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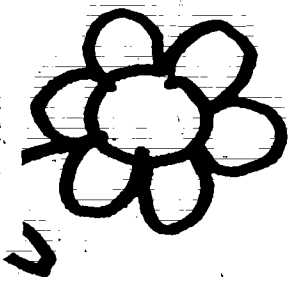
ABSTRACT

Science Monographs, published by the National Institute of Mental Health, are book-length, integrative state-of-the-art reviews, critical evaluations of findings, or program assessments of current research on topics related to the NIMH mandate. This set of articles concentrate on the family in changing times. Articles focus on the impact of the Great Depression on Americans, the Mexican-American family, adjustments to separation and divorce, middle-income families in which both husbands and wives are employed outside the home and responsible for the care of children, step-fathers as parents, attitudes of women and men respectively toward their work and families, and the experiences of American Indians who move to the city. (NRB)

families today

a research sampler on families and children

Eunice Corfman, Editor, NIMH



the family in changing times

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CONTENTS

FAMILIES IN HARD TIMES—A LEGACY

Principal Investigator: Glen H. Elder, Ph.D.

Author: Bette Runck, NIMH

Depression. Hard times. The words evoke images of applecarts and breadlines, soup kitchens and ragbags, hobo jungles and duststorms. Much of what we know about economic depression we know from the Great Depression of the thirties. The Depression was a national emergency as devastating as war, as packed with human drama as a murder trial. It tested individual ingenuity and endurance. Some grew when they met its challenge; others were broken when they could not. It exaggerated social inequities by enriching some, impoverishing most. No one was untouched by it. A few barely noticed it until higher taxes were levied to pay for new social programs; others felt demeaned by having to take "handouts."

The Depression was one of those universal events which French scholar Annie Kriegel recently characterized as "likely to unify the memory of the whole of humanity." It etched scars that still ache whenever financial winds blow cold. Memories of hard times, once tapped, seem to be inexhaustible. The Great Depression inspired some of the greatest literature we have on the American experience—John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, for example, or James Agee and Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. The Depression is still remembered, still read about, still discussed in everyday conversation—all signs of its continuing influence. It is part of our shared experience, a chapter in our history.

Simply because the Depression has been enshrouded by myth and enshrined by time, its legacy is unclear. For many reasons it cannot be taken as a prototype of economic depression or cyclical change in today's world. Yet, talk of another depression makes us anxious. What would happen to our families, our homes, our children's future, our jobs—everything we've worked for and counted on? It is at this personal level that the Great Depression might hold lessons for the future.

Elder is trying to understand what the Great Depression meant to Americans—how it changed their lives, their families, and the lives of their descendants.

Glen Elder, a Cornell University sociologist, has been studying the effect of the Depression on the lives of individuals and families for the better part of two decades now. He is trying to sort out the myths and to come to some understanding of what it meant to Americans, how it changed their lives and the lives of their descendants. He puts great store in memories of the Depression, but he doesn't altogether trust them. In his words:

> The past is often reconstructed to fit the present. While the "good old days" are an enjoyable topic of conversation and improve with the telling, there is little reward in remembering the "bad days," unless they reflect favorably on one's present situation and successful ascent. In either case, memories yield an inaccurate picture of life experience in the Depression. [Elder 1974, p. 41]

Elder thinks the Great Depression is too important to leave to memory alone. Yet, like other large historical events, including two world wars, it has been all but ignored by psychologists and sociologists studying human development, intergenerational relationships, and changes in family life. Rarely have social scientists considered the influence of specific historical events on individuals and groups. What Elder and other scholars (especially the new breed of social historians) are now trying to do is to correct an imbalance—to give history its due in psychological and sociological explanations of human behavior.

Working as a visiting fellow at the Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development on the outskirts of Omaha, Nebr., Elder is studying the period surrounding the Great Depression to learn how it changed the lives of those who experienced it. The problem under study, however, "is not simply whether economic change produced family and generational change, or the nature of the change; it includes questions concerning the process by which such change occurred." By *process*, Elder means, first, the actions families took to accommodate themselves to financial hardship and also the consequences of these actions for the family itself and for its individual members. To illustrate, consider this typical situation:

> Mothers who sought jobs in the Depression presumably did so in order to supplement family income, but their actions may have had a host of other consequences for the upbringing of their daughters. For example, the working mother would establish a behavioral model for her daughter and was likely to gain influence in family affairs, while the daughter was drawn more fully into household operations. Each of these conditions has implications for the learning or reinforcement of values. [Elder 1974, p. 71]

Elder is able to examine complicated chains of events only because he is able to draw upon a remarkable set of archival records from the University of California's Institute of Human Development on several generations of California families who lived through the Depression. Some 400 Oakland and Berkeley families took part in studies which, as luck would have it, were started just as the banks closed and the stock market came crashing down.

The archives include both objective facts and subjective reports on the families, some of which have been studied for nearly 50 years. The Berkeley records include exceptionally detailed information up to the end of World War II. Jobs were found, promotions came through, father was fired, a new baby came along, a mother-in-law moved in—all were noted. What gives life to these documents is the subjective record. Family members told the investigators how they felt about their loss of jobs and income, their children's development, their marriages, their satisfactions, and their disappointments. The original research workers themselves, as well as the children's teachers,

guidance counselors, and classmates, gave their interpretations of the families' experiences.

Elder is using these archives to trace the course of individual and family life over generations. He and his principal associate, Richard C. Rockwell, are trying to learn why some families could accommodate themselves to hard times, while others could not. What were the sources of adaptive strength? How did that strength show itself, day by day? The investigators are also studying the influence of the Depression experience on children of different ages. They are learning that not only children, but their parents, too, fared much better if they encountered the Depression at one point in their lives rather than another. Fate does play a part in one's chances in life. It *is* possible to be born too early or too late.

Elder's research will not give us any final answers about the power of a historical event—even one as dramatic as the Great Depression—to change the course of our lives. The California families do not represent the Nation as a whole. The panel of subjects, although large for a long-range study, is too small and too unrepresentative to make it possible to generalize far from the results. Since the data were collected for other purposes—to learn about the physical and mental growth of individuals—at a time when research methods were less rigorous than they are today, they are incomplete and sometimes colored by biases of the times. But the Berkeley and Oakland studies together provide one of the best available records of life during the Depression. They began at the beginning and documented events and feelings as they took place, not as they were remembered.

Elder is making the most out of this existing data. He is sharpening questions about the influence of history on human behavior. Because the topic itself has rarely been addressed by social scientists, he and his colleagues are also developing methods for doing such research and articulating a theory that can explain the process of change between then and now.

The story Elder is piecing together—a drama of real families living through major historical events of the 20th century—can help us to understand our own lives, much as it did one woman who read Elder's first book on this research. In a letter to Elder, Frances Judd described her Depression girlhood as the daughter of Swedish immigrant parents. She remembers her anguish over "cardboard soles, rag hankies, holes in stocking

feet and underwear, and jam sandwiches for EVERY school lunch." She was ashamed of always having to borrow school equipment.

> What caused me to die a little bit every day was the knowledge that I, as a girl, wasn't worth the money it took to get me through school. (There were no boys.) To ask for crayons (or whatever was required) at home was to be rejected; to show up in class without crayons was to relive the rejection—publicly. . . . Over the years I have come to believe that the Depression was used by some—and is still used by many—as an excuse for certain behavior. This is not to say that there wasn't cause for concern—that the suffering wasn't genuine. But I knew many families during the Depression—larger and more troubled than my own but somehow happier and more secure than we were. (They did sometimes share pieces of crayons with me!) [Judd 1977]

Judd, who grew up in Canada, is now a resident of New Zealand, where many families continue to be "blighted" by the Depression, still living in the same "ultra-careful penny-saving way of the 30s." She sees such behavior as a defense against another Great Depression. "If they but knew—another Depression of the same magnitude as the last would have no effect at all on their present way of life because it hasn't really altered since the last one. They are actually still living in a Depression!"

CHILDREN OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Elder almost chanced upon the topic that has come to occupy so large a part of his professional life. Born in 1934, he was a child of the Great Depression himself and had heard his parents' stories about its hardships. But when he joined the staff of the University of California's Institute of Human Development in 1962, he was interested in studying adolescents and their families.

There are few better places to pursue that interest. The Institute, which celebrated its 50th anniversary last year, was the home of three studies which, in the words of one observer, "probably offer the richest collection of data ever assembled on human beings over a long period" (Yahraes 1969). Two of the studies involved Berkeley infants born in 1928 or 1929; one was

a guidance study, directed at learning about personality development and the possible mental health benefits of offering psychological guidance to parents; the other Berkeley study was directed at learning about physical and mental growth. The third project involved Oakland adolescents who had been born in 1920 and 1921; these youngsters and their families were being studied in an attempt to understand how the physical and psychological changes of puberty and the adolescent's attitudes and behavior affect later life.

Elder went to the Institute to work with its Director, sociologist John Clausen, on research into the family relations and career development of the Oakland subjects. After preparing several articles on the topic, Elder got the idea of rearranging the data, viewing them in historical perspective, and "explicitly examining the ways in which the Great Depression modified the lives of the families and influenced the development of the children" (Clausen 1974).

