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A Study of Child Rearing Attitudes Among Negro Mothers Residing in a Low Status Neighborhood

Curtis J. Jones

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A STUDY OF CHILD REARING ATTITUDES
AMONG NEGRO MOTHERS
RESIDING IN A LOW STATUS NEIGHBORHOOD

by

Curtis J. Jones

A Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

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Curtis J. Jones

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The problem in this investigation is to determine the characteristics of lower status Negro mothers and their families and to determine whether specific characteristics are associated with the utilization or acceptance of traditional or developmental child rearing attitudes. More specifically, this investigation will attempt to determine what cognate relationships prevail in the various segments of lower status Negro mothers with respect to their exhibiting traditional or developmental child rearing attitudes and their relative social status position, family composition, and mother's social contact frequency.

It appears that in order to make more reliable generalizations about the Negro families located at any specified position in the status structure, it is imperative that further studies seek more precise statements about them. Accordingly, this study aims to focus primarily on the lower status Negro family. In order to make more precise statements about these families, this study conceives of the lower status family as being located at different points on a status continuum. It appears that such an approach should yield a more definitive

answer to the question of whether traditional child rearing attitudes are pervasive among lower status Negro mothers.

Related research and literature

The literature¹ suggests that the matricentric form of Negro family life and its effects on the various salient dimensions of the family was a logical and natural outgrowth of the Negro's slave heritage. The matricentric family form is reported to have developed because of the dominant role the Negro mother played in the slave and post-slave economy. The matricentric family, as developed in the rural South,² led to the extended family form which in turn is not uncommon in the industrial North.³

In noting the literature concerning American families located at the several socio-economic levels, there tends to

¹Broom, Leonard and Blenn, Norval, Transformation of the Negro American. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965. 16 and Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horance R., Black Metropolis. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962. 582-583. See also Hill, Mozell C., "Research on the Negro Family." Journal of Marriage and Family Living, IXX (February 1957), 29.

²Burgess, Earnest W. and Locke, Harvey J., The Family from Institution to Companionship. Chicago: American Book Company, 1945. 148-179; Frazier, E. Franklin, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Negro Family in the United States.: American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (1948), 435-438; and Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in the United States. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. 102-141.

³Drake and Cayton, op. cit., pp. 564-657.

be distinct differences with reference to child rearing norms.¹ Studies focused specifically upon the social stratification patterns of the American Negro family also point up a similar situation.² This focus has been utilized to investigate such important sociological dimensions of family life as marital practices and child rearing norms at the various socio-economic levels. The findings of these studies have led investigators to suggest that status position and status orientations of Negro families exert considerable influence upon the behavior and normative orientations of Negro family members. Within the social structure of the American population, the distribution of Negroes appears to be heavily skewed toward the lower end of the continuum. Hill³ reports that:

"It is agreed by those conducting surveys that well over fifty percent of the Negro families can be classified on the lowest levels of living in regard

¹Davis, Allison and Havinghurst, Robert J., "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing." American Sociological Review, XI (December 1946), 698-710; Havinghurst, Robert J. and Davis, Allison, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing." American Sociological Review, XX (August 1955), 438-442; and Littman, A. Richard, et. al., "Social Class Differences in Child Rearing: A Third Community for Comparison with Chicago and Newton." American Sociological Review, XXII (December 1957), 694-704.

²Blau, Zena Smith, "Class Structure, Mobility and Change in Child Rearing." Sociometry, IIXXX (June 1965), 210-219; Davis and Havinghurst, op. cit.; Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in the United States. op. cit., pp. 295-335; Drake and Cayton, op. cit., pp. 526-715; and Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964. 667-708.

³Hill, op. cit., p. 30. See also, Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965. 5.

to class behavior. Among these families, religion is not a constraining force and few couples are married in the church. There is a disproportionate number of illegal and loosely connected unions among them. Sex is taken for granted as a normal goal and sexual compatibility is considered as the basic criterion of marital happiness. Children are looked upon as a natural and expected consequence of these unions. Pregnancy is accepted with complacency and little ritual is associated with child bearing. Case materials described these lower class families as having frequent and intermittent separations, and it is usually the mother who takes the responsibility for the care of children. Children are trained to be of little bother to their parents and are expected to mature early. But the most salient factor in the socialization of the child is that it is denied biparental care and affection in many lower class Negro families. At the same time, children are expected to be obedient and submissive; insubordination is met with physical punishment."

Incorporated within the viewpoint that Negroes are over-represented in the lower levels of class behavior are the conventional assertions that; (1) Negro mothers are traditionally orientated in their normative child rearing attitudes and (2) that this persistence is an outgrowth of their slave and racial heritage.¹ The assertion that lower status Negro mothers are traditionally orientated in terms of their normative child rearing attitudes demands reassessment in terms of contemporary American society and its dynamic characteristics. This is especially true in the light of the increasingly vocal and active

¹Broom and Blenn, op. cit., p. 16; Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 155; Cavan, Ruth Shonle, The American Family. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963. 142 and Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, op. cit., pp. 359-368.

role that this segment of the American Negro population is assuming in the United States today.

The family, as the primary unit of our society, reflects and adjusts to the industrialization, urbanization, and secularization of life.¹ It is necessary that gradually the traditional-institutional type of family changes. This type of family may be viewed as that in which behavioral expectations are specific, rigid, unchanging and in line with long established child rearing norms. Mores, public opinion and laws exert a great deal of control over family behavior in this family type. The traditional-institutional family type may be contrasted with the developmental-companionship type of family.

The developmental-companionship type of family may be conceived of as the family type in which respect for the individual, desire for personal interaction, pride in growth and development and a permissive and growth-promoting type of guidance is present. This family type is also characterized by family interaction arising out of the shared affection and consensus of the various members of the family. This change, from the traditional-institutional type of family, has been in the direction of devel-

¹Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 5.

opmentalism in American society and represents the prevailing trend.¹ Furthermore, it is logical to expect this trend to be evident to an appreciable degree in the various divisions of families located in our society.

The appearance of this trend toward developmentalism in terms of child rearing in the Negro segment of American society is suggested by the historical progress of the Negro family in the United States.² The American Negro population is distributed in terms of socio-economic status, with each level being somewhat different in its family normative system. Negro families of different status have different values in terms of family background,

¹For a discussion of this transition from the traditional-institutional type of family in the direction of developmentalism and the relevant consequences see: Duvall, Evelyn M., Family Development. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962. 110 and Sussman, Marvin B., Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963. 225. reprinted from Davis, Allison W., "Child Rearing in the Class Structure of American Society." The Family in a Democratic Society, located in the Anniversary Papers of the Community Service Society of New York: Columbia University Press, (1949), 56-69. For a further discussion of recent child rearing trends in the United States see Bronfenbrenner, Urie, "The Changing American Child-A Speculative Analysis." Journal of Social Issues, XVII (1961), 6-18; Kell, Leone and Aldous, Joan, "Trends in Child Care Over Three Generations." Journal of Marriage and Family Living, XXII (1960), 176-177; Yinger, J. Milton, "The Changing Family in a Changing Society." Social Casework, XL (October 1959), 419-428; and Sears, Robert R., et. al., Patterns of Child Rearing. New York: Row Peterson and Company, 1957. vi-549.

²For an excellent discussion of the historical development of the various socio-economic status segments of the Negro family in the United States see: Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, op. cit., pp. 295-368 and Drake and Cayton, op. cit., Volume II.

child rearing norms and related factors.¹

The research literature, while indicating a trend in the direction of permissiveness or developmentalism² in child rearing in the United States, often focuses upon the maternal role.³ This focus while supporting the thesis that child rearing varies with the different groups and the socio-economic level under investigation also suggests that certain factors, such as family composition, regional differences, and the respondents mothers' child rearing norms, affect the respondents (mothers) acceptance or rejection of specific child rearing norms.⁴ Some investigators have considered the socio-economic background of their samples and have reported that "middle-class parents are more vigorous than lower-class parents in their training of children...There are significant differences between middle and lower classes in a large city."⁵ Davis and Havinghurst go on to report that "there are considerable social class differences in child-rearing"⁶ and that the

¹Blau, Zena Smith, "Exposure to Child-Rearing Experts: A Structural Interpretation of Class-Color Differences." American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (May 1964), 596-608 and Glenn, Norval D., "Negro Prestige Criteria: A Case Study in the Bases of Prestige." American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (May 1963), 645-657.

