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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper was to explore elements of socialization in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan lower-class black populations which might impede motivational development in the lower-class black child. One objective was to describe the nature of the following factors which may affect goal striving of the lower-class black youth: mothers' educational aspirations, educational expectations, and occupational expectations for their children; mothers' attitudes about educational and occupational achievement; mothers' attitudes about child-rearing; and cohesiveness of the black family units. Another objective was to determine the extent to which variation in these elements of socialization within the black lower-class populations could be explained by indicators of the families' relative articulations with American society's opportunity structures. The data utilized were collected in the summers of 1970 and 1971 from black wives residing in nonmetropolitan East Texas and metropolitan Houston, respectively. All respondents were interviewed by black female adults who had been trained by the researchers in interviewing procedure. The nonmetropolitan sample was drawn from a town of about 5,000 population. The metropolitan sample was comprised of residents of an economically disadvantaged, almost all-black ghetto. (Author/JM)

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Elements of Socialization Impeding or Facilitating
Goal-Striving in the Lower-Class Black Family*

by

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Introduction

Robert Staples (1971) has stated that one of the roles of socialization in the black family is "to inculcate the appropriate motivational elements in the black child for goal striving." Evidence that lower-class black mothers generally express high occupational and educational aspirations for their children (Dietrich, 1973; Lewis, 1955; Broom and Glenn, 1965; Bernard, 1966), lends credibility to the thesis that it is not this goal of socialization but the ability to implement the goal that distinguishes socialization in the black lower-class. That lower-class black mothers are often successful in inculcating these goals in their children, however, is evidenced by the similarly high aspirations generally expressed by lower-class black youth (Thomas, 1970; Kuvlesky and Lever, 1967; Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1970). Nevertheless, aspirations are only one of the elements of motivation requisite for achievement. The objectives of this paper are: (1) to explore aspirations in context with other elements of socialization in the black lower-class which might impede motivational development in the black child; (2) to determine the extent to which variation in these elements of socialization within the black lower-class itself is explained by families' relative articulations with the opportunity structure. The elements of socialization to be explored are: mothers' expectations compared with aspirations; goal inconsistency; mothers' attitudes about educational and occupational achievement; mothers' attitudes about child-rearing; and cohesiveness in the black family-units.

Aspirations Versus Expectations. Expectations are distinguished from aspirations in that they are the more realistic element of success goals. They are more likely to reflect perception of environmental barriers that will be encountered in goal pursuit and are more likely to represent the object toward which goal-oriented behavior, or goal-striving, will be directed. If the black lower-class mother who expresses high aspirations for her child realistically assesses her child's opportunities for achievement, her expectations will often be deflected downward. Advertently or inadvertently, these lower expectations are likely to be communicated to the child and, therefore, to be the more salient influence than the mothers aspirations on the child's achievement oriented behavior.

Goal Inconsistency. Robert Merton (1957) emphasized over a decade ago the importance of an integrated "frame of aspirational reference." By this, he meant that an individual aspires simultaneously to more than one type of status attainment. Two types of status attainment which are integrally related for success in American society are education and occupation. To the extent to which these goals are inconsistent (i.e., desired education is less than or more than that requisite for achievement of the occupational goal), achievement of one goal is likely to negate achievement of the other.

Mothers' Attitudes and Values Relating to Occupational and Educational Achievement. Other important motivational elements are attitudes and values. Attitudes and values are not synonymous with motivation; rather, they guide, or direct, motivated behavior. This involves determining the means by which and the commitment with which goals will be pursued,

the primacy of the pursuit of some goals over the pursuit of others, as well as the goals themselves and alternatives to goals that cannot be achieved.

The following attitudes and values are postulated to contribute to lack of achievement in the lower classes: (1) emphasis upon immediate gratification instead of planning and deferred gratification (Rosen, 1956; Rainwater, 1970); (2) attitudes of fatalism instead of belief in the ability of individuals to manipulate their environment to their advantage (Rosen, 1956); (3) feelings of alienation from society's economic opportunity structures (Lewis, 1955); (4) valuing of education and occupation as means to ends (instrumental goals) instead of as ends in themselves (intrinsic goals) (Mizruchi, 1964).