Elder's book on the Oakland subjects, *Children of the Great Depression*, was published in 1974 and was met with enthusiasm by his academic colleagues. Social historian John Modell, for example, commended Elder for his imaginative use of the Oakland data. In Modell's words, Elder showed "extraordinary ingenuity and respect for detail and significance." Modell found that the book shed light on historical realities other than the Depression—"on the smooth acceptance after World War II of the military-industrial economy, its attendant prosperity and politics," as well as the continuation of class stratification, male dominance, and the preeminence of the family as an institution in American culture (Modell 1975).

Adolescent boys from middle-class families who were deprived during the Depression seemed to benefit from their experience.

Such appreciation for the book's far-reaching significance provides a measure of the intelligence of Elder's analysis rather than the strength of the statistical data. There were

only 167 subjects in the original Oakland sample, although the data on most covered some 30 years. Elder had no comparison groups. To tease out the effects of deprivation and class status, he divided the study sample into four subgroups: Those whose families suffered relative deprivation during the Depression (defined as having lost a third or more of their income between 1929 and 1933) and those who were not deprived; these groups were further divided into middle- and working-class families. Using quantitative techniques, Elder linked experiences and feelings during the thirties with the subjects' outcomes in the fifties and sixties. By the time the sample was divided into subgroups, however, statistical tests became problematic.

The value of *Children of the Great Depression* lay in Elder's interpretations (which are discussed in a later section of this report). The findings themselves are of interest primarily for their heuristic value—that is, they suggest relationships that call for closer scrutiny. But the results do add up to a coherent picture of life during the Depression, and they are intriguing:

- Boys from deprived middle-class families seemed to be better off because of their experience during the Depression. As adults they were healthier, especially psychologically, than men who had come from nondeprived middle-class families. Despite their families' hardships, which forced them to go to work, the deprived boys attained educational levels equal to those of their nondeprived classmates. Their occupational status was actually higher by the time of the followup at age 38 to 40.
- Boys from the deprived working class fared less well than the nondeprived. They showed evidence of having more drive, but they were more often kept from higher education because of the family's need for their financial support.
- Adolescent girls from deprived middle-class families were not as fortunate as the boys from such families. Like the working-class girls, however, they were called upon to help around the house. They came to favor domestic activities, adult company, and grownup status. The middle-class girls in deprived families married earlier than their nondeprived classmates, were less likely to achieve a college education, and generally valued family life, parenthood, and homemaking. Like the men, the deprived middle-class women were

psychologically healthier as adults, when compared with the nondeprived women.

Elder attributes the life success of the deprived middle class to a happy accident of timing and circumstance. The middle-class adolescents had more resources for coping with crisis than their working-class counterparts. Further, they felt needed, and they were at an age when they could make a real contribution to the family's welfare: As Elder wrote in *Children*:

> The labor-intensive economy of deprived households in the 30s often brought older children into the world of adults, if we are to judge from childhood experiences in the Oakland cohort. These children had productive roles to perform. But in a more general sense they were needed, and, in being needed, they had the chance and responsibility to make a real contribution to the welfare of others. Being needed gives rise to a sense of belonging and place, of being committed to something larger than the self. However onerous the task may be, there is gratification and even personal growth to be gained in being challenged by a real undertaking if it is not excessive or exploitative. [Elder 1974, p. 291]

FINDING A MOTHER LODE

Despite the enthusiastic reception that met *Children of the Great Depression*, by the time it was published in 1974, Elder had come to see it as something of a warmup exercise. He was, by then, deeply engrossed in studying another set of archival records from the Institute of Human Development—this time, those from the Berkeley Guidance Study. He had been dissatisfied with his inability to compare the experience of the Oakland subjects, who were adolescents during the Depression, with another group of children who were younger and presumably more vulnerable to their parents' crises. A toddler, totally dependent emotionally and materially on his or her parents, is in a very different position in a family that has been hit by drastic economic crisis than is a teenager who can go out and get a job to help out. The Berkeley subjects were born in 1928 and 1929 and thus were infants when the Depression struck. Elder wanted to know how they had fared.

In 1971, he had joined the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. By September

1972, he was back studying the Great Depression. He had begun what was to have been a 2-year, National Science Foundation-sponsored study to compare the Oakland and Berkeley subjects.

Elder believes that it is the family that mediates an individual's encounter with society.

During the first year of that work, however, while he was digging through the archives at the Institute of Human Development, Elder discovered "data resources on the family and generations . . . that far exceeded our expectations." Information on the subjects' parents was far more detailed and long-ranged than for the Oakland group, which did not extend beyond 1934 and did not include a followup. What's more, there was information on the Berkeley subjects' grandparents. The discovery led Elder to rethink the project on a larger, more ambitious scale—one that would do justice to the bank of data, and one that would allow him to trace the effects of both the Depression and World War II across generations. As Elder has acknowledged, this opportunity stems from the pioneering efforts of Jean Macfarlane, Marjorie Honzik, and other members of the early project staff. They wisely recognized that data should be recorded as fully as possible, so that no one theoretical orientation would subsequently preclude looking at the data with an unjaundiced eye. (For a bibliography of the many publications based on the Institute's studies, see Jones et al. 1972.)

The Berkeley Study

"With this extraordinary body of family data," Elder says, "I saw the possibility of answering important questions that could not be explored in the Oakland project." Information on the grandparents and the fuller accounts on the Berkeley parents would make possible a clearer understanding of the historical context for both the Berkeley and Oakland families.

The additional records would also help to clarify just how a family's response to drastic social and economic events influ-

ences an individual's life course. Elder thinks that the family mediates an individual's encounter with changes in society. Family change, he argues, is a "primary link between socioeconomic change in the Depression and War years and the life course." Using archival data on four Berkeley generations whose birthdates span a period from the Civil War to after World War II, Elder is now examining traditions and experiences the parents brought to the Depression, how well they adapted to it, how it affected their relationships with their children, and what life held in store for them, their children, and their grandchildren in the years that followed hard times.

Elder thinks personalities develop over the course of a lifetime. Families are extensions of this lifetime adventure.

A Life-Course Approach

When Elder first discovered the richness of the Berkeley Guidance Study archives, he also discovered records that had been gathering dust for decades. The data had been collected, recorded, then stored away in binders, ledgers, case assemblies, and file drawers. Some had never been coded for analysis. So, the first task facing Elder and his associates was to put the data into usable form.

That form was largely dictated by Elder's approach to studying family change. His is a "life-course" perspective, a long view of human experience. Research evidence has convinced Elder that individual personalities develop over the course of a lifetime, not (as was once commonly believed) that they are set for once and for all at a young age. Elder sees families as extensions of this lifetime adventure. The individual's experience is inextricably entwined with the family, which softens or accentuates encounters with the outside world. Elder's perspective—his view of individual and family life as ever-changing and interdependent—may seem obvious to the layman. Common sense and our own experience tell us that people and families, like all organic structures, live and change. For social scientists, however, such a perspective represents a departure

from long-time practice. In studies of individual development, for example, the changes that come with middle and old age have only recently been considered by more than a few investigators. Studies of families have emphasized structure rather than development. Again, it has been only recently that social scientists have become interested in how families change through history, just as individuals change over a lifetime. Most studies represent cross-sectional snapshots of aspects of family life—the marital pattern of one age group, for example, compared to that of adjacent groups.

Elder, by contrast, follows the same individuals and their families over decades. His method combines the usual social scientist's approach—analyzing quantitative data on large groups—with the old case-history approach. In the Berkeley study, Elder and his colleagues studied 214 subjects up through adolescence, 182 of them to age 40—a large enough "N" to allow for statistical comparisons. Elder believes that both case histories and quantitative analysis are necessary to study the "complexities of social processes in change." He and his associates "move back and forth between holistic case studies of families and individuals over time and quantitative comparisons." They are comparing the Berkeley families to each other, and to those in the Oakland study to learn how the Great Depression differed in its effects on individuals who encountered it at different points in their lives.

To make the Berkeley archives manageable, Elder's group prepared seven sets of data. One set includes information on the parents' origins—their religion, nationality, place of birth, and information on the grandparents (such as their educational, occupational, and economic status). Two sets of data concern the parents and the life they offered their children: One consists of detailed accounts of ongoing life in the subjects' homes between 1929 and 1945, including, for example, yearly family income; the other focuses on family relationships up to 1970—the quality of the parents' marriage, their interactions with their children, the family's social activities, health, and hardships, and its residential changes between 1929 and 1945. The other four sets of data focus on the subjects—their occupational preferences and choices in adolescence, the timing and other features of the important events in their adult lives (marriage, children, work, formal education, military service), and ratings

of their adult psychological functioning.

Not all of the information is complete for all subjects. When the Berkeley Guidance Study was started, it included 248 infants and their families. Half were studied intensively; the other half served as a comparison group. Some kinds of data (for example, details on kin relationships, intrafamilial dynamics, and some income data) were obtained from only the intensively studied "core" group. As in all long-term studies, some subjects dropped out along the way. By the end of World War II, when the children were about 15, 214 were still in the study; 182 were still active participants in 1969-71, the most recent followup.

The Life Histories

Once the records were organized, Elder's group set to work constructing life histories for each subject and family—actually, histories on nine aspects of each family's experience: economics, worklives of mother and father, household composition, marriage, fertility, parent-child relations, subjective interpretations of life experiences (all from 1929-1945), and an adult life record for the subjects. Constructing the life histories proved to be as intellectually provocative as it was physically tedious. Elder says that during the process he and his coworkers were sensitized to conceptual and methodological issues concerning their study. And time and again they were forced to question the records they were going over. On emotionally sensitive questions, such as whether public assistance was received during the 1930s, Elder's group tried to verify self-reports. They found, however, that welfare files from that era had been destroyed, and other records, such as those on property ownership, were too incomplete to warrant transcription. Instead of these external sources, then, Elder was forced to judge the self-reports by examining statements in the archives from social workers, teachers, and others. Fortunately, their reports proved to be internally consistent and wide in scope.