²Blood, Robert O., "A Situational Approach to the Study of Permissiveness in Child-Rearing." American Sociological Review, IIXX (February 1953), 86.

³Leslie, Gerald R. and Johnsen, Kathryn P., "Changed Perceptions of the Maternal Role." American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December 1963), 919-928.

⁴Havinghurst and Davis, op. cit. and Leslie and Johnsen, op. cit., p. 921.

⁵Davis and Havinghurst, op. cit., p. 710.

⁶loc. cit., p. 707.

striking thing about their study is that "Negro and white middle-class families are so much alike, and that white and Negro lower-class families are so much alike."¹ It was reported in the above study that "middle-class families are more rigorous than lower-class families in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits...and that middle-class children are subjected earlier and more consistently to the influences which make a child an orderly, conscientious, responsible, and tame person."²

Burgess and Locke indicate that "parent-child relationships differ widely from one Negro class to another. The lower and the upper classes are extremely different in their attitudes toward the desirable number of children in a family, individuality of the child, his economic function, schooling, and the affectual bonds between the parents and their offspring."³

Putney and Middleton indicate that in terms of sex, race, and social status "no differences of any significance were observed between males or females, whites or Negroes, professionals or workers and their responses to questions relating to child rearing."⁴

¹loc. cit., p. 708.

²loc. cit., p. 707.

³Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 171.

⁴Putney, Snell and Middleton, Russell, "Effect of Husband-Wife Interaction on the Strictness of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing." Journal of Marriage and Family Living, XXII (May 1960), 173.

Duvall, concerned specifically with the utilization and testing of the traditional-developmental dichotomy, found that regardless of their social status position "Negro mothers lean more consistently and significantly to the traditional in their expectations of their children and their conceptions of their roles as parents than do white mothers."¹ However, in regard to the Negro family, there is a definite shortage of validated statements which empirically test the traditional-developmental dichotomy as developed by Duvall.² Duvall's approach and technique has been utilized by Blood to study an all-white North Carolina college sample.³ Blood reported that the approach and technique are both useful and promising for use in investigations centered in the area of family sociology.

Both Duvall and Blood were primarily concerned with normative attitudes of child rearing and not with specific behavioral practices. The existing void in the literature pertaining to the Negro family may be fruitfully approached and assessed by investigating family differences that characterize lower status Negro mother-child relationships as pointed up in the

¹Duvall, Evelyn M., "Concepts of Parenthood." American Journal of Sociology, LII (November 1946), 202.

²Duvall, Family Development, op. cit., p. 110.

³Blood, Robert O. Jr., "Developmental and Traditional Child- Rearing Philosophies and Their Family Situational Consequences." unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. 1952.

process of utilizing Duvall's traditional-developmental dichotomy of child rearing conceptions.¹

Hill summarizes the state of the research literature concerning the Negro family and the consequences of its quality in the following manner:²

"Since the appearance of E. Franklin Frazier's period-marking volume, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago, 1939), a plethora of theories, propositions, schemes, and generalizations, which presumably account for the reasons behind deviant conduct of many Negro families, have been put forth in the literature of sociology, psychology, anthropology, psychiatry, and home economics. In general, most of these studies, although serious, are now out of date, and some of them are too abstract and vague to be of much value to science, which must employ a 'logico experimental method' for validating generalizations. Still more of them are but an over-simplification of the problem - no more than a cut above the popular stereotypes already in the minds of many of us. This is a serious situation for the claims of family research are frequently taken over, sometimes unwittingly, and put into practice by policy makers. Far too many of the research findings on the Negro family help to confirm and fix in the minds of the practitioner an array of useless and invalidated generalizations."

Hill concedes that family research has made important contributions and significant gains at the descriptive level toward the understanding of family behavior among Negroes. This study will attempt to offer a modest contribution to the further understanding of Negro family life.

¹The first formulation of the traditional-developmental dichotomy is a result of Duvall's original study of the differential conceptions of parenthood; Duvall, American Journal of Sociology, op. cit., pp. 193-203.

²Hill, op. cit., p. 25.

Theoretical Orientation and Definition of Concepts

In the course of this investigation it is anticipated that data will be obtained that will facilitate an assessment of the structure of the families being studied and at the same time will afford a degree of insight into the interrelated functional nature of these families. Therefore, in this study the data will be explained and examined from a structural-functional perspective in terms of the traditionality or developmentality of the respondent's answers to the items included in the interval schedule used in this study.

Traditional and developmental conceptions are defined in the following manner:¹

"Traditional conceptions of motherhood were seen to be those having to do with what a mother expects herself to do to and for her home and children, i.e. keep house, make the child behave, etc. Traditional conceptions of childhood centered around the child's behaving in ways that please adults, i.e. obeys, respects property, runs errands willingly, etc. Traditional conceptions of both motherhood and childhood tend to be static, rigid, specific behavioral expectancies in line with former child-rearing orientations.

Developmental conceptions of motherhood emphasize a mother's encouraging her children to develop, enjoying and loving them, and viewing herself as a growing person, i.e. gives child freedom to grow, shares with the child, and gets enough recreation. Developmental conceptions of childhood center in his being a happy, healthy, growing person, i.e. is developing socially, enjoys growing up, etc. Developmental conceptions are recognized as dynamic, flexible and growth-promoting. They emphasize encouraging development of the person rather than any specific form of discipline, or type of behavior."

¹Duvall, Family Development, op. cit., p. 110.

The expected responses from Negro mothers representing these two ideal type constructs are: "(1) the traditional, that is, what used to be expected of a good mother and a good child (the roles are rigidly conceived); and (2) the non-traditional, which is characterized by expectations of mother and child in terms of growth and development rather than as specific behavioral conformities (the conceptions of role are dynamic and flexible)."¹

The maintenance of social status or the related drive to achieve higher social status is viewed as a stronger and more pervasive factor in higher status families than in lower status families. Specifically, status maintenance or striving is greater in the upper segments of the lower status Negro families than in lower segments of the lower status Negro families. Appropriate family behavior is viewed as necessary for maintenance of desirable status position. Therefore, higher status families must achieve greater social control over their offspring than do lower status families. Consequently, upper segments of low status families are likely to conform more closely with the ideal of family life in the society than are lower segments of low status families.

In this study social status refers to the relative position or standing of the specific Negro family within the Negro sample under consideration as determined by the utilization of the

¹Duval1, American Journal of Sociology, op. cit., p. 195.

Chapin Living Room Scale.¹ More specifically, the Negro social structure is conceived in the following manner; all Negro families within the Negro social structure do not occupy the same status position. Some families are located at the bottom of this structure, other families are located at the top and still other families are located at the various intermediate points of the Negro social structure. In this sense, the stratification system is viewed on the basis of a continuum.

The literature suggests that status position and status orientations of Negro families influences the behavior and normative orientations of family members. Literature reviewed also suggests that the trend toward developmentalism represents the ideal of family life in American society. This trend in the direction of developmentalism in the Negro segment of the American population is illustrated by the writings of Frazier and others. These writers posit the idea that the historical change in the Negro family has resulted in different normative systems operating at different status levels.

A review of the literature also suggests that family composition is closely related to social status position. Hence, family composition is viewed as a structural variable bearing directly upon specific child rearing attitudes.

¹Miller, Delbert C., Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964. 114-119.

Family composition includes such dimensions as marital status of the mother, educational achievement level of the mother, number of children, age of mother, age of father, and number of years married.¹

Social contact frequency or the mother's association and interaction with individuals of diverse social origins is also viewed as closely related to social status position. The literature suggests that this perspective is instrumental in influencing child rearing attitudes of Negro mothers.

Social contact frequency is conceptualized as the mother's opportunity to interact with and observe the behavior of people of different social status positions than herself. This contact is investigated to determine whether this factor is associated with traditional or developmental child rearing attitudes and is perceived as regular excursions into the social milieu of the wider community.

Therefore, in this study three structural variables are viewed as being functionally related to specific child rearing attitudes in the various segments of the lower status Negro family: relative social status position, family composition, and mother's social contact frequency. The specific idea posited is that within the lower status Negro family different normative systems operate in the upper and lower segments of this status

¹Walker, Lewis, "Composition and Role Structure of the Female Based Negro Family." unpublished Master's thesis, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University. 1961. 26.

group. From this perspective, specific child rearing attitudes are viewed as characteristic of lower status families and in turn these attitudes are seen as distinguishing characteristics of the families at different points on a lower status continuum.

