Coping Responses to psychological stressors among Mexican and Central American immigrants. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *16, 418-427.*

Paulino, A. (1994). Dominicans in the United States: Implication for practice and policies in the social services. *Journal of Multicultural social Work, 3, 53-65.*

Paulino, A. (1998). Dominican immigrant elders: Social service needs, utilization patterns, and challenges. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 30(1-2), 61-74.*

Pine, D., Cohen, P., Gurley, D., Brook, J. & Ma, Y. (1998). Risk for early-adulthood anxiety and depressive disorders in adolescents with anxiety and depressive disorders. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, *55, 56-64.*

Pine, F. (1990), *Diversity and Creation in Psychoanalytic Technique.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Posada, g., Jacobs, a., Ricmond, M., Carbonell, O. Gloria, Bustamante M., & Quiceno, Julio.(2002). Maternal care giving and infant security in two cultures. *Developmental Psychology, 38, 1, 67-78.*

Pouthas, V., Droit, S., & Jacquet, A. (1993). Temporal experience and time knowledge in infancy and early childhood. *Time and Society, 2, 119-128.*

Pronovost, G. (1989). The sociology of time. C*urrent Sociology, 31(3), 1-124.*

Radke-Yarrow, M., Richters, J. & Wislon, W.A. (1988). Child development in a network relationships. In R.A. Hinde and J. Stevenson-Hinde (Eds.). *Relationships within families, Mutual Influences, 48-67*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press/Oxford University press.

Rafferty, Y., & Shinn, M. (1991). The impact of homelessness on children. *American psychologist, 46, (11), 1170-1179.*

Ricourt, M. (1998). Patterns of Dominican demography and community development in New York City. *Latino Studies Journal, 9, 11-38.*

Reinecke, M.A., Ryan N.E., DuBois D.L. (1998). Cognitive-behavioral therapy of depression and depressive symptoms during adolescence: a review and meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 37(1), 26-34.*

Reiss, d. (1981). *The family's construction of reality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press.

Rothbaum, *F.,* Weisz, J., Pott, M. (2000); Attachment and culture: Security in the United States and Japan. *American Psychologist, 55(10),* 1093-1104.

Rubin, L. (1976). *Worlds of pain: Life in the Working-class family*. New York, Basic Books.

Rubin, L.B. (1994). *Families on the Fault Line: America's working class speaks about the family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Rothbaum, F., Weisz, J., Pott, M. (2000). Attachment and culture: Security in the United States and Japan. *American Psychologist, 55(10), 1093-1104.*

Sabogal, F. Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal R., Marin, G. V., & Perez-Stable, E.J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9(4), 397-412.*

Sagi, A., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Koren-Karie, N. (1991). Primary appraisal of the Strange Situation: A cross-cultural analysis of pre-separation episodes. *Developmental Psychology, 27(4), 587-596*

Salman, E., Carrasco, J. L., Liebowitz, M., (1997). Los "ataques de nervios": Un estudio de caracterizacion diagnostica."Ataques de nervios" (nervous breakdown): A study of its diagnostic characteristics. *Actas Espanolas de Psiquiatria, 25(5), 285-289.*

Sanday, P. (1988). The reproduction of patriarchy in feminist anthropology. In: *Feminist thought and the structure of knowledge*. Gergen, M., New York, NY, US: New York University Press, *49-68.*

Sant-Wade, A, & Radell, K. M. (1992). Refashioning the Self: Immigrant Women in Bharati Mukherjee's new world. S*tories in short Fiction, 29, 11-17.*

Santisteban, D. A., Muir-Malcolm, J. A. & Mitrani, V. B.(2002) Integrating the study of ethnic culture and family psychology intervention science. In Liddle, Howard A., *Family psychology: Science-based interventions*.

Schechter, D. S. Zeanah, C. Myers, M.M. , Brunelli, S., Coates, S.W., Grienenberger et al (2002, July). Negative and Distorted maternal attributions among violence-exposed mothers of very young children before and after single session video-feedback: Are maternal psychopathology and reflective functioning predictive? *Paper presented at the meeting of World Association of Infant Mental Health*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Schor, J.B. (1991), *The Overwoked American: The unexpected Decline of Leisure*. New York. Basic Books.