The Berkeley Families

By national standards, the Berkeley families were fortunate. Two out of three were middle class. Most fathers were employed when the study began in 1929. Three out of four families were headed by native-born parents, and most had the addi-

tional social advantage of being white and Protestant. Among all families, income averaged $2,300 in 1929; 3 years later, in the "trough of the Great Depression," it had declined by a third, and the number of families whose income had fallen to below $1,500 (the lowest rung on the income ladder) had more than tripled.

As he had with the Oakland group, Elder separated deprived from nondeprived families on the basis of whether they had lost more than a third of total income between 1929 and 1933. (Comparison of the two samples required similar measures of deprivation; for a critical discussion of this criterion of deprivation, see Modell 1975.) Again, it was relative deprivation that he wished to examine. "Unlike chronic poverty," Elder and Rockwell (1979) observe, "this type of change offered children and families a broad range of adaptive options and resources during the 1930s, particularly among those who were positioned in the middle class as of 1929." The line between nondeprived and deprived roughly corresponded to the point at which the quality of life declined. Among all Berkeley families, 44 percent were "deprived" by Elder's criterion. (Many more of the Oakland families, 61 percent, lost more than a third of their income. The largest difference between the two samples was in the middle class—36 percent of the Berkeley families were deprived compared with 56 percent of those in Oakland.) Because the cost of living declined by almost a fourth between 1929 and 1933, many of the middle-class families were actually better off during the Depression. "By any standard," says Elder, "the economic contrast between nondeprived and deprived families is striking and suggests profound implications for family life, child rearing, and the life course."

Among deprived families, extreme economic loss usually continued for 2 or 3 years. Most at least partially recovered during the mobilization for war that helped bring the country out of the Depression.

Analysis

Elder divided the task of analyzing records on the Berkeley families into four phases. The first three follow the families chronologically and have been done in sequence:

- The social, economic, and cultural origins of the parents and the effects of these origins up to 1930.

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- Family change from 1929 through 1945, its relation to pre-Depression factors and economic change (especially during the Depression), and the impact of economic change on the health of parents and children up to 1945.
- The effect of socioeconomic and family change during the Depression and war years on the parents' and subjects' life course, health, and relationships (with emphasis on the parents' old age).

In the fourth "phase" of the research, which has actually been going on throughout the analysis, Elder and Rockwell are comparing the Depression's effect on the Berkeley subjects against its effect on the Oakland subjects. Insights gained from the Berkeley research have compelled Elder and Rockwell to reanalyze some of the Oakland data to make these comparisons. Two modes of analysis deserve special mention: cohort analysis and linkage.

Cohort Analysis

The most fundamental of their techniques is cohort analysis. A "cohort" (the word originally referred to a division of soldiers in ancient Rome) is a group of persons who share one demographic characteristic, usually year or period of birth. The Oakland subjects, born in 1920 and 1921, constitute one cohort; the Berkeley Guidance Study subjects, born in 1928 and 1929, make up another cohort. Sociologist John Clausen, in his foreword to *Children of the Great Depression*, noted that, while cohort analysis has been an "honored technique" among demographers, it has rarely been used by sociologists and psychologists. This is no small technical point. As Clausen wrote, an investigator using cohort analysis "explicitly recognizes that human behavior must be viewed in its historical context." Given what Elder calls the "long-standing ahistorical bias" of most sociological and psychological research, it is not surprising that cohort analysis has been little used. But for understanding the effects of social change, argues Elder, cohort comparisons are essential. "There is every reason to expect economic conditions in the Depression to differ in their effect on the life course among members of successive birth cohorts." Each cohort, says Elder, "is distinguished by the historical logic and shared experience of growing up in a different time period, and

by the correlated activities, resources, and obligations of their life stage." Particularly during periods of rapid change, such as during economic depression and war, individuals probably "acquire a distinct outlook and philosophy from the historical world defined by their birthday, an outlook that reflects lives lived interdependently in a particular historical context."

"Cohort" refers to a group's place in history, "generation" to a place in the network of kin.

In their analysis of the Berkeley archives, Elder and Rockwell are using several kinds of cohort comparisons. They are, of course, comparing the Berkeley cohort of subjects to the Oakland cohort. They are also comparing subgroups within the Berkeley cohort—those that were deprived against those who were not, those in the middle class against those in the working class. They are also looking at cross-generational changes. Elder is careful to point out the important conceptual distinctions between "cohort" and "generation." Each has its use, he says. "Cohort" refers to a group's place in history, "generation" has "precise meaning within the domain of kinship and family." Members of the same generation are not necessarily in the same cohort. Among the Berkeley families, for example, some parents were much older than others. They were more established financially and socially—the men had higher status jobs (commensurate with their age), the women had given birth to more children, and the families more often owned their own homes. Because these factors influenced the family's potential adaptability during economic hardship, Elder and Rockwell divided the two groups of parents roughly into those who were born before the turn of the century and those who were born after. These subgroups were frequently compared in the course of the analysis.

Linkages

Another analytic tool that Elder uses is a method that results in what he calls "linkages." At a theoretical level, he

ior" (Elder 1974). In other words, by using this technique, Elder s trying to come to some understanding of the process of change, the intermediate steps between cause and presumed effect.

Elder and Rockwell are part of a new group of social scientists who are exploring ways to study the historical experience of common men and women.

To illustrate, he uses the hypothetical example of the relaionship between economic deprivation and the marital orientaion of daughters. Suppose that the data show a correlation etween deprivation and early marriage in adolescent girls. rom examining case histories one might surmise that girls narry early because, first, family finances force them to stay at ome to help out (mother having taken a job), and, second, trains develop in the family's relationships. Two questions rise about these assertions: Does deprivation have an effect on narital orientation? And, if so, is it mediated by the proposed inkages (that is, the intervening variables of domestic socialzation and interpersonal strain)? If these variables can be hown to play some part in early marriage, what is the relative nportance of each? Does deprivation affect marital interest ostly because it produces strains in interpersonal relationhips or because of domestic influences in the household (or ecause of some unknown factor)? To judge the relative imporance of the proposed linkages, Elder converts each to "more pecific and concrete manifestations." Family strain is thus roken down into its components: marital conflict between the arents, on the one hand, and the girl's emotional estrangeent from her father, on the other. Domestic socialization is ound in the mother's central importance in the family, the aughter's role in running the household, and the lack of pa-

rental support for her higher education.

Elder sees linkages as "conceptual bridges" between antecedent variables and their consequences. He argues that it is all too easy to ignore the post-Depression adult experiences in accounting for the enduring legacy of the 1930s. One example, he notes, is the belief that economic hardship and unemployment increased the value of work and job security in the minds of young boys whose parents and communities were deprived. Even if their values as adults do turn out to be different from those of men who were not deprived, one cannot forget what happened to the men after the Depression. "If some boys in a deprived group enter white-collar careers and others end up in manual jobs, is it likely that these differences in worklife will make *no* difference in the relation between family background and adult values?"

One Cohort's Perspective

Analytical tools are not, of course, limited to cohort comparisons and the explicating of linkages. The study uses many of the more conventional techniques of sociological analysis. The perspective Elder brings to analyzing the Berkeley data is as important as the tools of analysis, however. It is a point of view born of his experience with the Oakland study and the theoretical and methodological search he, Rockwell, and other investigators have been pursuing in the last few years.

Elder and Rockwell are part of a new group of social scientists, including social historians, who have been exploring the ways in which the historical experience of the common man and woman can best be studied. Difficult as it is to comprehend at times, this exploration has the quality of an adventure. The theoretical and methodological advances made over the last decade, which are discussed later, are reflected in the results now coming from the Berkeley study.

THE DEPRESSION'S LEGACY

Broadly speaking, Elder's research is directed at learning if the unequal portions of hardship handed out by the Depression

affected personality and family relationships in some regular way. He is particularly interested in learning how change came about. At a theoretical level, he is trying to account for the multiple strands of experience that join together into a life, the multiple lives that together make up a family, the interaction of individual and family, and the importance of the occurrence and timing of events for both individuals and families. In other words, using the voluminous data on the Berkeley and Oakland families, Elder is trying to find patterns of experience that characterize real life over time.

It will take Elder another 2 years to complete his analysis of the Berkeley data. Once he examines the experience of the parents into old age, he will have exhausted the potential of both the Oakland and Berkeley archives to shed light on the effect of the Depression on these families. As might be expected, so far Elder has found both similarities and differences between the Oakland and Berkeley subjects.

The Berkeley Children

Commonly, in deprived households, as the men lost jobs, income, and sometimes their sense of purpose, wives took over where the husbands left off. The woman might assume all responsibility for the children and household. In some cases she became the breadwinner as well. She gained in power and provided ever greater emotional support to the children as the father became increasingly estranged and peripheral. Although observed in both the Berkeley and Oakland cohorts, Elder says, "this family pattern only made a substantial difference in the family security and development of the young Berkeley children." These children, Elder observes, depended on adults who were often "unpredictable, sullen, and perhaps even hostile."