Hypotheses

General Hypothesis 1: Child rearing attitudes are related to relative status position in lower social status Negro families.

Research Hypothesis 1. Negro mothers occupying a lower social status position in the lower status Negro social system are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than Negro mothers occupying a higher social status position in this system.

Research Hypothesis 2. Negro mothers that have wages and/or salary as their reported source of family income are more developmental in terms of child rearing attitudes than Negro mothers that report other sources of family income.

General Hypothesis II: Child rearing attitudes are related to family composition variables.

Research Hypothesis 1. Married Negro mothers living with their spouses are more developmental in terms of child rearing attitudes than are single, divorced, separated, widowed, or Negro mothers that are living with a man other than their spouse.

Research Hypothesis 2. Older Negro mothers are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are younger Negro mothers.

Research Hypothesis 3. Negro mothers with a lower level of educational achievement are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers with a higher level of educational achievement.

Research Hypothesis 4. Negro mothers with more female children than male children are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers with more male than female children.

General Hypothesis III: Child rearing attitudes are related to the respondent's social contact frequency.

Research Hypothesis 1. Negro mothers employed outside the home are less traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers that are not employed outside the home.

Research Hypothesis 2. Negro mothers who attend church services or activities at least once a week are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers who attend church services or activities less than once a week.

CHAPTER II SCOPE AND METHOD

The purpose of this chapter is to present the design of the study and the pertinent dimensions utilized therein. The traditional-developmental scale and the Chapin Living Room Scale are presented and specified. The construction of scales and subscales are presented and validity and reliability procedures are cited.

Locale of the Study

The study was conducted in the city of Kalamazoo, located in Kalamazoo county Michigan. According to the 1960 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, the total population of the county was 169,712 with 82,089 residents in the city of Kalamazoo, 52,024 residents in other urban communities and 34,113 residents in non-urban areas. The sample was selected from census tract number two of the city of Kalamazoo. This census tract was chosen because it contained the highest concentration of Negroes in Kalamazoo. Inspection of census tract data failed to produce any appreciable variation in terms of demographic characteristics among those tracts that had an appreciable concentration of Negroes.

The total population of this census tract in 1960 was 3,896

people. Included in this figure were 1,611 members of the population who were classified as white, 2,245 who were classified as Negro and 40 who were classified as being members of other races. This population resided in 51 occupied blocks in census tract number two.

Included in the Negro segment of the population of census tract number two are approximately 671 Negro females 14 years of age and over. These 671 individuals are distributed in the following manner: (1) single, 132; (2) married or separated, 424; (3) widowed, 69; and (4) divorced, 46.¹

Sampling Unit

The research design of this study is based upon occupied housing units, i.e. a house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a single room which is occupied as a separate living quarter. More specifically: (1) the occupants of each unit do not eat or live with other persons in the building, and (2) there is either direct access from the outside or through a common hall to each unit or there is a kitchen or cooking equipment for the exclusive use of the occupants of each specified unit.

A housing unit is considered to be occupied if it is the usual place of residence for the people living in it at the time

¹Figures extrapolated from the U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960 for Kalamazoo, Michigan (SMSA), prepared by the U. S. Department of Commerce. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962.

of the study. A housing unit is considered to be vacant if no one is living in it at the time of this study. People living in one housing unit constitute a household.

Selection of sample housing units

The sample of housing units was drawn by a systematic random procedure. Each female respondent was chosen by chance, i.e. the first mother contacted living in each unit was interviewed. Thus, the housing unit constitutes the sampling unit and the sample size is expressed in terms of the number of occupied housing units.

As stated, the housing unit is the sampling unit. It was arbitrarily decided that in the design of this study a ratio of one housing unit per occupied block would be selected or a sample of 51 housing units.¹ The location of the individual housing units is a lengthy but uncomplicated process. By referring to the census city block booklet for 1960, a list of the serial number of each block in census tract number two and the number of housing units per block was obtained. Once the sample of housing units was determined, their location in the appropriate block was indicated on a map of the census tract.

¹The number of designated housing units was ultimately increased to 71. This increase, in conjunction with a scheme for choosing alternative respondents, was undertaken in an attempt to insure an adequate sample in the event that certain kinds of housing units were encountered in which interviews could not be obtained (respondent other than Negro, vacant, etc.).

After determining that the sample would be drawn from census tract number two, a skip interval¹ was specified. The skip interval was utilized to go through the list of housing units per block and to designate those blocks in which sample housing units are located.² The interval is a systematic

¹To obtain the skip interval, the total number of housing units in census tract two was determined. This is shown in Table 2 of the census city block publication. In Kalamazoo (1960) in census tract number two there were 1498 housing units. By dividing the total number of housing units (1498) by the number of sample housing units deemed necessary (71) the quotient of 21 is obtained. This quotient was the interval used to skip through the list of housing units per block to locate the blocks in which the sample housing units are located.

²The starting point for going through the list of housing units, to indicate the blocks in which sample housing units are located, was chosen randomly by the use of a table of random numbers. This was necessary because it represents the first housing unit drawn for the sample. The number was 12, the first two digits obtained in a table of random numbers. This means that the city block in which the 12th housing unit in census tract two is located is the first block in which a sample housing unit appears. On a tabulation sheet 12 was recorded in Column B, Appendix A. The number 12 and the skip interval (21) were added to obtain a total of 33, the second number in this column. This means that the block in which the 33rd housing unit appears is the second block in which a sampling unit appears, etc.

Next, the number of housing units in each block was read in the order in which they appeared in the block booklet. They were entered on a calculator until the first total larger than 12 was reached-the first designated housing unit. This figure (26) was entered in Column C, Appendix A. The city block number corresponding to the last addition made is the block in which the 12th housing unit was located. In Column D, Appendix A the block number (4) is recorded. This is the first known block in which an interviewer was sent to find a sample housing unit. Indicated in Column E, Appendix A was the number of housing units in that block, 26. This procedure was repeated until all 71 housing units and the blocks in which they were located was specified.

skipping technique to insure that sample units are dispersed geographically, and to give each unit an equal chance to be included in the sample. It was necessary to base the skip interval on the total number of housing units rather than on the total number of blocks because there were wide variations in the number of housing units per block in census tract number two. For example, apartment blocks contained many housing units while other blocks had only a few housing units. Thus, housing units and not blocks were sampled. Each block's chance of being designated as the location of a sample housing unit(s) is proportional to the number of housing units located in it.

After proceeding through the list of housing units per block and determining in exactly which blocks sampling housing units are located, the next task was to ascertain which housing unit was precisely the 12th housing unit (the first designated housing unit to be included in this study) in the first designated block. To find the appropriate housing unit, Column B, Appendix A (12)* is subtracted from Column C, Appendix A (26)** and the difference (14)*** is entered in Column F, Appendix A entitled "Location of Housing Unit in Block." The desired housing unit is therefore the 14th unit from some randomly chosen point in block four. This process was continued until the computations were completed for the 71 blocks included in the sampling plan.

*'See first line of entrys in Appendix A.

The next step undertaken was to specify a starting point for each block from which to count to reach the appropriate housing units. The interviewer determined which housing unit constituted the specified unit(s) in a given block by starting at a pre-determined corner and counting in a given direction. The "Corner Start" column (Column G, Appendix A) was compiled in a random fashion.¹ A code was then constructed to represent block corners. In this study 7 represented the northwest corner of any city block, 1 the southeast corner, 4 the southwest corner and 5 the northeast corner.

After determining the corner from which to start counting, the direction in which to count had to be specified. The direction, clockwise or counterclockwise, was based on whether the interviewer would have to count more than half of the housing units in any given city block to reach the specified housing unit. If not, a clockwise direction was assigned. If so, a counterclockwise direction was specified. This procedure was initiated to ease the interviewers job. All the housing units were counted in a clockwise direction at the office in their initial location in terms of position within their respective

¹The first four different single digit numbers encountered in a table of random numbers were chosen. In this study the numbers 7, 1, 4, and 5 appeared. By continuing through the table of random numbers the first 71 appearances of these four numbers were utilized to indicate the corner start for locating each sample housing unit.

blocks. Because starting corners were chosen randomly, no further randomness would be gained by alternation of directions. Thus, the column entitled "Counting Direction" (Column H, Appendix A) indicates the direction to be counted in from the appropriate corner and the column entitled "Actual Count to Find Units" (Column I, Appendix A) indicates the number of housing units to be counted to find the designated housing units.¹

A final attempt to insure an adequate sample was undertaken in the following manner: When a respondent was not reached at the originally designated housing unit, an alternate was chosen by flipping a coin. If heads were obtained the interviewer contacted the third unit to the left of the designated housing unit; tails, the third housing unit to the right. This scheme did not delete from the randomness of the sampling procedure but rather increased randomness.