Child-Rearing. Two techniques of child-rearing that are postulated to inhibit children's achievement (Walters and Stinnett, 197) are: punitive attempts at child control and the lack of granting of child autonomy. These techniques are said to characterize the black lower-class, because they have been observed to be more prevalent among lower-class blacks than among the middle-class (Kamii and Radin, 1967; Scanzoni, 1971). Such techniques involve emphasis upon physical punishment and appeals to status and authority rather than reason or guilt (Kamii and Radin, 1967). Their postulated results are to lesson development of inner controls in the child (Kamii and Radin, 1967) and to discourage the child to think for himself. In regard to the latter and its implications for goal striving, the child does not develop the ability to rationally weigh his goals and alternative means of obtaining these goals, nor does he learn to distinguish between harmful and helpful influences on these goals (Scanzoni, 1971).

Family Cohesiveness. In this study, family cohesiveness is considered an aspect of socialization in the black family, because it is posited to affect the parents' functionality in advertently inculcating their aspirations, expectations, and values in their children. Lack of family cohesiveness is said to distinguish the lower-class black family from families of the black and white middle-class (Rainwater, 1970; Bernard, 1966). The result of this lack is to displace the influence of the family with socializing influences outside of the family. These outside influences frequently conflict with the attitudes and values that the parents try to instill in their children (Rainwater, 1970).

Variation Within the Black Lower-Class. Although a number of sociologists have emphasized the fact that American blacks is a heterogeneous group (Staples, 1971; Scanzoni, 1971) and that one cannot correctly talk about "the black family," they generally explain this heterogeneity by social class differences. Few sociologists have pointed out that the black lower-class is also a heterogeneous group in terms of family attributes. Indeed, the traits that are said to distinguish the black lower-class, because they are more prevalent among this group than among the black or white middle-class, often cannot be generalized to even the majority of lower-class blacks (Dietrich, 1973). Objective I of this study is to determine the extent to which the foregoing elements of socialization said to distinguish the black lower-class can in fact be generalized to the study populations of lower-class blacks.

The second objective of the study is added to counter or substantiate the argument that the degree to which these elements of socialization can be generalized to the black lower-class is merely dependent upon the

definition of lower-class--i.e., how low on the socioeconomic scale one goes to draw the cut-off point for determining the class distinction. That is, it can be argued that much of the variation within the black lower-class can still be explained by the families' relative articulations with society's opportunity, or socioeconomic, structures. The hypothesis of this argument is that the greater a family's articulation with the opportunity structures, the more propitious the socializing influences for developing motivation for goal-striving.

Data Collection

The data utilized were collected in the summers of 1970 and 1971 from black wives residing in nonmetropolitan East Texas and metropolitan Houston, respectively. The nonmetropolitan sample was drawn from a town of about 5,000 population. The county in which the town was located had a higher proportion of blacks and a substantially lower median income than the state of Texas generally, and it was located about 60 miles from the nearest metropolitan center. The metropolitan sample was comprised of residents of an economically disadvantaged, almost all-black ghetto.

Only the main female homemakers of families in the study area who met the following criteria were included in the sample: (1) at least one child under 18 years of age resided in the home; (2) the female homemaker normally resided in the home; (3) the female homemaker mainly responsible for caring for the home was under 65 years of age and, unless she was the mother of one or more of the children living in the home, over 18. All households in the nonmetropolitan communities and a 50 percent random sample of households in the metropolitan study area were screened to determine if they met these criteria. From 94 to 100 percent

of the homemakers who qualified were subsequently interviewed. The total study population numbered 207 nonmetropolitan and 294 metropolitan black homemakers. Ten of these respondents (8 nonmetropolitan and 2 metropolitan) have been excluded from this study, because they were not the actual mothers or guardians of any of the children residing in the homes. All respondents were interviewed by black female adults who had been trained by the researchers in interviewing procedure. None of the interviewers resided in the study area, nor were they personally acquainted with the respondents.

Background of Respondents. According to various criteria, almost all of the respondents appeared to be of low socioeconomic status. The large majority of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan homemakers and their husbands had not completed more than an eighth grade education, and almost all were employed in semiskilled or unskilled jobs. According to a poverty index by which income is evaluated in relation to family size, age of family members, and a consumer price index for the study areas, two-thirds or more of the village, town, and metropolitan families were found to be disadvantaged or of marginal poverty status. This index, however, is conservative (in the direction of underestimating poverty) and scores higher than marginal level were still generally low, suggesting few of the families could be considered advantaged.