A Bad Time for Boys

In annual interviews with the children as grade schoolers, one of the original study's investigators judged the children's sense of family security and feelings of warmth toward their families. When they were 8, 9, and 10 years old, both boys and girls from deprived families, in contrast to nondeprived children, had much better feelings about their mothers than their

fathers. "However," Elder notes, "boys in deprived families *lost more* in affection for father and *gained less* in warmth toward mother when compared to girls." Thus, the principal result of economic deprivation for parent-child relationships was a weaker tie between fathers and sons and much stronger ties between mothers and daughters. "This female bond stands out as the strongest intergenerational tie among families in the Great Depression," Elder reports. It represents a general pattern in situations where male support is precarious or absent (Elder, in press, b).

In a doctoral dissertation based on Elder's Depression data, H.L. Sacks (1975) found that the Berkeley mothers from deprived homes more often reported conflict-ridden relationships between their sons and the boys' fathers, who were frequently erratic and punitive in their discipline. "The boys' hostile feelings toward father in childhood reflect such conditions and anticipate their adolescent rejection of father as a behavior model and respected person," Elder observes. He also points out that mothers in these families tended to be less supportive and protective of their sons than in nondeprived homes, thereby increasing the boys' disadvantage.

The deprived fathers were tough on their daughters, too, but to a lesser extent. The effect of this behavior, Elder says, "was countered in large part by the nurturant response of mother and her prominence in household affairs, socialization, and economic support."

Adolescence

The advantage of girls in deprived homes was evident in Elder's analysis of the adolescent personalities of the Berkeley subjects. "Whether due to mother's example or emotional support, the Berkeley girls fared well in deprived families and appear more goal-oriented, self-adequate, and assertive in adolescence than the daughters of nondeprived parents." Not surprisingly, Elder says, this advantage was greatest in the middle class, "a stratum in which Depression losses were novel and short-term."

Compared with nondeprived boys, boys from deprived backgrounds were less often judged as ambitious and productive,

goal-oriented, self-confident, and resourceful. While they were more responsive to the needs of others, they were also more vulnerable to the judgments of others and were socially inept. "Their world view is distinguished by a sense of victimization and meaninglessness," Elder notes. They tended to meet life with indecision and withdrawal. Impairment in the boys showed up more often in the middle class, despite the fact that their absolute privation was not as great as in working-class families.

Elder finds three reasons for the class differences: First, among working-class families, the disparity between deprived and nondeprived was not pronounced. Second, because these families had experienced economic hardship in the past, adaptations to scarcity were common. And third, middle-class families that had lost heavily in the Depression recovered more quickly during the wartime prosperity that followed; fathers sometimes worked day and night and continued to be unavailable to their sons; and mothers also found jobs plentiful during the war.

Compared with the dramatic contrast between the boys and girls, Elder found only modest differences in the personalities of the deprived and nondeprived middle-class boys. War mobilization helps to explain why. "Perhaps even more than the Depression era," he says, "civilian mobilization reduced the effective 'home' presence of mother and father." Even during the Depression, fathers in nondeprived middle-class families tended to be overly involved with their work. Sons of these men ranked higher on measures of self-inadequacy, lower on social competence and goal orientation, and expressed more dissatisfaction with themselves than boys whose fathers were more involved with them. "Even though related to hard times, inadequate fathering and its developmental consequences for boys were not restricted to such conditions," Elder observes.

Elder attributes most of the difference between girls and boys from deprived homes to the empathy between mother and daughter. But the girls may also have been influenced by their mothers' example in a period when women's options increased. The Berkeley girls were adolescents during World War II, a period when their mothers easily found work, and "thus estab-

lished a plausible model for daughters to follow in relation to expanding job opportunities for women." The mothers were also young, and taken together with the fact that Berkeley is heavily influenced by the University located there, they may have broadened their ideas about women's options, ideas that they passed along to their daughters. Adding credence to this line of reasoning is the fact that the strongest link between deprivation and competence was found in the girls from better educated, middle-class families.

Good and Bad Marriages

Elder observes that a son's attitudes toward his father are greatly influenced by his mother's. Given the pressures of the Depression, such as heavy income losses, her opinion of her spouse was "least likely to be charitable in a divisive marriage." When Elder and his colleagues examined ratings of the Berkeley parents' marital relationships, they found that closeness and compatibility counteracted some of the ill effects of economic deprivation for sons but not for daughters. Financial losses diminished the family security of boys only when the parents did not have a good relationship before the Depression. On the other hand, a bad marital relationship could actually enhance a girl's feelings of security.

> If parents were relatively close to each other before income loss, economic deprivation enhanced warm feelings toward mother and father among boys and girls (ages 8-10) . . . . Instead of producing generational tensions, financial hardship brought the generations together when parents were mutually supportive before hard times. Neither parent stands out as more preferred in these deprived families, when compared to the nondeprived . . . boys and girls experienced a benevolent side of the Depression when parents faced economic misfortune as one unit, bound together by affection, mutual understanding, and consensus on things that matter. [Elder, in press, b.]

The Cohorts Compared

Since the Oakland subjects were not studied as children,

adolescence was the first life stage at which they could be compared to the Berkeley subjects.

The effect of economic hardship on the Berkeley adolescents was, in some respects, a mirror image of the effect on the Oakland adolescents. On three personality scales, the Berkeley boys and the Oakland girls showed evidence of feeling inadequate when compared with their nondeprived age and sex mates. The deprived Oakland girls' inadequate feelings and submissiveness "corresponds with their domestic obligations and social disadvantages in adolescence," Elder notes. They "encountered the social limitations of economic loss during their adolescence in the 1930s, whereas such constraints were largely a matter of history when the Berkeley girls entered adolescence during World War II." The picture for the deprived adolescent males was very different. In contrast to the Berkeley males, the Oakland adolescent boys were "characterized more by a sense of hope and buoyant optimism than by the self pity of a victim of circumstance."

Elder points out that these differences between the Oakland and Berkeley cohorts "underscore the risk of generalizing from a single cohort." But there are problems of method that confound the results of his study, too. As Elder observes, the Berkeley data allow a comparative framework for the Oakland data, but the samples of subjects are not what Elder would have chosen had he designed the study for his purpose, rather than having to rely on data collected for other purposes. Also, Elder repeatedly reminds his readers that the Berkeley and Oakland samples are not representative of the country. The samples, he says, are not "remotely typical of the broader membership of their respective cohorts, 1920-21 and 1928-29."

Adult Life

Many of the deprived Berkeley boys, who seemed so unpromising as adolescents, grew up into adulthood as accomplished as their nondeprived age mates. "A poor start in life," as Elder says, "may anticipate a continuing pattern of disadvantage through cycles of failure, or prompt adaptations that revise the future in more hopeful terms." The Berkeley males from deprived families, like those from Oakland, were less likely to

finish college than their nondeprived classmates. (There were no systematic differences in intelligence.) They were more likely to drop out of school because of financial or personal problems. Deprived girls followed a similar pattern, but in their case only the middle class was affected; few working-class girls from either the Berkeley or Oakland cohorts attended college. By middle age, however, many of both the male and female Berkeley subjects had overcome their initial disadvantage.

Among the Berkeley men, higher education—even if it lasted for only a year—was the critical factor affecting later achievements in life (Elder and Rockwell 1978). Men who had some college experience "managed to advance well beyond worklife expectations based on their education, rising to the occupational level of men from more affluent homes by mid-life." Only the small group of deprived Berkeley males who did not attend college continued a life of disadvantage.

Among the women, where adult status depended largely on the husband's occupation, there were clear class differences. Women from deprived middle-class families achieved lower status through marriage when compared with the nondeprived women. In the working class that pattern was reversed, largely because the deprived women more often postponed marriage and childbearing in favor of going to work at an early age—a situation that favored their meeting college-educated men. Among all the women, more than 90 percent worked full time some time before middle age. Two-thirds entered institutions of higher learning, and two-thirds of those completed a 4-year course (Bennett and Elder, in press).

Jean Macfarlane, who directed the Berkeley Guidance Study for many years, has noted that she and her staff had predicted a gloomy life course for many of the subjects in their study. Elder cites a 1963 article by Macfarlane:

> According to Macfarlane, a large number of the Berkeley boys and girls did not achieve a sense of ego identity and strength until adult situations "forced them or presented an opportunity to them to fulfill a role that gave them a sense of worth . . . ." Developmental gains were frequently associated with departure from home and community, a life change which provided an opportunity to "work through early confusions and inhibitions." [Elder, in press, b.]

Elder and Rockwell argue that the dramatic turnaround of many of the deprived Berkeley males came with early military service. Sixty percent of the deprived men had entered the service before they were 21, compared with 17 percent of the nondeprived. Elder explains:

> For deprived youth who lacked self direction and a sense of adequacy, military service offered developmental alternatives to the course charted by their families—separation from maternal control through involvement in a masculine culture, a legitimate "time out" from work and educational pressures in a structured environment, and the opportunity to sort things out in activities that bolstered self confidence, resolve, and goal setting. Some of these themes appear in the life reviews of veterans from deprived households, especially the "break" from a confused and painful family situation. [Elder, in press, b.]

In middle age, the Berkeley men themselves saw military service as a great dividing line between their unhappy youth and their happy adulthood. When they looked back over their lives in their middle-age years, the men who were deprived as children saw their adolescence as the worst period of their lives. Elder quotes one of them: "My entire adolescence was a period of painful and frustrating disorientation . . . . I don't know for sure if the Depression or the general emotional makeup of my family is responsible, [but] I feel that with loving guidance I might have evolved into a far more useful personality." The majority of deprived women also saw their adult years as being the best period of their lives, but their memories of adolescence were more positive.