Measurement Instruments

The two measurement instruments utilized in this study are the Traditional-Developmental Attitudinal Scale and the Chapin Social Status (Living Room) Scale, Revised 1952. The Traditional-

¹For example, the interviewer in locating 01 (Column A, Appendix A), was directed to the 12th housing unit in the 4th block. He was then directed to the northeast corner of that block and instructed to count 12 housing units in a counter-clockwise direction since 14 is more than half of 26. See the first horizontal line of entries in Appendix A for a graphic presentation of this scheme.

Developmental Scale in the form used in the present study is an adaptation developed by Blood and consists of two subscales. Each subscale, mother role and child role, consists of ten possible items from which to choose. Five traditional and five developmental items were randomly arranged and the respondents were to choose any five of the total of ten items. Scoring consists of totaling either the developmental or traditional choices.

The subscales and items are:¹

Good Child Subscale

1. Obeys and respects adults
- *2. Loves and confies in his parents
- *3. Shares and cooperates with others
- *4. Is eager to learn
5. Respects property
6. Keeps clean and neat
- *7. Enjoys growing up
8. Works hard at home and school
9. Is honest, courteous
- *10. Is happy, contented

Good Mother Subscale

- *1. Helps her children develop socially
2. Makes her children good, builds character

¹From page B-7 of Blood's questionnaire used in his Ph.D. dissertation, op. cit., received from Blood in the course of personal correspondence dated December 1, 1964.

3. Disciplines her children
4. Takes care of her children physically
- *5. Provides for her childrens mental growth
- *6. Shows love and affection to her children
7. Trains her children to regular habits (eating, sleeping, etc.)
- *8. Guides her children with understanding
- *9. Sees to her children's emotional well-being
10. Is a good cook, keeps house in order

In following the directions to proceed rapidly through the ten statements in each section and indicate the five statements that they agreed with wholeheartedly, many respondents indicated that they agreed with all ten items in each section. Respondents often remarked that "these are all good things to do." This situation occurred despite the fact that they were instructed to proceed through the ten items in each subscale rapidly and then to choose the five items that they agreed with wholeheartedly. This points out the value of the forced choice required by the present arrangement. "In deciding which items are more important than others, traditional persons are more likely to omit developmental items and vice versa."¹

Blood tested the reliability of the Traditional-Developmental

*Items with an asterick denote developmental responses; the remaining items represent traditional responses.

¹Blood, dissertation, op. cit., p. 48.

Scale by administering the scale twice to the same population in order to measure the stability of scores. With individual scores for the total Traditional-Developmental Scale, the zero order correlations between scores on the first and second administration was .79 which constitutes Blood's test-retest reliability coefficient. This figure indicates that the Traditional-Developmental Scale in its present form substantially approximates an acceptable level of reliability.¹ Blood stated that "the method of construction of the T-D scale presumably contributes to its validity. Based on the results of extensive open-ended interviewing the scale is essentially empirical in its origin."² With respect to other instruments Blood reports that the Traditional-Developmental Scale is concentrated in its focus in so far as it is concerned with attitudes toward the role behavior of females as they find themselves in the reciprocal statuses of parent or child. "Ideas regarding behavior in the family setting are the T-D Scale's area."³

The Chapin Social Status (Living Room) Scale, Revised 1952 was used to measure the social status of the families included in this study. This scale measures social status by facilitating the checking of selected items in the respondent's living room.

¹loc. cit., pp. 48-51.

²loc. cit., p. 61.

³loc. cit., p. 65.

The 21 question index is composed of four segments: Fixed features and standard furniture; furnishings and cultural resources; condition of the living room; and aesthetic atmosphere. There are 17 questions about the items in the room and four about the condition of the room. The standard scores by class are: 100-149, lower part of the middle class; 50-99, upper part of lower class; 0-49, lower part of lower class.

Scores are determined by multiplying the individual items by the weights assigned to each item. Next all weighted scores are computed and this score is corrected by deducting specified points from the total computed at this point for unconventional uses of the living room, i.e. for sleeping, cooking, etc.

The Chapin Living Room Scale is objective and does not require a great deal of questioning or judgement on the part of the interviewer.¹ "It is quick, reliable, valid, and well standardized."² Chapin states that this scale has been tested and reliability "ranges from $r=.72$ to $r=.97$."³ Chapin also states that the validity of the scale is attested by a correlation of "biserial $r=.47$ between a dichotomy of 'use overcrowded' and 'not use overcrowded' and a series of 13 variable classes of scores on condition of the living-room that range from -16 to 8."⁴

¹Miller, op. cit., p. 115.

²loc. cit., p. 98.

³Chapin, F. Stuart, "The Effects of Slum Clearance and Rehousing on Family and Community Relationships in Minneapolis." The American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (March 1938), 754.

⁴ibid.

Collection of Data

Upon completion of the construction of the interview schedule a pre-test was undertaken with 12 subjects. The pre-test was conducted under anticipated field conditions in Kalamazoo, Michigan. The interviewers were two Negro women residing in census tract number two. Their ages were 39 and 24 and they were the same individuals that assisted in the interviewing task for the final sample. The interviewers were carefully briefed in interviewing techniques and the meaning of each question prior to the administration of the schedule. Upon completion of the pre-test, each interviewer aided in reorganizing the schedule by presenting their reactions and suggestions. These results were then presented to the major thesis advisor and after one minor adjustment, the final schedule was approved.

Each interviewer was provided with a clipboard, schedule, instruction sheet, and map of the census tract. The instruction sheet enabled the interviewer to determine the appropriate respondents and the map aided them in locating the geographical area assigned to them. A total of fifty-one acceptably completed schedules were obtained, with eleven being collected by two hired interviewers and the remaining forty were collected by the writer.

Upon being assigned a specific group of cases, the interviewers administered the schedule to the mothers in their homes.

The establishment of rapport between the interviewers and the respondents was attempted by utilizing the following introduction:

Hello, I am _____. I am helping a graduate student from Western Michigan University obtain some information about families in this area. He needs some important information that only a few mothers can provide. You are one of the few mothers in Kalamazoo that can provide the information needed and your help will be greatly appreciated. Your name and address will not be published or given to anyone. This information will be used to see what kind of family you would like to have. I only need about 20 or 30 minutes of your time . . .

No great difficulty was encountered in obtaining permission to enter the respondents' homes and conducting interviews. However, after meeting a degree of resistance when the respondent's name and address was requested these items were deleted and instead, the respondents were asked if they would be interested in the results of this study and if they were, their name and address was obtained. Ultimately this procedure yielded the total sample of 51 mothers during the months of May and June, 1965.

No interviewing was attempted on Sundays. The only hours that would seem to offer difficulty in obtaining interviews are before 10:00 AM Monday through Friday and before 1:00 PM on Saturday. Interviewing was usually completed for the day by 4:30 PM.

Upon completion of the interviewing phase, the data were coded and punched onto IBM cards. To facilitate this task, work decks were made and a code book was prepared and utilized.

CHAPTER III CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The present chapter provides a brief description of the salient sociological dimensions of the sample. This description is based on information gathered in the course of interviewing 51 Negro mothers. All characteristics presented herein pertain to the mother and her family.

Factors Related to Mother and Spouse

The mothers included in this study had a median age of 38 years and their median level of education was the tenth grade.¹ Thirty-five of the mothers were married and none were remarried.² The median years married or ever married was 13 years.³ Thirty-five mothers had husbands present in the home and 30 of these husbands were employed at the time of the study.⁴ Most of the respondents that were married and living with their husbands reported that they both made the major family decisions as a couple.⁵

¹See Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix B.

²See Table 3 in Appendix B.

³See Table 4 in Appendix B.

⁴See Tables 5 and 6 in Appendix B.

⁵See Table 7 in Appendix B.