Schore, Al. N.(1994). *Affect regulation and the origin of the self: The neurobiology of emotional development*. NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 670.

Seccombe, K. (2000). Families in poverty in the 1990s: Trends, causes, consequences, and lessons learned. ; *Journal of Marriage & the Family, 62(4), 1094-1113.*

Shaull, S.L.; Gramann, J. H. (1998). The effect of cultural assimilation on the importance of family-related and nature-related recreation among Hispanic-Americans. *Journal of Leisure Research, 1st Quarter, 30, 1.*

Sheeber, L., Allen, N., & Davis, B.; (2000). Regulation of negative affect during mother-child problem-solving interactions: Adolescent depressive status and family processes. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 28(5), 467-479.*

Sheeber, L., Davis, B. & Hops, H.; (2000). Adolescent responses to depressive parental behaviors in problem-solving interactions: Implications for depressive symptoms. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 28(5), 451-465.*

Shields, A. & Cicchetti, D., (1997). Emotion regulation among school-age children: The development and validation of a new criterion Q-sort scale. *Developmental Psychology*, 33(6*), 906-916.*

Shields, A. & Cicchetti, D. (1998). Reactive aggression among maltreated children: the contributions of attention and emotion dysregulation. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 27, (4), 381-395.*

Shields, A. & Cicchetti, D., (2001). Parental maltreatment and emotion dysregulation as risk factors for bullying and victimization in middle childhood. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 30(3), 349-363.*

Schwartz, Theodore; White, Geoffrey M.; Lutz, Catherine A.; (1992). New directions in psychological anthropology. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press, x, 352.

Slade, A. & Cohen, L. (1996). The Process of Parenting and the Remembrance of Things Past. Infant Mental Health Journal, *17(3), 217-238.*

Slade, A. (1999). Representation, symbolization, and affect regulation in concomitant treatment of a mother and child: Attachment theory and child psychotherapy. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, *19(5), 797-830.*

Slade, Arietta; Belsky, Jay; Aber, J. Lawrence; (1999). Mothers' representations of their relationships with their toddlers: Links to adult attachment and observed mothering. *Developmental Psychology*, *35(3), 611-619*.

Slade, A. (2002). Keeping the Child in Mind: A critical Factor In *Peronatal Mental Health*, *Zero to Three*.

Slade, A. (2003). Holding the baby in mind: Discussion of Joseph Lichtenberg's "Communication in infancy". *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, 23(3),Special issue: Infant research, *521-529.*

Slade, A. (2004). The Move From Categories to Process: Attachment Phenomena and Clinical Evaluation. *Infant Mental Health Journa*l, *25(4), Special issue: The Added Value of Attachment Theory and Research for Clinical Work, 269-283.*

Slonim, M.B. (1991). *Children, Culture and Ethnicity: Evaluating and understanding the impact*, New York and London: Garland.

Smart, J., & Smart, D. (1995). Acculturative stress of Hispanics: Loss and challenge. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *73, 390-396*.

Spencer T, Biederman, J., Wilens T. (1999), Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder and co morbidity. *Pediatric Clinics of North America*, *46(5), 915-27, vii.*

Spence, J.T. (1985). Achieving American style: the rewards and cost of individualism. *American psychologist*, *40, 1285-1295.*

Sroufe, L.A. & Fleeson, J. (1988). The coherence of family relationship. In R.A. Hinde & Hinde & J. Stvenson-Hide (Eds.). *Relationship within families: Mutual Influences, 27-47,* Oxford, England: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press.

Stake, R.E. (1998). Case Studies. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative Inquiry, 86-109.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

Stern, D.N. (2000). Putting time back into our considerations of infant experience: a microdiachronic view. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 21 (1-2), 21-28.*

Stoker, S. (2002). Emotion regulation in high-risk young children. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences & Engineering, 63(4-B), 2077.*

Strauss, C. C. (1987). Modification of Trait portion of State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children—Parent form. Available from the author, Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic.