These findings hint at the kind of understanding that Elder and his associates are gaining from their analysis of the Berkeley and Oakland data. Until adulthood, the Berkeley children and the Oakland adolescents from deprived families fared very differently. Their families encountered economic hardship at different stages of their lives and with different capacities to cope with the crises. Whether they were male or female, middle or working class, and from homes where the parents were close or quarreling also affected the effect of the Depression on them. Just as important, however, their experiences as adults could help them to overcome the legacy of their families of origin.

In addition to these comparisons on the subjects themselves, Elder has completed his documentation of the pre-Depression experiences of the Berkeley parents, and he is well along with his analysis of the aftermath of the Depression into the parents' old age.

HISTORY AND THE FAMILY

It may be a coincidence that Glen Elder began his study of the Great Depression during the sixties. Certainly the research bears on the many events observed then. The upheavals of that decade—particularly the struggle between generations—cried out for explanation. Why were the children of privilege so dissatisfied? Why were they at odds with social institutions that made the good life possible? What made this new generation so feisty? What was happening to the American family?

History Ignored

Sociologists were caught napping. Questions raised by racial and youth unrest, such as the different historical childhoods of young and old, "underscored the impoverished state of knowledge on social change in life experience." Sociology had little to offer to an understanding of how two world wars, the Great Depression, postwar affluence, and the baby boom affected the family and intergenerational relationships. Yet, Elder points out, *social change* is the major intellectual problem in sociology. Sociologists knew little about what caused such observed trends as earlier marriages, rising divorce and illegitimacy rates, declines in parental authority, and the growing number of female-headed households. Nor had they given much theoretical attention to the process by which families change across generations. After World War II, Elder says, social research "largely ignored the historical facts that are so vital in understanding family patterns."

During this post-war period, the study of the family, in Elder's opinion,

> . . . managed to sever families from their historical settings and from the specific social contexts in which they are embedded. The times were indeed conducive to fallacious interpretations of the family in the course of history . . . . Major historical studies in this era dealt

> less with families or domestic groups than with family systems in a highly abstract domain of generalization (Elder 1978.)

Most research on family change was concerned with large-scale evolutionary change—"the emerging types of family life and their relation to structural changes in society," according to Elder. One phenomenon that received attention for example, was the apparent trend toward greater mutuality and companionship in marriage. Related to this trend was the change in status and social roles of women; women were marrying at a younger age and spending fewer years of their lives bearing and rearing children, while giving more time to education and jobs.

It was only in the 1960s that sociologists again began to give serious attention to the effects of history on the family.

Economic fluctuations have also been largely neglected in favor of studying the effect of evolutionary trends in the economy on the family. Some research, for example, examined the interaction between urban-industrial growth, culture, and family systems. Elder notes that business cycles have been related to such aspects of social life as migration, timing of marriage, fertility, and divorce, but scholars have largely ignored the way in which economic fluctuations impinge upon family life, especially on intergenerational change and continuity.

New Interest in Family History

In his concern for historical context, Elder follows the lead of two eminent sociologists of this century. One is C. Wright Mills. In a 1977 article, Elder cites one example of Mills' concern for historical context, this one taken from Mills' best-known treatise, *The Sociological Imagination*:

> . . . the biographies of men and women, the kinds of individuals they have become, cannot be understood without reference to the historical structures in which the milieux of their everyday life are organized. His-

> torical transformations carry meanings not only for individual ways of life, but for the very character—the limits and possibilities of the human being. [Mills 1959, p. 175, quoted in Elder 1977, p. 288]

The other sociologist is William I. Thomas, whose theoretical arguments are evident in Elder's approach to studying social change. Thomas is best known for a study done with Florian Znaniecki on the Polish peasant in Europe and America. Published in five volumes between 1918 and 1920, this classic study set an example that was much cited but little followed by later generations of sociologists. According to Elder, the study "opened up new vistas in relation to the study of individuals and groups in situations of drastic change."

It was not until the sixties, however, that those vistas were explored. It was only then that sociologists began to give serious attention to the effects of history on the family. Concern over social problems of the times was partly responsible for this shift. Elder singles out three other developments that began to change the way sociologists study the family.

Challenges to Presumed Knowledge and Beliefs

In the early 1960s several sociologists seriously criticized the methods and theories guiding past research on the family. However, not until the 1970s, according to Elder, have these critiques been given due weight. "Idealized images of past and present in family life represent one of the more deserving casualties of this critical reorientation," Elder notes in his 1978 article, "Approaches to Social Change and the Family."

The theoretical insights of such investigators as Neil Smelser (1959 and 1968), Marion Levy (1966), and William Goode (1963) "brought to mind a more differentiated and complex portrait of social change" than had previously been possible. As a result, the "glaring deficiencies" of some popular interpretations of family change became apparent. One example is the notion that families have gone into a decline as a result of serving fewer and fewer traditional functions in urban, industrial society—an interpretation that has survived since the late 1920s, according to Elder. Simply because, in the course of modernization, the family became increasingly less involved in such activities as educating children does not mean that families are not crucial for society. Levy (1966) argues that only if families exist

solely to perform those activities can it be said that they are now unimportant. Smelser also criticized the decline concept of the family and conclusions drawn from uncritical acceptance of it. One such conclusion, Elder points out, is that parental authority has been increasingly undermined over the years. Elder continues:

> The insights of structural analysis, as Smelser demonstrates, yield a more complex picture of relative decline in some areas (such as economic training and control), a relative increase in the early years (owing to a reduction in family size), an increase in the dispersal of authority across agents of socialization (school, family, youth groups), and an upgrading of demands on the child, with its implications for qualitative change in authority relations. [Elder 1978]

Elder is particularly impressed by the work of William Goode, whose *World Revolution and Family Patterns* "warrants consideration as the major event in sensitizing sociologists of the early 1960s to the conceptual and empirical tasks in authentic historical research on the family." Goode argued that families were not simply passive recipients of historical trends; the labor force and work process in factories were two conditions that were influenced by families—families which, in this instance, stuck together and recruited relatives and assigned them to particular jobs. In addition to demonstrating the limits of then-accepted interpretations of families and modernization, Goode also specified the questions that sociologists should be asking and the kind of research methods they require. Elder says that Goode left no doubt that he thought it imperative that sociological propositions be tested with historical archival data.

The work of sociologists such as Goode "marked a turning point toward genuine historical inquiry among sociologists," but Elder believes that its full impact was not felt at the time.

Social Theory and History

The second turning point toward historical research came about as a result of a debate over traditions in studying social change and the family. On one side of this debate were arguments for attending to broad structural changes in the family that evolved over long periods; on the other was the need to

study families in concrete settings—that is, to study real families, the behavior of individual members, and relationships and changes across generations. Elder and others argue that both should be incorporated into a middle-level approach, one which examines institutional trends as expressed in particular settings and explicates the process by which families change (which, in turn, has implications for social development as a whole).

In studies of evolving family structures, there is a tendency to interpret the behavior of actual families on the basis of structural patterns or trends, Elder observes. An example is research on kinship and the concept of the "isolated nuclear family." Talcott Parsons (1954) first used this concept to analyze the conjugal family in the kinship systems in the United States. Elder notes that Parsons himself has since insisted that he used the term "isolation" in a formal anthropological sense—each family living under a separate roof—not in reference to a pattern of social interaction. Nevertheless, empirical studies of the isolated nuclear family have focused on the social behavior of actual families living in urban areas. The trouble with these studies is that the investigators confused two levels of analysis—structural and behavioral. When their behavioral studies documented the "wealth of kin ties and exchanges that are part of contemporary family life in urban areas," the findings were often taken as a refutation of Parsons' (structural) concept. Elder argues that this is not necessarily so.

The other approach—to study family change on the basis of events, circumstances, and behavior in concrete settings—is just as problematic if it fails to account for the structural changes in society that "determine options and distinguish a setting from other times" (such as the Depression of the 1930s).

Elder notes that several recent investigations have paid attention to both structural trends and specific families living within the constraints of those trends. This middle position was also recommended by W.I. Thomas—Thomas' chief contribution, in Elder's opinion. Thomas studied the process of groups and individuals experiencing changing and historically specific times. But he did not lose sight of the larger context and the impact of change on group structure and the lives of members.

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Elder's debt to Thomas is evident. He notes that while past studies of families in the Great Depression and World War II "had much to gain from the concepts and analytic structure of Thomas' approach to social change," they were carried out with "a very different view of historical events." Economic deprivation and the absence of fathers during World War II were represented as temporary crises—crises from which the family would fully recover—not as potential sources of enduring family change.

Social values such as the appropriateness of women working outside the home can be passed on from one generation to the next.

Thomas, by contrast, believed that to understand the process through which an event finds expression—in family patterns, life experience, and social character—one needed to examine life histories. Thomas saw crisis as a disturbance of habit, a disruption in a family's or an individual's usual means of maintaining control over a situation. Confronted with a crisis, both families and individuals work out adaptations that are consistent with customary values and behavior, even if these adaptations don't involve a plan of action. But a crisis may call for responses or changes in the family—such as the need for the wife to take a job—that conflict with customary values and attitudes; eventually the values may be modified as a result. Thus, Elder argues, Thomas has allowed for a "situational constraint" (such as that imposed by economic depression) to influence the expression of values in behavior. His model also helps to explain how these constraining situations have consequences for social transmission across generations. In other words, social values, such as the appropriateness of women working outside the home, can be passed on from one generation to the next. They are most likely to endure whenever they help a person, a family, or a succeeding generation adapt to new situations. Depression-reared men with a troubled and unstable worklife, for example, might continue to seek economic security and job protection above challenge and the opportunity to move into more satisfying and suitable careers.