Factors Related to Mother and Children

The 51 respondents had a total of 194 children which included 95 males and 99 females.¹ The median age of these children is 9.5 years. The median age of the oldest child for each mother is 15.5 and for the youngest child is 4 years.² The median number of children per mother who are either in school and living in the home or are of pre-school age and living in the home is three.³

Factors Related to Social Contact of Mother and Social Status

Twice as many mothers (34) were not employed outside the home as were employed (17).⁴ Slightly more than half of the respondents reported that they attended church services or activities more than once a week.⁵ With respect to organizational membership other than church membership over 70 percent of the respondents reported that they belonged to no organization and more than 92 percent reported that they held no organizational office.⁶ In terms of social status, over 80 percent of the respondents were located

¹See Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11 in Appendix B.

²See Tables 12, 13, and 14 in Appendix B.

³See Table 15 in Appendix B.

⁴See Table 16 in Appendix B.

⁵See Table 17 in Appendix B.

⁶See Tables 18 and 19 in Appendix B.

at the lower end of the status continuum.¹

Factors Related to Family Income

The median family income per year for the 51 families included in this study was between \$3,000 and \$4,999.² Slightly less than 65 percent of the families reported their source of income as consisting entirely of wages and/or salary. The remaining families reported either a combination of wages and/or salary and some "other" source of income or they reported only "other" sources of income such as alimony, Aid to Dependent Children and similar sources.³

Summary of Total Sample

This chapter has presented salient characteristics of the Negro mothers and their families included in this study. These characteristics may be summarized as follows:

1. The median age of the mothers is 38 years.
2. The median number of years of school completed for the mothers is 10 years.
3. Generally, the mothers were married and living with their spouse.
4. The median number of years that the mothers had been married was 13 years.
5. Generally, the husbands of the mothers were employed.

¹See Table 20 in Appendix B.

²See Table 21 in Appendix B.

³See Tables 22 and 23 in Appendix B.

6. The median number of children that each mother had was three.
7. The mothers had slightly more female than male children.
8. The median age of the mother's children was 9.5 years.
9. The median age of the oldest child of the mothers was 15.5 years.
10. The median age of the youngest child of the mothers was four years.
11. The median number of children in school and living in the mother's home or of pre-school age and living in the mother's home was three.
12. Generally the mothers were not employed outside the home.
13. The median range of the mother's family income was between \$3,000 and \$6,999.
14. The modal source of the mother's family income was from wages and/or salary.
15. The largest "other" source of family income (other than wages and/or salary) was from A.D.C. and/or child support, alimony, and welfare.
16. Generally both the husband and the mother make the major decisions in the families.
17. Generally the mothers attend church activities or services once a week or more.
18. Generally the mothers held no social organizational memberships.
19. The median social status score for the families as measured by the Chapin Living Room Scale was 82, i.e. the upper part of the lower class.

CHAPTER IV FINDINGS

The aim of this study was to make more precise statements about the lower status Negro mother and her child rearing attitudes. A careful review of the literature pertaining to various sociological dimensions of the American family suggested that perhaps the relationship between child rearing attitudes and race are not as crucial as the relationship between child rearing attitudes and family composition or relative social status position or perhaps even the mother's social contact frequency. Therefore, research hypotheses, as stated in Chapter I, were formulated to examine three specific but related areas: (1) the association between child rearing attitudes and factors related to relative status position in the lower status Negro social system; (2) the association between child rearing attitudes and factors related to family composition; and (3) the association between child rearing attitudes and factors related to the mother's social contact frequency with individuals of diverse social origins.

The hypotheses were systematically examined using the appropriate statistical methods and statistical techniques.¹

¹Chi-square results were accepted at the .05 level (direction predicted), i.e. with one degree of freedom a chi-square value of 2.706 is required to accept a given hypothesis.

Formula used were: (1) where the expected frequency is five or more $\frac{N(ad-bc)^2}{(a+b)(c+d)(a+c)(a+d)}$ and (2) $\frac{([ad-bc] - \frac{1}{2}N)^2 N}{(a+b)(c+d)(a+c)(b+d)}$

where the expected frequency is less than five.

All hypotheses were analyzed in terms of the child subscale as suggested by previous research.¹

Analysis

General Hypothesis I: Child rearing attitudes are related to relative status position in lower status Negro families.

Research Hypothesis 1. Negro mothers occupying a lower social status position in the lower status Negro social system are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than Negro mothers occupying a higher social status position in this system.

This hypothesis was formulated to investigate the differences that exist between mothers located at different points on the lower status continuum in terms of child rearing attitudes. It is evident from the data in Table 1 that large differences exist in the scores of Negro mothers occupying higher and lower positions in the lower social status continuum and that these differences are in the predicted direction. Therefore, in accordance with the finding, this first hypothesis - that Negro mothers occupying a lower social status position in the lower status Negro social system are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than Negro mothers occupying a higher social status position in this system - is accepted.

¹Blood, dissertation, op. cit., pp. 51-55 and 60.

Table 1

Traditional Score* Differences by Social Status					
Social Status					
	Low		High		
	%	N	%	N	
High	49	20	10	1	21
T-Score					
Low	51	21	90	9	30
Total	100	41	100	10	51
chi-square value 3.518 percent difference 39					

Research Hypothesis 2. Negro mothers that have wages and/or salary as their reported source of family income are more developmental in terms of child rearing attitudes than Negro mothers that report other sources of family income.

Table 2

T-Score Differences by Source of Family Income					
Source of Family Income					
	Wages/Salary		Other		
	%	N	%	N	
High	45	15	33	6	21
T-Score					
Low	55	18	67	12	30
Total	100	33	100	18	51
chi-square value .706 percent difference 12					

*Traditional Score is hereafter referred to as T-Score. High T-Score equals four or more on a five point scale and Low T-Score equals three or less on the same scale.

Inspection of Table 2 reveals that existing differences between Negro mothers reporting wages and/or salary as their source of family income and Negro mothers with other reported sources of family income are not in the predicted direction. However, the differences are not statistically significant and this hypothesis is rejected.

The findings related to General Hypothesis I (as extrapolated from Research Hypothesis 1) are in agreement with the literature pertaining to the functional impact of relative social status position. Lower social status position is directly related to traditional child rearing attitudes ($P < .05$) in low status Negro families. Research Hypothesis 2 leads to findings that are not statistically significant ($P < .25$) and they are not within the expected pattern or direction. This may be a function of the restricted focus of this study in terms of social status range. It may also reflect a tendency for respondents to report wages and/or salary as their source of family income when this is not the case.

On the basis of the two research hypotheses utilized to investigate General Hypothesis I it is concluded that child rearing attitudes are related to relative status position in lower status Negro families insofar as these attitudes are a function of occupying a higher or lower status position within the Negro social system.

General Hypothesis II: Child rearing attitudes are related to family composition variables.

Research Hypothesis 1. Married Negro mothers living with their spouses are more developmental in terms of child rearing attitudes than are single, divorced, separated, widowed, or Negro mothers that are living with a man other than their spouse.

Table 3

T-Score Differences by Marital Status					
Spouse in Home					
	Yes		No		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	43	15	38	6	21
Low	57	20	62	10	30
Total	100	35	100	16	51
chi-square value .130			percent difference 5		

Inspection of the percentage distribution in Table 3 suggests that the differences are not in the predicted direction. However, the chi-square analysis fails to show a significant difference. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected.

Research Hypothesis 2. Older Negro mothers are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are younger Negro mothers.

Table 4

T-Score Differences by Mother's Age					
Mother's Age					
	38 or less		39 or more		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	36	10 frequency	48	11	21
Low	64	18 frequency	52	12	30
Total	100	28	100	23	51
chi-square value .765			percent difference 12		

The differences illustrated in Table 4 show, as predicted, that older Negro mothers are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are younger Negro mothers. However, these differences are not statistically significant and this hypothesis is rejected.

Research Hypothesis 3. Negro mothers with a lower level of educational achievement are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers with a higher level of educational achievement.

Table 5

T-Score Differences by Mother's Educational Achievement Level

Educational Achievement					
8th grade or less			9th grade or more		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	41	7	41	14	21
Low	59	10	59	20	30
Total	100	17	100	34	51
chi-square value 0.00 percent difference 0					

Inspection of Table 5 fails to reveal any differences between Negro mothers on the basis of educational achievement. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected.

Research Hypothesis 4. Negro mothers with more female children than male children are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers with more male than female children.