Measurement

Educational Aspirations and Expectations for Children. The black mothers were asked the following question in reference to their children "still under 18": "How much schooling would you most desire your sons and/or daughters to have?" Structured response alternatives were:

"1. Quit school before graduating, 2. Graduate from high school, 3. High school plus vocational training, 4. Junior college, 5. Graduate from college." The respondents were instructed to answer separately for their sons and for their daughters.

Educational expectations were elicited by the next question: "How much schooling do you really think they will be able to get, considering everything?" Response alternatives were the same as above.

Occupational Aspirations for Children. Occupational aspirations for their children were elicited by the following questions: "(a) What kind of job would you most desire your boy(s) to have as a lifetime job? (b) What kind of job would you most desire your girl(s) to have as a lifetime job?" For the purposes of description (objective 1), the occupations were coded according to Hollingshead's Occupational Status scale. The scale was modified slightly to include "prestigious glamour" occupations with the highest ranked occupations. In addition, proprietors were excluded from the rankings, because there was no information regarding the value of the desired businesses. For the purposes of explanatory analysis (objective 2), the occupations were coded by Duncan's Socioeconomic Index of Occupations. In both occupational codings, if a respondent gave more than one job in answer to one of the questions, the job with the highest prestige was coded.

Mothers' Attitudes About Educational and Occupational Achievement. This study used a number of questionnaire items which tapped the black mothers' attitudes about educational and occupational achievement. Many, but not all, of the items had a child referent. The items that did not have a child referent have also been included in this analysis, because such

attitudes still might influence the child's later achievement oriented behavior. The items are enumerated in Tables 4, 5, and 6. They have been divided into those which are likely to facilitate educational achievement, those which are likely to hinder educational and occupational achievement, and those which refer to intrinsic versus instrumental orientations toward education and occupational achievement.

Attitudes About Child-Rearing. Those items tapping child-rearing attitudes are enumerated in Table 7.

Family Cohesiveness. Family cohesiveness was elicited by the following four questions: "How often do you go places together as a family?"; "How often does your family eat at least one meal a day together?"; "How often do family members work around the home together?"; "How often do family members relax around the home together--talking, watching TV or doing things like this?" Structured response alternatives were "Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," "Never." These responses were weighted 4 through 1, respectively, and summed for each respondent. Inter-item correlations ranged from .19 to .41 in the nonmetropolitan population and .18 to .37 in the metropolitan population. Reliability coefficients (α) were .59 and .58 in the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan populations, respectively.

Indicators of Articulations with Opportunity Structures. The following variables were used as indicators of the families' articulations with opportunity structures:

Father's Education--the highest grade of school completed. A year of college was coded 13; 2 years, 14; etc.

Mother's Education--same as above.

Father's Occupation--The respondents' reports of the "kind of job" and "industry" in which the father was employed during the year preceding the survey were coded according to Duncan's Socioeconomic Index of Occupations. If the father was not employed at any time during the year, he was accorded a score of "0." If the father was employed in two or more jobs during the year, the job with the highest score was coded unless this job was held for a much shorter time than the other(s).

Mother's Employment Status--If the mother was employed at all during the year, this variable was coded 1. If the mother was not employed, the variable was coded 0.

Poverty Index--A poverty threshold (i.e., the amount of money income which would have enabled the family to meet necessary expenses during the year preceding the survey) was calculated for each family, taking into account: (1) the number and ages of persons in the household; (2) what proportion of the past year each person resided in the household; (3) the consumer price index for this particular region of the country and the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan nature of the communities of residence; and (4) farm or nonfarm residence. The poverty index score for each family was determined by dividing the family's total disposable income by its poverty threshold.

Findings

Educational Aspirations and Expectations for Their Children. Both the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan black mothers' educational aspirations for their children were quite high. Almost all of the nonmetropolitan mothers expressed aspirations for their sons and daughters to complete college. Over three-fourths of the metropolitan mothers also expressed these aspirations. The metropolitan mothers expressed slightly higher aspirations for their daughters than for their sons (Table 1).

The black mothers' educational expectations for their children were markedly lower than their aspirations (Table 2). Many of the black mothers deflected their projections downward to high school graduation or high school plus vocational training. About half of the mothers of both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan residence maintained expectations for their children to graduate from college. For the most part, these projections did not differ by the sex of their off-spring.