The Sociology of Age

In addition to the reorientations in theory and methods of studying historical changes in the family, clarification of the "*bond between age and time*" has influenced contemporary research on family history. Elder's own approach derives from all three developments, as well as the theoretical writings of W.I. Thomas on crisis and adaptation. Together, these formulations "offer a fruitful approach to family and kinship in historical time, setting, and circumstance," he notes. The approach "takes a middle course between highly generalized assessments of social development and the morass of detail in historical particularism."

Of the developments in the 1960s that redirected attention to the study of family history, none was more important than the rediscovery of the importance of *age* in sociological analyses, according to Elder. Age, he points out, stratifies people in historical time and it also stratifies their social roles (for example, the age when, according to the norms of society, it is appropriate to marry or become a parent).

Social timing is now part of a "cohort historical approach" which has its primary origins in Karl Mannheim's essay, "The Problem of Generations," according to Elder. Mannheim, a German theorist, alerted sociologists to the way in which history shapes the outlooks of birth cohorts. The historical experience of one cohort is most unlike that of the next during times of rapid change. Elder notes that Mannheim believed that "divergent and even contrasting mentalities" can emerge from such different historical experiences. For decades, however, Mannheim's argument was lost on sociologists studying family change.

Elder dates the rediscovery of the importance of age to an essay by Norman Ryder, "The Cohort in the Study of Social Change" (1965), which "proved to be exceedingly influential." The major statement on age and the life course, according to Elder, was made by Matilda White Riley and her associates in a 1972 book, *Aging and Society*. Riley's group linked Mannheim's insights to contemporary sociological concepts of normative social roles. "From birth to death," says Elder, "successive cohorts move through an age structure of social roles." As each cohort meets age-appropriate roles—going to school or taking a

job, for example—it confronts a social structure that may be outmoded. The baby-boom cohort, for example, was so large that school facilities and teachers were inadequate. By the time buildings were erected and teachers prepared, the size of the birth cohorts dropped rapidly. Now there are too many schools and too few jobs for teachers.

"The study of age and its manifold implications is helping to bring the historical realm—of people and places, dates and events—back into the sociological analysis of families."

Sociologists have begun to use the new perspective on age articulated by Ryder, Riley, and others to study social change in the family. One type of study has compared life patterns across successive birth cohorts. For instance, investigators have found evidence that in the last century the span of time in which women bear children—that is, the time between the birth of a woman's first and last child—has grown shorter, while the time between the marriage of the last child and the death of one spouse has grown longer (Glick 1977). Elder thinks that to understand these changes adequately calls for an empirically based method of analysis—specifically, analyzing variations *within* one or more cohorts. Families must, first, be placed in historical time (e.g., whether they encountered economic swings, war, technological change). Then, subgroups of each cohort must be identified on the basis of factors (such as social class and religious and ethnic affiliations) that might influence how historical events are experienced and interpreted. Wherever possible, actual family encounters with the historical conditions under study (e.g., economic depression) should be examined. "In combination," says Elder, "these strategies permit explication of the process by which historical change is registered in family structure and emotional life." Indeed, he acknowledges that this approach, together with Thomas' theory of family adaptation to change, "proved to be a major influence in the development" of his Oakland study.

Increasingly, Elder observes, analysts are finding they must "delve into other archival records in order to obtain satisfying answers to the questions their work has posed." His study of the Berkeley families is just such a case.

However rudimentary the contributions of sociological study of age and the life course to date, Elder believes that it has highlighted considerations on social change and the family that had been neglected—the historical setting in which a family finds itself, a process view of family change, and the interplay between demographic processes and social structure. As he has said: "The study of age and its manifold implications is helping to bring the historical realm—of people and places, dates and events—back into the sociological analysis of families."

Measuring Change—Alternative Designs

One type of investigation that has been handicapped by confusion over the meaning of age is the study of intergenerational change and continuity using cross-sectional surveys of two or more generations. In this type of research, an investigator may find differences from one generation to another on such variables as the breadwinner's response to being unemployed. These differences can reflect at least three realities:

- *Aging itself.* A 30-year-old will find one meaning in an experience, a 50-year-old another. Responses to a cross-sectional survey may reflect changing times—a trend, say, toward less commitment to work—or it may simply reflect values characteristic of different points in the life course.
- *Cohort differences.* Survey subjects who share a birthdate are exposed to a particular slice of history. Differences from one age group to another may reflect the unique perspective of one age group as opposed to another—those who remember World War I, or those who have always lived with the threat of nuclear war. Successive cohorts encounter the same event at different times in the life course and different events at the same time.
- *Variations in historical experience.* Not everyone is exposed to historical events to the same extent. Some families never sent a son to war. In the Depression, some suffered little or no deprivation.

While investigators typically try to account for such possible differences, the cross-sectional design makes it impossible to determine the influence of each variable.

In a review essay published in 1975, sociologist Frank Furstenberg noted another problem with cross-sectional studies. Many of the recent studies of family history have used this design and have contrasted features of family life in the past with those in the present—a "then and now" strategy of research. "Much as one might be able to detect alterations in dress and demeanor by flipping through the pages of a family picture album," Furstenberg observes, "this cross-sectional approach reveals, often in striking detail, what has changed, but fails to disclose how and why change has occurred."

In *Children of the Great Depression*, Furstenberg says, Glen Elder "rehabilitates a neglected strategy for studying the dynamics of family change"—the longitudinal study of life histories. In Furstenberg's opinion, this research method advocated in the 1900s by W.I. Thomas "did not survive in sociology partly because it was unable to compete with more rigorous methods of data collection." Not only were life records unwieldy and unsystematic, "biographical insight was frequently based on personal hindsight." Elder overcame these problems in *Children* by using more sophisticated techniques of handling life histories and by shifting to a prospective design.

Prospective, longitudinal studies avoid most of the problems of cross-sectional and retrospective designs, but present others. They are extraordinarily costly. Other problems have only recently been fully appreciated. The most common is the one facing the investigator selecting variables that are likely to be relevant to the outcome. Social scientists are not prophets. What seems important today may turn out to be inconsequential, while other characteristics that seem trivial now may turn out to be vastly influential or have broad consequences in years to come. The problem being addressed may become obsolete. Funds may dry up. Administration of the project may become unwieldy—subjects drop out, records are lost, the data become sufficiently voluminous to defy analysis. These problems are multiplied when the effects of large historical events are under consideration. The trend now is to study an event, such as a first child leaving home, at two or three points surrounding the event and once some years later.

Family History Today

Elder finds cause for hope in the decade's trend toward sociologists doing genuine historical research on family and kinship. Slowly, Elder observes, he and his colleagues are losing their ahistorical bias. More and more sociologists are doing archival studies of family, kinship, and the life course.

Traditional models of long-range social development depicted the family as a "generalized structural form." Elder, by contrast, believes the family should be seen as "a domestic group that undergoes developmental change in specific historical settings." He advocates the construction of theories that "explicate the process by which families change within and across generations; that specify the antecedents and consequents of change, as well as conditions that alter the causal process." His own work is a step in that direction.

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LA FAMILIA CHICANA

Principal Investigator: Jaime Sena-Rivera, Ph.D.

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Que seamos siempre juntos y unidos.

"Jimmy," asked Mrs. Miller, a teacher new to the school and new to teaching Mexican children, "How many are there in your family?"

Little Jaime answered proudly. He was proud of his double identity: Jaime among his *familia*, and Jimmy on this side of the tracks where Spanish names were discouraged on the school grounds. He was proud, too, of his *familia* and his place in it but young in cautious, protective sophistication. Sensing that this school would provide a better education for her son than the "Mexican" one near his home, his mother had arranged his attendance there. He was placed in first grade rather than kindergarten because his older sister had already taught him to read, but no one had yet taught him much about "Anglo" *mores*.

"There's my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Papa Anastasio and my Mama Rivera [grandparents], then there's my Tio Lucas and my Tia Mercedes, my Tio Roberto and my Tia Crucita [paternal aunts and uncles]. . . ."

Incredulously, the teacher interrupted, "You mean all these people live at your house?"

The eager little boy laughed. "Oh, no, but my Tio Antonio and my Tia Maria and my cousins live next door to my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Tio Carlos who isn't

married yet lives with my Papa Eugenio and my Mama Luz, and my Prima Teresa and her husband and my cousins from them live down the street from my Tio Antonio and my Tia Maria, and . . . ."

"They do? All together? So close?"

"Sure, all the land there used to belong to my Papa Eugenio."

"Oh," said Mrs. Miller, then, "I mean, how many brothers and sisters do you have?"

The number startled her, and the Anglo children in the classroom giggled. Jaime privately thought teachers don't seem to know much, but respect for one's elders had been instilled at an early age, and he would not have dreamed of uttering such a rude and disrespectful remark. He continued trying to explain.

"My Prima Beatriz is living with us now, too. My Mama is big again with another child and my Tia Bernicita will be coming to live with us for awhile. We love my Cousin Beatriz and my Aunt Bernicita. We hope the new baby will be a girl. It's better for the youngest child to be a girl—you don't want to spoil a boy."