Table 6

<u>T-Score Differences by Predominate Sex of Children</u>					
Sex of Children					
More Males			More Females		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	35	7	48	10	17
Low	65	13	52	11	24
Total	100	20	100	21	41
chi-square value .672 percent difference 13					

Inspection of the data in Table 6 shows that slight differences in the predicted direction are present. However, this hypothesis must be rejected due to the lack of significant differences in the T-Scores of the mothers under study.

The findings derived from the four research hypotheses pertaining to General Hypothesis II fail to support this general hypothesis. This pattern exists for these specific findings and also for related family composition factors included in Appendix C.

Research Hypothesis 1 illustrates differences other than those suggested by the literature and is not significant at the $P < .05$ level. This finding suggests that marital status and the presence or absence of the respondent's spouse is not a significant structural factor in determining specific child rearing attitudes in lower status Negro families. This condition may exist because of the characteristic lack of influence of lower

status Negro fathers and the strong position of Negro mothers in these families.

Research Hypothesis 2 suggests that older Negro mothers are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than younger Negro mothers. However, since these differences are not statistically significant ($P < .25$) it appears that age is not a crucial structural variable in this sample.

Findings related to Research Hypothesis 3 fail to support the idea that the level of educational achievement is significantly related to specific child rearing attitudes ($P > .99$). This may be the case in part because of the homogeneous nature of the sample in terms of educational achievement.

Research Hypothesis 4 suggests that the sex composition of children in lower status Negro families does influence the adoption of specific child rearing attitudes. However, as noted above, these differences are not statistically significant ($P < .25$). This finding suggests that factors other than sex composition of the offspring of the families in this sample must be sought as explanatory factors in the determination of child rearing attitudes.

From the findings concerning General Hypothesis II, it appears that family composition variables when singularly related to the social status dimension are not sufficient or necessary factors in the determination of child rearing attitudes in low status Negro families. Generally the pattern of findings are consistent with those suggested by the literature. However, they lack the statistical significance necessary to facilitate the formulation of

definitive statements concerning specific child rearing attitudes.

General Hypothesis III: Child rearing attitudes are related to the respondent's social contact frequency.

Research Hypothesis 1. Negro mothers employed outside the home are less traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers that are not employed outside the home.

Table 7

<u>T-Score Differences by Mother's Employment Status</u>					
Mother Employed					
	Yes		No		
	%	N	%	N	
High	24	4	50	17	21
T-Score					
Low	76	13	50	17	30
Total	100	17	100	34	51
chi-square value 3.278 percent difference 26					

Table 7 shows that there are substantial differences in terms of child rearing attitudes between Negro mothers that are employed outside the home and Negro mothers that are not employed outside the home. Findings related to this hypothesis are in the predicted direction and are statistically significant ($P < .05$). Therefore, this research hypothesis is accepted as stated above.

Research Hypothesis 2. Negro mothers who attend church services or activities at least once a week are more traditional in terms of child rearing attitudes than are Negro mothers who attend church services or activities less than once a week.¹

¹This hypothesis is based on the homogeneous nature of the lower status Negro church within which membership does not lead to contact with individuals of varied status positions.

Table 8

<u>T-Score Differences by Church Attendance Frequency</u>					
Attendance Frequency					
		Weekly or more often		Less than weekly	
		%	N	%	N
T-Score	High	44	12	38	9
	Low	56	15	62	15
Total	100		27	100	24
chi-square value .253		percent difference 6		51	

Inspection of Table 8 shows that the existing relationship is in the predicted direction. However, this relationship is not statistically significant and the research hypothesis is rejected.

Findings derived from the two research hypotheses related to General Hypothesis III suggest a pattern consistent with that suggested by literature related to this area of research.

Research Hypothesis 1 leads to findings that are in agreement with relevant literature. Employment outside the home is significantly ($P < .05$) related to specific child rearing attitudes. Research Hypothesis 2, although not statistically significant ($P < .35$), suggests that another dimension of social contact frequency is related to specific child rearing attitudes, namely church attendance.

These findings suggest that General Hypothesis III has important implications for the adoption and utilization of specific child rearing attitudes. This general hypothesis leads to findings that are within the pattern suggested by related literature in this area.

Summary

On the basis of the findings related to the research hypothesis utilized in this study, it is possible to formulate the following conclusion:

Negro mothers with a predominately lower status background manifest significant differences in child rearing attitudes with respect to the following dimensions; (1) relative social status position and (2) the gainful employment of the mother outside her home.

The emergent pattern evident in this study also suggests that structural variables related to social status position and social contact frequency with people of diverse social origins are important factors in the determination of specific child rearing attitudes. It is also evident that structural variables related to family composition factors are not as crucial in the determination of specific child rearing attitudes as those variables related to social status and social contact frequency.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Literature pertaining to the American Negro family suggests an historically based matricentric form of family life and a Negro mother characterized by traditional child rearing attitudes. Today, in American society, the equalitarian and democratic forms of family life are replacing the older matricentric and extended family systems. Within the Negro segment of the population, the older forms of family life were viewed as the outgrowth of the Negro's heritage of slavery and racial discrimination. The change in the direction of equalitarian and democratic family structure is viewed as a result of increased economic affluence and increased education within the Negro population of the United States.

These alleged increases in the sphere of economics and education are often taken as indicators of progress in the Negro population as a whole. Herein lies the danger of considering the Negro American in categorical terms. While it appears to be true that particular segments of the Negro population are progressing and being included in areas of the mainstream of American society, the fact remains that a large segment remains outside the mainstream of American life. This segment of the Negro population in America continues to exhibit unstable behavior and attitudes indicative of low status orientation and aspiration.

The literature also suggests that the lag of a large segment of the Negro population in adopting and emulating middle and upper status family orientations is a direct result of a continued history of economic and educational discrimination and the persistent patterns of residential and social segregation. Therefore, Negroes continue to manifest a disproportionate share of the symptoms of family disorganization. In the case of housing discrimination the stable segment of the Negro population is continually exposed to the influence of the larger unstable sector.

The principal aim of this study was to make more precise statements about lower status Negro mothers, their families, and their child rearing attitudes. It is hoped that these efforts will shed some light upon the conditions leading to specified child rearing attitudes being accepted or rejected in this segment of our population.

Conclusions

Having analyzed the findings presented in this study, the following conclusions may be advanced:

1. Child rearing attitudes are related to relative status positions in lower status Negro families.
 - a. Lower social status position is directly related to traditional child rearing attitudes ($P < .05$) in low status Negro families.
 - b. There is no significant ($P < .25$) difference between Negro mothers reporting wages and/or salary as their source of family income and Negro mothers with other reported sources of family income.

2. Family composition variables are not sufficient or necessary factors in the determination of child rearing attitudes in low status Negro families.
 - a. Marital status and the presence or absence of the respondent's spouse is not a significant ($P < .40$) structural factor in determining specific child rearing attitudes in lower status Negro families.
 - b. Age is not a significant ($P < .25$) factor in determining specific child rearing attitudes of mothers in lower status Negro families.
 - c. The level of educational achievement of mothers is not a significant ($P > .99$) factor in determining specific child rearing attitudes in lower status Negro families.
 - d. The sex composition of children in lower status Negro families is not a significant ($P < .25$) factor in determining specific child rearing attitudes of lower status Negro mothers.
3. Child rearing attitudes are related to the Negro mother's social contact frequency with individuals of diverse social origins.
 - a. Employment of Negro mothers outside the home is significantly ($P < .05$) related to specific child rearing attitudes in lower status Negro families.
 - b. Church attendance patterns of Negro mothers are not significantly ($P < .35$) related to specific child rearing attitudes in lower status Negro families.

This study attempted to specify under what conditions Negro mothers might manifest specific child rearing attitudes. The findings of the present study indicate that within the segment of the Negro population studied that low position in the lower social status segment of the Negro social system and the lack of gainful employment outside her home on the part of the Negro mother are both significantly related to traditional child rearing attitudes. The other dimensions assessed in this study were not significantly related to specific child rearing attitudes. However, these later dimensions do offer insight into what might be hypothesized concerning the child rearing attitudes of the Negro mother in our society. These findings are in agreement with those posited by Duvall, Davis

and Havinghurst, Frazier, Baber and others commenting on these dimensions.