Occupational Aspirations for Their Children. The black mothers' occupational aspirations for their children were also quite high when compared to the occupations of their husbands and themselves (Table 3). Their aspirations differed significantly for their sons and daughters, however. About half of the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan respondents desired their sons to have occupations which ranked at the very top of the modified Hollingshead scale. Only about one-fourth named occupations below the second rank. Aspirations expressed for their daughters were generally in the second or third ranking--specifically, lesser-professionals or semi-professionals.

Table 1. Lower-Class Black Mothers' Educational Aspirations for Their Children.

Highest Level of Schooling Desired	Metropolitan		Nonmetropolitan	
	for Sons	for Daughters	for Sons	for Daughters
	----- % -----			
High School Graduate	10.5	6.2	3.0	1.2
High School Plus Vocational Training	8.4	5.4	1.8	0.6
Junior College	2.9	2.9	0.0	0.0
College Graduate or more	78.2	85.5	95.2	98.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	238	243	167	162
No Answer	0	0	2	2

Table 2. Lower-Class Black Mothers' Educational Expectations for Their Children

Highest Level of Schooling Expected	Metropolitan		Nonmetropolitan	
	for Sons	for Daughters	for Sons	for Daughters
	----- % -----			
Less than High School	0.4	0.8	3.6	1.8
High School	30.4	21.4	39.5	35.8
High School plus Vocational Training	15.2	16.5	3.0	1.2
Junior College	1.7	2.1	3.0	2.5
College Graduate	52.3	59.2	50.9	58.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	237	243	167	162
No Answer	1	0	3	4

Table 3. Lower-Class Black Mothers' Occupational Aspirations for Their Children

Modified Hollingshead Occupational Scale	Metropolitan		Nonmetropolitan	
	for Sons	for Daughters	for Sons	for Daughters
	----- % -----			
I.				
Major Professional	47.8	5.8	45.3	5.2
Higher Executives	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Prestigious Glamour	4.8	3.6	4.7	3.3
II.				
Lesser Professionals	20.5	32.9	30.0	38.3
Business Managers or Large Concerns	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.6
III.				
Administrative Personnel	1.0	2.7	0.7	0.6
Semi-Professional	1.5	36.0	0.0	34.4
IV.				
Clerical & Sales Workers	1.5	13.3	2.0	11.7
Technicians	2.9	1.8	0.0	0.0
V.				
Skilled Manual Employees	10.2	3.1	12.7	3.9
VI.				
Machine Operators & Semi-skilled Employees	4.4	0.0	1.3	0.0
VII.				
Unskilled Employees	1.5	0.4	1.3	2.0
Proprietors	<u>1.9</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	205	225	150	154
No Answer	33	18	20	14

Compared to educational aspirations, the latter occupational aspirations were low. That is, the education desired exceeded the educational prerequisite for these occupations. Such goal inconsistency was also evident in regard to aspirations for sons, but not to the extent that it was in regard to aspirations for daughters. Goal inconsistency was also more evident among the nonmetropolitan than metropolitan mothers.

Attitudes and Values About Educational and Occupational Achievement.

The overwhelming majority of the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan mothers agreed with the items which were judged likely to facilitate the educational achievement of their children (Table 4). Agreement was strongest in regard to those items which dealt with the importance of education for children, even if the pursuit of such education entailed substantial sacrifice. Agreement was less with items 3 and 4, which dealt with a general adult referent, although the majority of mothers still responded positively to these items.

Item 5 was designed to tap feelings of alienation or integration with the school or other socializing agencies outside of the family. The positive responses to this item suggest moderate to strong integration in this respect.

The items enumerated in Table 5 are those judged likely to hinder educational or occupational achievement of children. Only one of these items was generally answered positively by a majority of the black mothers: "Few people really look forward to their work." Among the metropolitan respondents, disagreement was less with those items dealing with occupation than with those dealing with education. In regard to education, dropping out of high school was not condoned for financial reasons or lack

Table 4. Lower-Class Black Mothers' Attitudes Which Might Facilitate Educational Achievement of Their Children