As the storyteller recalls (Sena-Rivera 1978), "I think Mrs. Miller switched us to memorizing the alphabet, which of course I already knew, in English and Spanish."

FAMILIA AND THEORIES OF FAMILY

This was *familia*. Here small Jaime could find loving people who spoke his language, figuratively as well as literally. Now, Jaime Sena-Rivera, Ph.D., presently at Yale University in the Center for Health Studies, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, still sees *familia* as "a source of something familiar and comforting in a very unfamiliar and uncomforting world, really. Expectations and values are shared, and it's a way of dealing with people that's not exploitative, usually . . . a way of dealing with impersonality in a larger world."

As a sociologist *and* as a Mexican American, Dr. Sena-Rivera, while Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Notre Dame University in Indiana, determined to investigate the traditional Chicano composite lineal or extended family social unit. His immediate objective was to

explore his hypothesis that the Chicano extended kin grouping has been effective in aiding both family groups and their individual family members to achieve and maintain social and psychological well-being and to cope with stress through their own social interaction. This work is part of a growing body of research investigating the way informal support networks strengthen individual and family mental health and provide a preventive buffer against ill health. Dr. Sena-Rivera's long-term hope is to generate research, both qualitative and quantitative, on the Chicano and other Hispanic groups.

As a family sociologist, Sena-Rivera is in a good position to study and explicate the Mexican-American family phenomenon, *la familia chicana*. In 1970, while at the Mexican American Studies Center of the Claremont Colleges in Claremont, Calif., he conducted a survey of a nearby Chicano community. His 1973 doctoral dissertation, "The Survival of the Mexican Extended Family in the United States: Evidence from a Southern California Town," is an analysis of the data from that survey. It proved also to be a testing of the validity of hypotheses and assumptions about the "classic" extended family in the United States, particularly the Mexican American, and of doctrines of *familism*. In the course of his research studies, Sena-Rivera has evolved his own sociological perspective of family. He has found points of agreement and disagreement with both the general literature on the American kinship system and the historical and sociological literature on the Mexican in the United States.

In a paper given before the American Sociological Association in 1976, Sena-Rivera outlined a few current family theories and presented the background of his hypothesis of the functionality of the Chicano extended family system in the United States in the seventies. He pointed out that, according to Talcott Parsons, one of the most influential American family theorists within the last quarter-century, the American kinship system has evolved from the relatively isolated composite lineal or extended family and is now characterized by the nuclear family household consisting of parents and dependent children. Sena-Rivera does not share this view nor does he agree completely with definitions of the classic extended family that include not only residential proximity and occupational dependence and nepotism but also a belief in the primacy of ex-

tended family relations and hierarchy based on the authority of the eldest male.

Sena-Rivera agrees more nearly with two other family sociologists, Eugene Litwak and Marvin Sussman, that the classic extended family as it exists in America today is a modification or conversion from the former model. According to Sussman's hypothesis, there is now a "neolocal" nuclear family system, with nuclear families living by themselves and independent of the families from which they came. These nuclear families, however, are viewed not as isolated but as connected in a network of mutual assistance and activity. They are in an interdependent relationship with the two parental families if they so choose; they are not bound culturally or forced by law or custom to maintain this connectedness.

In proposing that the modified extended family is more functional than the nuclear family in urban-industrial America, Eugene Litwak's theories are sympathetic to Sussman's view. Litwak does not view geographical *or* occupational mobility as inconsistent with maintaining extended family relations. Extended family bonds are seen as an end value in themselves, and the provision of aid across class lines permits the nuclear family to retain its extended family contacts. Since this aid is isolated from the occupation system, it does not impede merited mobility (Sena-Rivera 1976).

Familia in the Kin System

Most family sociologists agree that the practice of mutual aid is basic to the functioning of the kin system. Jaime Sena-Rivera observed this practice as a young child. In a chapter he wrote for the new edition of *La Raza*, to be published soon as a textbook for use in courses on Latin American culture in the United States, he describes this family interaction as he remembers it from his childhood:

> It seemed that my father's brothers, and my father in turn, would go first to one another for loans of varying sizes (not always rapid) at various times instead of to banks or savings and loan associations . . . . ("Why go to strangers?" my father said. "And besides the Americans charge too much interest and they treat you like dirt when you don't know English so well. If you can't pay your brother back, there's no hard feelings. There are ways to make it up, always.") Also, each brother

> (and uncles and cousins) would see each other, especially if the other was older, as legitimate resources for finding work . . . . ("What is more decent," my father said, "than helping your brother or your friend to be independent, be a man, be a good husband or father or son? Besides, they put Mexicans off at The Unemployment.")

When still quite young, Sena-Rivera observed that many of the practices which he took for granted as a part of living were wrong in Anglo eyes. They might now be called *familism*, an impediment to individual mobility and the adoption of more varied role models. In a word, they were *dysfunctional*, according to his explanation in the same *La Raza* chapter, which says, in summary: "Family" is *supposed* to mean the nuclear family, not the extended network; residential proximity is considered extreme if many nuclear families, related by blood, live in the same unit or contiguous ones or even in the same neighborhood; nuclear families should be controlled in size; the practice of borrowing from one's kin creates an unnecessary burden rather than solidarity; economic and occupational interdependency impedes or prevents upward mobility; authority based on the eldest male criteria is arbitrary, paternalistic, and an impediment to individual mobility, and it keeps women overly repressed and submissive (in press).

Concerning the functions of the primary group structures of kin, neighbors, and friends in a technological society, Litwak points out the lack of human resources of the nuclear family group. Such a group, with only two adult members, often cannot handle acute emergencies alone and finds difficulty in managing tension arising from disputes among themselves. They are unable to diagnose incipient emotional troubles or be aware, by themselves, of better ways of handling childrearing, for instance. It appears that socialization learned through everyday activities, the value of neighborhood peer-group help in emergencies, the permanence and long-term ties of the kin, and the good feeling of friendship groups are complementary sources of strength to the nuclear family structure. The kin, neighbor, and friendship primary groups, then, provide resources which complement those of the isolated nuclear family (1969).

It might be assumed that within the extended family, whether "classic" or "modified," the functions of these primary groups are largely "built-in" as valuable components of such a system. This seems to be true for the Chicanos. Indeed, the friendship group structure, which Litwak views as the weakest of the three components, seems quite strong in *la familia chicana*. First cousins, *los primos hermanos*, are commonly raised almost like brothers and sisters, and a particularly strong bond is forged among same-sex and same-age siblings and cousins. Even aunts and uncles are included, since many parents are ending their families at the same time the older children are beginning theirs. From his own experience, Sena-Rivera knows that this bond continues throughout the adult years, regardless of the divergent educational, social, or economic paths, even the attainments or failures, of the individual *familia* members.

Building the Hypothesis of La Familia Chicana

Sena-Rivera has reviewed the literature on Mexican-descent population in the United States and has concluded that many of those hypotheses concerning the Chicano extended family are misleading. He says (1976, p. 6): *"The tri-generational household has never been the norm for Mexico or for Mexicans in the United States or for other Chicanos, except at times of individual extended family or conjugal family stress, or periods of general societal disorganization."*

In short, the traditional Chicano extended family, as a grouping of independent nuclear households, forms a social organizational unit that might be called "kin-integrated." To prove the validity of this view, Sena-Rivera determined to seek out four extended families which had heads-of-households still living in the three older generations. Each family would be represented by one or more great-grandparents, a son or daughter, and a grandson or granddaughter with one or more children. His reasoning was that the carriers of the "old ways" are the immigrants of the 1910-1930 period and their descendants. From his previous research, he had concluded that proximity in time to the source of the Mexican extended family's traditions explained a more traditional behavior; his objective, therefore, was to determine the extent to which each generation tested the traditional culture in a largely alien setting and found it

workable, for themselves as individuals, or for the family group. As members of the crowds of immigrants fleeing the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the poverty and unrest of the two succeeding decades, the great-grandparents received their primary socialization in Mexico where they were born; the second and third generations of each extended kin group (except for a few in-laws of the families finally interviewed) were born in the United States and received their primary socialization here.

As Sena-Rivera puts it, "This particular social organization transcends many different historical periods." He decided to study this age group specifically because he "wanted a sense of history and some accountability, historically, as to why they came and how people coming at a certain period made it in the United States. Until recently, persons in that age group and their descendants were the largest segment of the Mexican population. That's changed now. We have no 'ideal type' anymore."

This observation was made in another way in a paper, "The Mexican American Family," presented at the Mexican American Seminars held in California at Stanford University in April 1970. Nathan Murillo contended: "The reality is that there is no Mexican-American family 'type.'" To support this claim, he pointed out that, like all other Americans, the thousands of Mexican-American families vary in: regional and socioeconomic factors, degree of assimilation and acculturation, historical and political differences, and in patterns of coping with each other and with their different environments. In some families, only Spanish is spoken; in others, Spanish is all but forgotten. Many trace their lineage to the Spanish, others to one or the other of the once-powerful Indian cultures. *Chicano*, a colloquial adaptation of the Spanish for *Mexican*, is a relatively recent term, used "with increasing frequency and with growing pride." Alternate labels throughout the years have been *Latino, Hispano, Spanish American*, or *American of Spanish descent* (1971, pp. 97-99).

THE IMMIGRANTS

Why did they come? Sena-Rivera recounted their story in a historical chapter in his dissertation (Sena 1973). During the

second half of the past century, following the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, when the United States gained most of what we now refer to as the Southwest, immigration from Mexico was chiefly along the border to satisfy a modest demand for domestic and agricultural workers. Similar demands in California and neighboring states were met principally by Chinese and, later, Japanese workers.