In general, these essential findings demonstrated that differences do exist among lower status Negro mothers with respect to their child rearing attitudes. These findings also suggest that a wide range of child rearing attitudes might possibly be located and specified within the Negro segment of the population of the United States.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A SAMPLING PLAN

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
01	12	26	4	26	14	5	CC	12
02	33	51	5	25	18	4	CC	7
03	54	68	6	17	14	7	CC	3
04	75	81	7	13	6	5	C	6
05	96	103	8	22	7	1	C	7
06	117	120	9	17	3	7	C	3
07	138	144	10	24	6	7	C	6
08	159	179	11	35	20	5	CC	15
09	180	222	12	43	42	4	CC	1
10	201	222	12	43	21	4	C	21
11	222	255	13	33	33	5	CC	0
12	243	255	13	33	12	7	C	12
13	264	277	14	22	13	1	CC	9
14	285	319	15	42	34	7	CC	8
15	306	319	15	42	13	4	C	13
16	327	362	16	43	35	4	CC	8
17	348	362	16	43	14	7	C	14
18	369	398	17	36	29	1	CC	7
19	390	398	17	36	8	7	C	8
20	411	425	26	18	14	4	CC	4
21	432	445	27	20	13	7	CC	7
22	453	468	28	23	15	1	CC	8
23	474	582	29	114	108	1	CC	6
24	495	582	29	114	87	4	CC	27

^ASample (case) number

^BDesignated housing unit

^CCumulated housing units total

^DLocation of sample housing unit (block number)

^ENumber of housing units in block

^FLocation of housing units in block

^GCorner start: code-corner

7 NW
1 SE
4 SW
5 NE

^HCounting direction

^IActual count to find units

25	516	582	29	114	66	4	CC	48
26	537	582	29	114	45	4	C	45
27	558	582	29	114	24	5	C	24
28	579	582	29	114	3	7	C	3
29	600	610	30	28	10	7	C	10
30	621	626	33	16	5	7	C	5
31	642	659	35	25	17	7	CC	8
32	663	672	36	13	9	5	CC	4
33	684	708	39	29	24	7	CC	5
34	705	708	39	3	3	5	CC	0
35	726	754	41	43	28	7	CC	15
36	747	754	41	43	7	1	C	7
37	768	769	42	15	1	5	C	1
38	789	791	44	17	2	4	C	2
39	810	819	45	28	9	7	C	9
40	831	847	47	28	16	4	CC	12
41	852	885	48	38	33	7	CC	5
42	873	885	48	38	12	4	C	12
43	894	905	49	20	11	4	CC	9
44	915	923	50	18	8	4	C	8
45	936	941	51	18	5	1	C	5
46	957	971	53	16	14	1	CC	2
47	978	979	56	7	1	7	C	1
48	999	1002	60	6	3	4	C	3
49	1020	1030	64	20	10	7	C	10
50	1041	1046	67	7	5	1	CC	2
51	1062	1063	72	13	1	1	C	1
52	1083	1146	78	83	63	5	CC	20
53	1104	1146	78	83	42	4	CC	41
54	1125	1146	78	83	21	5	C	21
55	1146	1228	79	82	82	5	CC	0
56	1167	1228	79	82	61	4	CC	21
57	1188	1228	79	82	40	5	C	40
58	1209	1228	79	82	19	7	C	19
59	1230	1241	80	13	11	4	CC	2
60	1251	1350	88	100	99	5	CC	1
61	1272	1350	88	100	78	7	CC	22
62	1293	1350	88	100	57	4	CC	43
63	1314	1350	88	100	36	5	C	36
64	1335	1350	88	100	15	4	C	15
65	1356	1394	89	44	38	1	CC	6
66	1377	1394	89	44	17	1	C	17
67	1398	1446	90	52	48	5	CC	4
68	1419	1446	90	52	27	1	C	27
69	1440	1446	90	52	6	5	C	6
70	1461	1472	91	26	11	5	C	11
71	1482	1495	96	21	13	5	CC	8

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE PROFILE

Table 9

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of Age		
Years of Age	Negro Mothers	Percent*
17-29	15	29.4
30-39	16	31.4
40-49	10	19.6
50-59	5	9.8
60 and over	5	9.8
Total	51	100.0
Median Age 38**		

Table 10

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of Educational Achievement		
Years of School Completed	Negro Mothers	Percent
4-8	17	33.3
9-10	10	19.6
11-12	22	43.1
13 and over	2	4.0
Total	51	100.0
Median Achievement 10		

*Percentages rounded

**Medians computed from the arrayed form

Table 11

<u>Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Marital Status</u>		
Marital Status	Negro Mothers	Percent
Married	35	68.6
Single	3	6.0
Divorced	2	3.9
Separated	4	7.8
Remarried	0	0.0
Widowed	5	9.8
Unmarried, Living with Man, Common-Law	2	3.9
Total	51	100.0

Table 12

<u>Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of Number of Years of Marriage</u>		
Years Married	Negro Mothers	Percent
Never Married	3	6.0
Less than 1 to 5	7	13.7
6-10	11	21.6
11-15	7	13.7
16-21	9	17.6
21 or more	14	27.4
Total	51	100.0
Median Years 13		

Table 13

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Homes in Which the Husband was Present or Absent		
Husband in Home	Negro Mothers	Percent
Never Married	3	5.9
Husband in Home	35	68.6
Husband not in Home	13	25.5
Total	51	100.0

Table 14

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Homes in Which Husband was Present and <u>Employment Status</u>		
Husband in Home	Negro Mothers	Percent
Never Married	3	5.9
Husband Employed	30	58.8
Husband not Employed	18	35.3
Total	51	100.0

Table 15

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of all Respondents by Major Decision Making Pattern		
Makes Major Decisions	Negro Families	Percent
Never Married, Separated, Divorced, Widowed, or Living with Man	16	31.4
Married & Living Together (Self)	9	17.6
Married & Living Together (Husband)	3	5.9
Married & Living Together (Both)	23	45.1
Total	51	100.0

Table 16

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of Children by Number for Each Mother		
Number of Children per Mother	Negro Mothers	Percent
1 child	7	13.7
2 children	10	19.6
3 children	11	21.6
4 children	6	11.8
5 children	5	9.8
6 children	5	9.8
7 children	2	3.9
8 children	4	7.8
9 children	1	2.0
Total	51	100.0
Median 3		

Table 17

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Male Children		
N of Male Children	Negro Mothers	Percent
0	7	13.7
1	17	33.3
2	12	23.5
3	8	15.7
4	5	9.8
5	2	4.0
Total	51	100.0

Table 18

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Female Children		
N of Female Children	Negro Mothers	Percent
0	8	15.7
1	14	27.4
2	15	29.4
3	8	15.7
4	2	3.9
5	3	5.9
8	1	2.0
Total	51	100.0

Table 19

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Children by Predominate Sex of Children in Family		
Predominate Sex of Children	Negro Mothers	Percent
Equal Number of Males & Females	10	19.6
All Males	4	7.8
All Females	5	10.0
More Males than Females	12	23.5
More Females than Males	14	27.4
Only Child Male	4	7.8
Only Child Female	2	3.9
Total	51	100.0

Table 20

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of the Median Age of Children		
Median Age of Children (Years)	Negro Mothers	Percent
2-7	18	35.3
8-12	14	28.0
12.5-21	10	19.2
21.5-64	9	17.5
Total Median 9.5	51	100.0

Table 21

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of the Age of Oldest Child		
Age of Oldest Child	Negro Mothers	Percent
2-8	14	27.6
9-16	12	23.5
17-28	17	33.3
30-64	8	15.6
Total Median 15.5	51	100.0

Table 22

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of the Age of Youngest Child		
Age of Youngest Child	Negro Mothers	Percent
Less than 1 through 6	30	58.7
7-13	8	15.7
14-29	8	15.7
31-64	5	9.9
Total	51	100.0
Median 4		

Table 23

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of the Number of Children in School and Living in the Home or of Pre-school Age and Living in the Home		
Number of Children in School and Living in the Home or of Pre-school Age and Living in the Home	Negro Mothers	Percent
0	8	15.7
1-3	23	45.1
4-6	16	31.4
7-8	4	7.8
Total	51	100.0
Median 3		

Table 24

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Reported Social Organizational Membership		
Number of Social Organizations to Which Respondents Belonged	Negro Mothers	Percent
None (0)	36	70.6
1	11	21.6
2	3	5.9
3	1	1.9
Total	51	100.0

Table 25

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of the Number of Mothers Employed Outside the Home		
Mother Employed Outside the Home	Negro Mothers	Percent
Yes	17	33.3
No	34	66.7
Total	51	100.0