Attitude		%					TOTAL
		Definitely Agree	Tend to Agree	Not Sure	Tend to Disagree	Definitely Disagree	
1. Even though it may cause our children to move away to a distant city to get a good job, they need to get a good education.	Metro	74.3	18.8	0.7	5.1	1.0	100.0
	Nonmetro	80.4	12.6	0.0	4.0	3.0	100.0
2. It is important for children to get an education no matter what it costs.	Metro	61.9	28.9	0.0	7.2	2.1	100.0
	Nonmetro	77.9	14.6	0.5	5.0	2.0	100.0
3. The man with an education is more respected than an uneducated man.	Metro	47.6	17.8	2.4	18.5	13.7	100.0
	Nonmetro	66.8	19.1	3.5	6.0	4.5	100.0
4. People are better accepted by others if they have an education or job-training.	Metro	32.9	40.5	1.0	14.5	11.1	100.0
	Nonmetro	63.3	24.1	1.5	8.0	3.0	100.0
5. Families can get help with their children's problems from school and other places.	Metro	55.7	33.2	0.3	7.6	3.1	100.0
	Nonmetro	51.8	32.7	3.5	10.6	1.5	100.0

Table 5. Lower-Class Black Mothers' Attitudes Which Might Hinder Educational or Occupational Achievement of Their Children

Attitude	Definitely Agree	Tend to Agree	Not Sure	Tend to Disagree	Definitely Disagree	TOTAL
<u>Education</u>						
1. If the family needs more money it is all right for a child to quit school and help out for a while.	Metro 4.8 Nonmetro 12.1	14.2 17.6	1.4 1.0	24.9 11.6	54.7 57.8	100.0 100.0
2. It is all right to drop out of high school if more money is needed to buy clothing for the family.	Metro 5.8 Nonmetro 14.6	10.3 14.6	0.7 1.0	30.8 16.1	52.4 53.8	100.0 100.0
3. It is all right to drop out of high school if the student isn't interested.	Metro 11.3 Nonmetro 21.2	20.2 22.2	1.4 2.0	26.7 17.2	40.4 37.4	100.0 100.0
4. Parents & children don't get along as well when the children have more education than the parents.	Metro 6.2 Nonmetro 11.1	13.0 20.6	2.7 6.0	35.3 25.6	42.8 36.7	100.0 100.0
5. When a child has problems there is no use getting in touch with the school because they aren't really interested.	Metro 9.6 Nonmetro 20.6	14.8 16.1	0.7 1.5	29.6 22.6	45.4 39.2	100.0 100.0
6. Some people just cannot finish high school so why try.	Metro 10.3 Nonmetro 17.2	17.2 15.6	1.7 4.0	32.4 26.6	38.3 36.7	100.0 100.0
<u>Occupation</u>						
1. It makes no difference which job you take because you are likely to get laid off anyway.	Metro 7.9 Nonmetro 16.7	19.3 17.2	3.4 1.0	29.7 27.3	39.7 37.9	100.0 100.0
2. In getting a job, it is not what you know but who you know.	Metro 19.2 Nonmetro 18.6	26.1 23.6	0.0 3.0	29.9 21.1	24.7 33.7	100.0 100.0
3. Few people really look forward to their work.	Metro 23.7 Nonmetro 35.9	46.7 35.4	1.0 3.5	21.6 17.7	6.9 7.6	100.0 100.0

of interest by the majority of either the metropolitan or nonmetropolitan mothers. Mothers of both residence, however, were more likely to condone dropping out because of lack of interest than for financial reasons.

Both the nonmetropolitan or metropolitan mothers were optimistic that a high school education was within reach of virtually all youth, they showed little fear if their children's education exceeded their own, and again they did not appear to feel alienated from the school.

A consistent pattern of residence differences was observed in the responses to the items tapping attitudes likely to hinder achievement. In reference to every one of these items, the nonmetropolitan mothers more frequently agreed than the metropolitan mothers.

Responses to the items tapping intrinsic versus instrumental orientations (Table 6) are patterned differently in reference to education and occupation. The majority of respondents showed an instrumental orientation toward education and an intrinsic orientation toward occupation. That is, education was valued as a means for occupational attainment whereas occupation, or job, was valued for itself and not merely as a means to monetary compensation.

Mothers' Attitudes About Child-Rearing. The lower-class black mothers evinced strong agreement with the statement, "Respect for parents is the most important thing kids should learn" (Table 7). This suggests an emphasis on authority and obedience that is likely to permeate the parent-child relationships. Congruent with this emphasis is the black mothers' perceptions of child control to be their primary role in the socialization process, as indicated by the positive response to item 2.

Table 6. Black Mothers' Intrinsic or Instrumental Orientations Toward Education and Occupation.