Strauss, C. C., Forehand, R., Smith, K. & Frame, C. L. (1986). The association between social withdrawal and internalizing problems of children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 14, 525-535.*

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedure for Developing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed) Thousand Oaks, Calif.:Sage.

Suarez-Orozco, M. M. (1991). Migration, Minority Status and education: European Responses and the 1990s. *Anthropology and Educational Quarterly, 22, 99-120.*

Tacon, Anna & Caldera, Ivonne M. (2001). Attachment and parental correlates in Mexican American Women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23, 71-87.*

Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000) Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence, 23, 615-627*

Target, M. & Fonagy, P. (1996). Playing with reality: II. The development of psychic reality from a theoretical perspective. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 77, 459-479.*

Thompson, R.A. (1994). Emotion Regulation: A theme in search of a definition. *Monographs of the Society for research in Child Development, 59(2-3), Serial No. 24, 25-52.*

Torres-Saillant, S. & Hernández, R. (1998). *The New Americans: The Dominican Americans*. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

Tronick, E.Z. (1980). The primacy of social skills in infancy. In D. Sawain, R. Hawkins, L. Walker, & J. Penticuff (Eds.). *Exceptional Infant*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

U.S. Department of Commerce (1993). Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States. (1990). Washington, D.C.; US Government Printing Office.

U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Quick tables: QT-P9 Hispanic or Latino by Type: 2000 (Census 2000 Summary File 1, matrix PCT11). Washington, DC: Author.

Wachtel, E. (1993). *Therapeutic communication: Principles and effective practice.* New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.

Wachtel, P. (1973). *Psychoanalysis and Behavioral Therapy: Toward and Integration.* New York, Basic Books, Inc.

Walden, T.A. & Smith, M.C. (1997). Emotion regulation. Motivation and Emotion, 21, 7-25. *Weiss*, C. (1992). Controlling domestic life and mental illness: Spiritual and aftercare resources used by Dominican New Yorkers. Culture, Medicine & Psychiatry, 16(2), 237-271.

Walsh, F. (1998).*Strengthening family resilience*. New York, Guilford Press.

White, L., & Rogers, S. J. (2000). Economic circumstances and family outcomes: A review of the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62, 1035-1051.*

Wilson, J.B., Ellwood, D.T., Brooks-Gunn, J. (1995). "Welfare-to-work through the eyes of the children." In Chase Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn J (Eds.), *Escape from Poverty*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, S. (2001). Family Temporal Organization and Children's Affect Regulation: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study of Families Living In a New York City Homeless Shelter. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The City University of New York, New York.

Winnicott, C. (1978). *D.W.W.: A reflection. In Between Reality and Fantasy*. New York, Jason Aronson.

Winnicott, D.W. (1953). Transitional Objects and transitional phenomena. In *Winnicott, 229-242.*

Winnicott, D.W. (1956). Primary maternal preoccupation. In Winnicott (1958), *300-305*.

Winnicott, D.W. (1958). *Collected papers*. New York: Basic Books.

Winnicott, D.W. (1965) *The Maturational Process and the Facilitating Environment*, New York Int. Univ. Press.

Young, V.H. (1970). *Family and childhood in a southern Negro community: American anthropologist, 72, 269-288.*

Young, V.H (1974). *A Black-American socialization pattern. American Ethnologist, 1, 415-431.*

Zayas, Luis H.; Solari, Fabiana; (1994). Early childhood socialization in Hispanic families: Context, culture, and practice implications. *Professional Psychology: Research & Practice, 25(3), 200-206.*

Zeanah, C. Z., Mammen, O.K., & Lieberman, A.F. (1993). Disorders of Attachment. In C.H. Zeanah (Ed.). *Handbook of Infant Mental Health, 332-349*. New York: Guilford.

Zuniga, Maria E. (2002); Latino immigrants: Patterns of survival. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 5(3-4), 137-155.*