Table 26

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Mother's Church Attendance		
Church Attendance	Negro Mothers	Percent
Once a Week or More	27	52.9
At Least Once a Month but not Weekly	16	31.4
Less than Once a Month but More than Once a Year	5	9.8
Less than Once a Year	2	3.9
Not Ascertained	1	2.0
Total	51	100.0

Table 27

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of Reported Social Organizations in Which an Office is Held		
N of Organizations in Which an Office is Held	Negro Mothers	Percent
None	47	92.1
One	4	7.9
Total	51	100.0

Table 28

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution of the Mother's Social Status Position		
Social Status	Negro Mothers	Percent
Upper Part of Middle Class	1	2.0
Lower Part of Middle Class	9	17.6
Upper Part of Lower Class	27	53.0
Lower Part of Lower Class	14	27.4
Total	51	100.0
Median Score 82		

Table 29

Median, Percentage and Frequency Distribution
of Family Income Per Year for the 51 Families

Family Income	Negro Family	Percent
Less than \$2,999	16	31.4
\$3,000-\$6,999	20	39.2
\$7,000-\$8,999	11	21.6
Don't Know	4	7.8
Total	51	100.0
Median Range \$3,000-\$4,999		

Table 30

Frequency Distribution and Percentage
of Reported Source of Family Income

Source of Family Income	Negro Families	Percent
Wages and/or Salary	33	64.7
Wages and/or Salary Plus "Other" Source	7	13.7
Other than Wages and/or Salary Only	11	21.6
Total	51	100.0

Table 31

Frequency Distribution and Percentage of "Other" Reported Sources of Family Income		
"Other" Sources of Family Income	Negro Families	Percent
Wages and/or Salary	33	64.7
Wages and/or Salary Plus A.D.C and/or Alimony Child Support, Welfare	3	5.9
Wages and/or Salary Plus Social Security, Old Age Assistance, Pension	2	3.9
A.D.C. and/or Child Support, Alimony, Welfare	6	11.8
Social Security and/or Old Age Assistance, Pension	3	5.9
Family Help and/or Child Support, Alimony, Welfare	1	1.9
Other Combination Than Above	3	5.9
Total	51	100.0

APPENDIX C
OTHER FINDINGS

Table 32

<u>T-Score Differences by Spouse's Presence and Employment</u>					
Spouse in Home and Employed					
	Yes		No		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	47	14	33	7	21
Low	53	16	67	14	30
Total	100	30	100	21	51
chi-square value .906 percent difference 14					

Table 33

<u>T-Score Differences by Number of Years of Marriage of Married Mothers (Mothers Never Married Excluded)</u>					
Number of Years Married					
	10 Years or Less		11 Years or More		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	50	9	60	18	27
Low	50	9	40	12	21
Total	100	18	100	30	48
chi-square value .457 percent difference 10					

Table 34

T-Score Differences by Number of Children					
Number of Children					
	2 or Less		3 or More		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	41	7	41	14	21
Low T-Score	59	10	59	20	30
Total	100	17	100	34	51
chi-square value 0.00 percent difference 0					

Table 35

T-Score Differences by Median Age of Children					
Median Age of Children					
	9.5 Years or Less		10 Years or More		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	46	12	36	9	21
Low T-Score	54	14	64	16	30
Total	100	26	100	25	51
chi-square value .543 percent difference 10					

Table 36

T-Score Differences by School Status of Children and Their Residency in the Home					
Number of Children in the Home of School/Pre-School Age					
	2 or Less		3 or More		
	%	N	%	N	
High T-Score	43	10	39	11	21
Low T-Score	57	13	61	17	30
Total	100	23	100	28	51
chi-square value .091 percent difference 4					

Table 37

T-Score Differences by Decision Making Pattern					
Makes Major Decisions					
		Both		Self or Spouse	
		%	N	%	N
T-Score	High	52	12	32	9
	Low	48	11	68	19
Total		100	23	100	28
		chi-square value 2.091		percent difference 20	

APPENDIX D
THE SCHEDULE

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

INTERVIEWER _____

CASE NUMBER _____

GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. How often do you attend church activities or services?

- a. once a week or more
- b. at least once a month, but not weekly
- c. less than once a month, but more than once a year
- d. less than once a year

2. To how many social organizations do you belong?

0 1 2 3 4 5 and over

3. Name the organizations or clubs to which you belong, and any position which you may hold, e.g., president, member.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
a. _____	_____
b. _____	_____
c. _____	_____
d. _____	_____
e. _____	_____
f. _____	_____
g. _____	_____
h. _____	_____

6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____
13. _____
14. _____

Number of children _____ Age of oldest child _____
 Age of youngest child _____ Median age of children _____
 Husband Yes _____ No _____/Employed Yes _____ No _____
 Respondents age _____/Employed Yes _____ No _____

6. Into which of these income brackets would you say your family falls? (Include the income of everyone who contributes to the immediate support of the family.)

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Less than \$2,999 | d. \$7,000 to \$8,999 |
| b. \$3,000 to \$4,999 | e. \$9,000 and over |
| c. \$5,000 to \$6,999 | f. Don't know |

Source of income: Wages and salary _____ Other (specify) _____
 Both _____

7. Who makes the major decisions in your family?

Self _____ Husband _____ Both _____

TDA SCALE:

I would now like to ask you a few important questions about family roles that only a few mothers in Kalamazoo are able to provide the answers to.

Family Roles refers to your ideas on what it takes to raise the kind of children and have the kind of family life you want.

We will read through the ten statements in each section rapidly and circle the number of each statement that you agree with wholeheartedly. We will then count up to see whether we have circled more or less than five (5) numbers. We will then cross out or circle more numbers to bring the number precisely to five (5). It is desirable that we complete each section quickly, using your first reactions. Are there any questions about what we are about to do . . . Alright, we will now begin. Remember you are to choose the appropriate numbers for five (5) things a good child does:

1. Obeys and respects adults
2. Loves and confides in his parents
3. Shares and cooperates with others
4. Is eager to learn
5. Respects property, takes care of his things
6. Keeps clean and neat
7. Enjoys growing up
8. Works hard at home and school
9. Is honest, courteous
10. Is happy, contented

You are now to choose the appropriate number for five (5) things a good mother does:

1. Helps her children develop socially
2. Makes her children good, builds character
3. Disciplines her children
4. Takes care of her children physically

5. Provides for her children's mental growth
6. Shows love and affection to her children
7. Trains her children to regular habits (eating, sleeping, etc.)
8. Guides her children with understanding
9. Sees to her children's emotional well-being
10. Is a good cook, keeps house in order

SES INDICATOR:

Part I. Material and cultural expression of the living room of the home.

1. Floor, softwood (6) _____
 hardwood (10) _____
2. Large rug or wall-to-wall carpet (8) _____
3. Windows with shades and curtains, or with Venetian blinds
 and drapes (each window 2) _____
4. Fireplace with 3 or more utensils (8) _____
5. Artifical light, electric (8) _____
 kerosene (-2) _____
6. Library table (8) _____
7. Armchairs (8 each) _____
8. Piano bench (4) _____
9. Desk: personal-social (8) _____
10. Bookcases with books (8 each) _____
11. Sewing machine (-2) _____
12. Couch pillows (2 each) _____
13. Alarm clock (-2) _____
14. Periodicals (8 each) _____
15. Newspapers (8 each) _____
16. Telephone (8) _____
17. Radio (2), television (6); both (8) _____

Score on Part I _____

Part II. Cleanliness of room and furnishings.

18. Cleanliness of room and furnishings

- a. Spotted or stained (-4) _____
- b. Dusty (-2) _____
- c. Spotless and dustless (+2) _____

19. Orderliness of room and furnishings

- a. Articles strewn about in disorder (-2) _____
- b. Articles in place or in usable order (+2) _____

20. Condition or repair of articles and furnishings

- a. Broken, scratched, frayed, ripped, or torn (-4) . . . _____
- b. Articles or furnishing patched up (-2) _____
- c. Articles or furnishings in good repair and well kept (+2) _____

21. Record your general impression of good taste

- a. Bizarre, clashing, inharmonious, or offensive (-4) . . _____
- b. Drab, monotonous, neutral, inoffensive (-2) _____
- c. Attractive in a positive way, harmonious, quiet and restful (+2) _____

Score on Part II _____

Total Score, Σ Parts I and II _____ Σ with penalties deducted

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