Attitudes		Definitely Agree	Tend to Agree	Not Sure	Tend to Disagree	Definitely Disagree	TOTAL
<u>Intrinsic</u>							
The main reason for getting an education is personal satisfaction.	Metro	14.8	30.0	0.7	30.7	23.8	100.0
	Nonmetro	18.1	17.6	2.0	31.7	30.6	100.0
It is important to do a job you can be proud of even if it is more than the boss expects.	Metro	51.9	35.7	1.4	8.2	2.7	100.0
	Nonmetro	63.3	25.6	1.0	6.0	4.0	100.0
<u>Instrumental</u>							
The best education trains for a job.	Metro	58.4	29.6	1.0	7.9	3.1	100.0
	Nonmetro	60.6	29.3	1.0	7.6	1.5	100.0
A person should leave a job he likes for a job he does not like if it pays more money.	Metro	19.5	13.3	1.4	30.8	34.9	100.0
	Nonmetro	29.1	21.6	2.0	15.6	31.7	100.0
Pay is more important in choosing a job than what the job is.	Metro	26.0	19.2	2.7	34.9	17.1	100.0
	Nonmetro	29.1	26.6	3.5	19.1	21.6	100.0

Table 7. Black Mothers' Attitudes About Child-Rearing.

Attitudes		Definitely Agree	Tend to Agree	Not Sure	Tend to Disagree	Definitely Disagree	TOTAL
		%					
1. Respect for parents is the most important thing kids should learn.	Metro	88.7	9.2	0.0	1.7	0.3	100.0
	Nonmetro	94.0	5.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	100.0
2. The main goal of a parent is to see that the kids stay out of trouble.	Metro	57.9	24.8	0.0	10.3	6.9	100.0
	Nonmetro	72.9	16.6	0.0	6.5	4.0	100.0
3. Most kids should be spanked more often.	Metro	39.0	32.9	1.0	19.9	7.2	100.0
	Nonmetro	43.7	37.2	1.5	10.1	7.5	100.0

The general agreement with item 3--although not as strong as with the first two items--also suggests punitive orientations toward accomplishing this control.

The consistently stronger agreement with these items by the non-metropolitan than metropolitan mothers suggests greater emphasis on control, authority, and punitiveness in the socialization practices of the nonmetropolitan blacks.

Family Cohesiveness. Slightly over half of both the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan lower-class black families rated high on the family cohesiveness index. The bulk of the remainder appeared at least moderately cohesive. Differences between the two residence populations were minimal (Table 8).

Sources of Variation in the Black Lower-Class. In reference to most of the elements of socialization that were studied, the indicators of the families' relative articulations with the opportunity structures explained almost none of the variation observed within the black lower-class itself (Table 9). The elements of socialization that were more likely to be explained by indicators of socioeconomic articulation were the parents' status projections for their children. In reference to the latter variables, the explanatory power of the indicators of socioeconomic articulation was greater among the nonmetropolitan than among the metropolitan blacks. In general, mother's education explained more of the variation in these status projections (specifically, educational projections) than the other indicators of articulation with opportunity structures.

Table 8. Family Cohesiveness in the Lower-Class Black Families.

<u>Cohesiveness Scores</u>	<u>Metropolitan</u>	<u>Nonmetropolitan</u>
	-----	-----
	-----%	-----
<i>High</i>		
14-16	38.7	59.3
11-13	30.9	29.1
8-10	8.3	11.1
4-7	2.1	0.5
<i>Low</i>		
	-----	-----
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
N	288	199
No Information	4	0

Table 9. Influence of Indicators of Families' Articulations with the Opportunity Structure on Factors Related to Socialization for Goal-Striving.

Factors of Socialization for Goal-Striving	Indicators of Socioeconomic Articulation											
	Father's Education		Mother's Education		Father's Occupation		Mother's Employment Status		Poverty Index		R ²	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
-----Standardized Regression Coefficients-----												
Educational Aspirations for Sons	.10	.15	-.0004	-.23*	-.09	.08	-.03	.07	.46*	.04	.22	.04
for Daughters	.18	.02	.20*	-.03	.22*	.01	-.04	.12	.02	.17	.04	.04
Educational Expectations for Sons	.01	-.01	.33*	.34*	.08	-.17	-.05	-.01	.06	.12	.13	.12
for Daughters	.07	-.08	.06	.24*	.09	.02	-.02	.05	.19	.02	.12	.02
Occupational Aspirations for Sons	.05	.19	.22	.07	.11	.07	.07	.06	-.0005	.09	.06	.09
for Daughters	.10	.27*	.09	.08	-.04	.04	.21*	.09	.08	.03	.22	.03

<u>Attitudes Facilitating Educational Achievement</u>												
Item 1	.15	-.004	-.11	.08	.12	.09	.07	-.20*	-.04	.07	.01	.07
Item 2	.003	.01	.04	-.21*	-.09	-.04	.05	-.14	-.02	.03	.05	.03
Item 3	-.09	-.07	.11	.06	.03	-.09	-.08	-.08	-.001	.03	.01	.03
Item 4	.01	.02	-.07	.05	-.05	-.01	.11	.17	-.04	.03	.03	.03
Item 5	.03	.02	-.001	-.06	-.04	-.13	-.05	.14	-.05	.03	.04	.03

<u>Attitudes Hindering Educational Achievement</u>												
Item 1	.05	-.02	-.15	-.16	.01	.04	-.15	-.11	.09	.03	.05	.03
Item 2	.13	-.10	-.05	-.15	-.01	-.09	-.16	-.01	-.04	.03	.09	.03
Item 3	.23*	-.17	-.21*	-.22*	.05	.17	-.05	-.13	.08	.08	.10	.08
Item 4	-.10	.02	-.05	-.13	.04	.08	-.12	.02	-.17	.02	.10	.02
Item 5	-.06	.01	.01	-.09	.20*	-.11	.12	-.07	-.11	.07	.03	.07
Item 6	.03	-.11	.12	-.14	.18*	.10	-.12	-.07	.15	.06	.06	.06

Table 9 continued.

Factors of Socialization for Goal Striving	Father's Education		Mother's Education		Father's Occupation		Mother's Employment Status		Poverty Index		R ²	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
Attitudes Hindering Occupational Achievement												
Item 1	-.01	-.07	-.003	-.21*	.17	-.10	.03	.01	-.19	.02	.07	.06
Item 2	.20*	-.12	-.19	.06	.09	-.03	.09	.22*	-.26*	-.15	.10	.07
Item 3	.23*	.001	-.20	.02	.003	.07	-.04	-.11	.09	.06	.08	.02
Intrinsic Versus Instrumental Orientations Toward Child-Rearing												
Item 1	-.09	.08	.21*	.17	.05	.12	-.23	.13	.06	-.16	.07	.06
Item 2	.06	-.03	-.02	-.06	.05	-.05	-.22*	-.02	.04	-.07	.06	.02
Item 3	-.08	-.23*	.03	.06	.04	.01	-.01	-.15	-.07	.12	.01	.07
Item 4	-.21*	-.001	.16	-.04	.18*	.05	-.12	-.12	.21*	.24	.10	.05
Item 5	-.004	.04	-.32*	-.20*	-.05	.16	-.02	-.01	.003	-.01	.10	.07
Attitudes About Child-Rearing												
Item 1	.01	-.11	-.16	-.06	.18	-.02	-.07	-.02	-.01	-.02	.07	.02
Item 2	-.03	-.11	-.10	-.20*	.06	.20*	.07	.06	-.17	-.06	.05	.12
Item 3	-.13	-.10	-.09	-.09	.14	.04	.05	.16	.02	.09	.02	.06
Family Cohesiveness	-.07	.08	.02	.02	-.09	-.01	.12	-.02	.22*	.07	.09	.02

*Beta value is statistically significant at the .05 level or less.

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In regard to attitudes toward educational and occupational achievement and to attitudes about child-rearing, the statistically significant beta values that were observed were frequently of opposite sign than the direction of variation that was hypothesized. Moreover, the total amount of variation explained by the indicators of socioeconomic articulation was small.

In reference to family cohesiveness, the beta value for the poverty index was statistically significant in the metropolitan population. However, the total amount of variation in family cohesiveness that was explained by the indicators of socioeconomic articulation was virtually negligible.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to explore elements of socialization in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan lower-class black populations which might impede motivational development in the lower-class black child. Two specific objectives were identified. The first objective was to describe the nature of the following factors which may affect goal striving of the lower-class black youth: mothers' educational aspirations, educational expectations, and occupational expectations for their children; mothers' attitudes about educational and occupational achievement; mothers' attitudes about child-rearing; and cohesiveness of the black family units. The second objective was to determine the extent to which variation in these elements of socialization within the black lower-class populations could be explained by indicators of the families' relative articulations with American society's opportunity structures.

The findings regarding the lower-class black mothers' educational aspirations for their children corroborate the findings of many prior studies: the large majority of lower-class black mothers evinced college aspirations for their sons and daughters. However, there appeared to be countering socializing elements in these lower-class black families which are likely to negatively influence children's "development of the appropriate motivational elements for goal striving." For one, the high educational aspirations of many of the mothers were tempered by lower educational expectations. Furthermore, aggregate comparisons of the mothers' educational and occupational aspirations indicate goal inconsistency. That is, the education requisite for the occupations that the black mothers aspired their children to have was less than the mothers' educational aspirations for their children. This inconsistency was especially apparent in regard to the mothers' aspirations for their daughters. Such goal inconsistency seems especially significant when one considers that most of the mothers valued educational achievement primarily as an instrumental means to job attainment. The implication is that if the parent or child becomes cognizant of the actual education requisite for the occupation aspired to, the educational aspiration will decrease to become consistent with the occupational requirement.

Other characteristics of socialization in these lower-class black families which would seem to negatively affect goal-striving were the attitudes about child-rearing expressed by the large majority of the black mothers. The main goal of the parents in the socializing process was perceived to be control, and authority and punitiveness were suggested to by the techniques by which this control was accomplished.

Besides the high educational aspirations, however, there were a number of other socializing influences seemingly propitious to goal-striving that were observed in the black families. Educational expectations of about half of the mothers were still quite high, and occupational aspirations for sons, at least, were generally high. Furthermore, occupational achievement tended to be valued for reasons other than just the money that it could provide. In fact, the attitudes about occupation and education which were expressed by the bulk of the black mothers appeared generally facilitative of achievement. In addition, the degree of family cohesiveness that was found suggests that this factor, at least, was conducive to the inculcation of these mothers' facilitative attitudes and values in their children.

The fact that these same general findings appeared in regard to both the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan populations lends credibility to our data. The findings point to the need to consider other socializing influences in conjunction with aspiration studies. In terms of status-attainment aspirations for their children, the goals of socialization of the lower-class black mothers appear to be like those of middle-class parents. Nevertheless, in terms of actual expectations (the more salient goal element), goal inconsistency, and the primacy granted the goal of control in child-rearing, the goals of socialization in many lower-class black families may differ critically from the middle-class and differ in such a manner as to inhibit goal achievement of their children. In other words, it may not be just the ability to implement socialization goals but, in the foregoing crucial respects, the goals themselves that differ by social class. Support of this thesis is also suggested by the finding that

mothers' status aspirations and expectations for their children were the elements of socialization most likely to vary by the families' relative articulations with the opportunity structures.

In regard to goal implementation, the findings of this study suggest that some of the factors previously thought to inhibit achievement in the black lower-class--attitudes and values about occupational and educational achievement and lack of family cohesiveness--are not such salient inhibiting forces after all. These findings point to the errors made in over-generalizing from traits found to be more prevalent in the black lower-class than in the middle-classes. Such traits may not even be characteristic of most of the black lower-class. In fact, indicators of the families' relative articulations with the opportunity structures explained almost none of the variation in these variables within the black lower-class itself. These two findings suggest that the substantive significance of socioeconomic differences that have been observed in these variables should be interpreted more cautiously. This same conclusion was recently reached by Erlanger (1974) in an assessment of the results of studies about socioeconomic differences in child punishment techniques.

A final implication of this study's findings relates to the observations of residence differences. Although the nonmetropolitan mothers evidenced higher educational aspirations than the metropolitan mothers, they also evidenced greater deflection from educational aspirations to educational expectations and greater goal inconsistency than the metropolitan mothers. In regard to all of the status projections, indicators of families' articulations with opportunity structures explained more variation among

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the nonmetropolitan than metropolitan mothers.

The nonmetropolitan mothers were also more likely than the metropolitan mothers to demonstrate attitudes which might hinder educational and occupational achievement. In addition, the nonmetropolitan mothers were more likely to emphasize control, authority, and punitiveness in their attitudes toward child-rearing. These findings suggest that there may be more socializing influences inhibiting motivational development among nonmetropolitan than metropolitan lower-class blacks. This seems a fruitful topic for future research.

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