After the turn of the century, however, a boom in the railroads and in other industries and, very importantly, the industrialization of agriculture, especially in Texas, California, and Arizona, meant a sudden, enormous demand for low-skilled labor, a demand that could not be met by European immigrants, the traditional source for similar labor. Concurrently, the overthrow in 1910 of the Diaz regime in Mexico by revolutionaries meant the breakup of huge landholdings and the subsequent freeing of millions of *peons* from their bondage on the great *haciendas* and *ranchos*. Many gravitated to the cities of Mexico and to *El Norte*, the North—the U.S.A.—where both rumors and recruiters reached them with news of jobs and peace in place of their present unemployment and governmental unrest.

So the flow across the border began. By the hundreds of thousands came *peons* and *campesinos* (other rural workers), young men wishing to avoid military conscription, displaced and persecuted former large landowners and businessmen, city dwellers feeling the sudden pinch of the numbers of new arrivals from the countryside, and out-of-favor revolutionaries and other political refugees. With these, came wives and children and new dependents. Often there were whole groups of extended family households as well, either together or over time.

For most, the border states became the first stopping place and the site for many *colonias* and *barrios*. By about 1920, a fresh demand occurred not only for agricultural workers in the Northwest and in Florida but also for workers in the railroad, steel, automotive, and other rapidly developing industries in the Midwest. Sequential and direct immigration of Mexicans followed into these industries and into growing cities such as Detroit, Kansas City, Chicago, and Gary, Ind. Indeed, the *colonias* and *barrios* begun then in those places are as old as many found nearer the Mexican-American border. Increases in the tide of Mexican immigration, especially just before World War

II and during the sixties and seventies, have established new Mexican neighborhoods and sections of cities and towns or reinforced, both culturally and numerically, older settlements of Mexican Americans throughout the United States, mostly in the Southwest and Midwest.

This immigrant flow to and from Mexico has been determined chiefly by economic conditions: the periodic depressions of the 1910s and 1920s, the Great Depression of the 1930s, the boom time of two World Wars, and the events of Korea and Vietnam, plus the state of the Mexican economy during these periods. The welcome mat for Mexicans has been put out and pulled in according to these fluctuations.

The early 1930s witnessed the forced "repatriation" to Mexico of hundreds of thousands of Mexican families, U.S. citizens or not, since they were viewed as an excessive burden to public and private social and charitable services and to American taxpayers. (Many of them were taxpayers, too.) Periodically since that time, this repatriation has continued.

The *familias* of Sena-Rivera's study are very much a part of the comprehensive immigration and labor history of this century. Each *familia* in its own way has contributed a bit to the mosaic of the growth of the United States. Happily, none of these *familias* has suffered as badly as many of their countrymen nor experienced deportation back to Mexico. But for the majority of these *familias* and their individual members, succeeding in this country over the generations has been far from easy. For several, in material and other terms, their histories could hardly be counted as successful at all. Like other immigrant groups and like the pioneers in the West, many of them Mexican, these *familias*, especially the founders, have shown the fortitude and determination required to make a viable life for themselves and their family members and to forecast a dream of the future for their offspring.

Maintaining family solidarity and loving relationships is difficult under such conditions. But doing so is extremely important for today's otherwise highly impersonal, complex society. Sena-Rivera believes that the story and lessons of these *familias* are worthy of our general attention, that they are applicable across racial and ethnic lines and especially across working-class groups.

PREPARING FOR THE STUDY

During the summer of 1976, four Chicano composite or lineal extended families in the "Michiana" area—Michigan, Illinois, Indiana—were selected for the study. It was necessary to locate and obtain the cooperation of families with the three senior generations still living, all of whom were heads of households, who lived in the area and would be available during the interview period, and who generally filled the economic and occupational criteria deemed desirable for studying families from a variety of social strata.

It was impossible to find a primarily agricultural migrant-labor extended kin group. Second-generation members were on extended *familia* visits during the interview period, or the oldest generation of such migrants had remained in Texas, whence most of them had come. In many cases, there were no members of the oldest generation still living or in good enough health to be interviewed, so difficult is the life of these migrants. Neither did the investigator locate a family group with a firmly upper-middle socioeconomic class and status. Apparently the rise of the few Mexican-descent families to that stratum has occurred among those who have not yet become great-grandparents.

The study, therefore, does not cover as wide a spread of class and status as Sena-Rivera had hoped. None of the families represents a single social stratum either, because each of the extended kin groups within the study had at least two separate and distinct strata of class and status among the three generations of heads-of-household. The investigator believes that this mobility in class and status in his four *familias* is analogous to that of most Mexican-descent population in this country and in this century and writes (1979) that "*familia* is always or soon becomes a source and an impetus for success in the new country."

Sena-Rivera attributes much of the success of his investigation to the excellent, devoted work of his research assistants, three of whom were graduate students in Mexican-American studies at Notre Dame University: Daniel Valdez in family sociology, Victor Rios in political sociology, and Julie Leininger in history. The fourth, Delores "Lola" Villa, who was waiting for her registered nurse examination, was especially attuned to

the needs of the respondents she interviewed; since much of her nursing experience and service-oriented family background had been with Spanish-speaking clients. Needless to say, the *familia* members appreciated being able to talk with the interviewers in either Spanish or English.

Sena-Rivera believes that matching the personal histories of the interviewers with those of the people interviewed makes for empathic listening. This approach is relatively new in sociological and anthropological studies; as Sena-Rivera admitted, "It's kind of frowned upon. I had trouble with even this study, which was described as not sociological." However, his own background and that of his helpers allowed sensitivity to "the subtleties of interdependency and dependency" in the extended kin pattern. The training of the interviewers assured objectivity and skilled research.

The investigator hopes that others will follow with more "typicality" studies, learning what is average for a particular group in a given area, and that he can do similar work in other regions. "It isn't so difficult to do. It's just time-consuming." This modest statement belies the years of preliminary research on family studies in general, and on Mexicans in particular, as well as Sena-Rivera's personal and technical experience. There was the planning of the investigation, as well.

What Do You Say?

To begin with, the researcher determined that vocabulary was of prime importance for conceptualizing *family* and, as a concomitant, for interviewing family members successfully. Using the right word for *family* was necessary not only for communication but for making a head-count. To the traditional *Chicano*, how does one express "composite lineal or extended family" in Spanish? *Familia*. What does that really mean? In greeting a Chicano friend, what answer might one expect when one has inquired about the *familia*? About the grandparents' health, which *tia* is expecting a baby, and possibly the whereabouts of various *primos hermanos*.

And what Spanish word would one use for "nuclear family," for one's own household? If young Jaime's teacher had inquired about his *casa*, Jaime's reply would have included only his father, mother, and siblings, *plus* anyone currently living under the same roof. For instance, a cousin, Beatriz, was living

with Jaime's family temporarily, and his Aunt Bernicita would be joining them to help with the new baby, thus becoming part of *la casa*.

Throughout the interviews, care was taken to use these words as those being questioned used them and to understand their responses in that light. The term *familia* proved to be used according to the investigator's hypothesis—a social organizational gathering of nuclear or conjugal households which are basically independent. The term *casa* was understood but less often expressed, so that it was more of a convenience in reporting the research than in actual interchanges during the interviews.

How Do You Find Out What You Want to Know?

Sena-Rivera trained his interviewers in an intensive, open-ended technique and instructed them to employ direct observation. They were to notice the surroundings of the homes where their subjects lived; the condition of the homes and grounds; degrees of affluence apparent in the furnishings and material possessions; and, especially, evidences of caring and affection such as gifts and family photographs or home repairs made by kin.

Some of his assistants had trouble with Sena-Rivera's approach at first, and he pointed out to them that the questions are just a stimulus to get people talking about their lives. As he said, "It's hard, so I came up with the idea of the family tree. This way the interviewers could ask their cut-and-dried questions about where the respondent was born, and so forth, and also get the historical sequence I wanted. I had them ask specifically about the interactions of every single person on this family tree, questions like 'When was the last time you saw her?' 'What did you do?' 'How often does she come?' 'Do you visit because you like to?'—obvious questions. That's fairly structured, but it's open-ended. The interviewer picks up a cue and pursues it."

Charting the family tree proved an excellent basis for interaction between subjects and interviewers. Each subject was interviewed separately whenever feasible, and each individual was traced in relation to the others, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Collateral relatives were included when they seemed to belong in the story. Occasionally the

subject also included as *casa* or *familia* members persons not related by blood. Memory and the person's own determination of these relationships furnished the histories. Since each great-grandparent was asked to recall parents and grandparents of his or her own family tree, there was a charting of what they recalled of their own *familia* before they migrated. Amazingly, their memories of those times and people seemed fresh and fairly complete, a real legacy.

What Do You Want to Know?

As far as possible, depending on the memory of the subjects and the ability of the interviewers, each individual charted was identified with first and last names, including maiden surnames for females who had been married; age at time of interview or of death; town, state, and country of birth, and residence or place where individual died, with, for both of these entries, the nearest city or town if that place was a village in Mexico; the subject's own designation of nationality or ethnicity; occupation, when employed or prior to retirement; date of subject's arrival in the United States on the most permanent basis; circumstances of *immigration to* and of *migration within* this country, subject's generation in this country, with the first arrival as the first, the first born here as the second, and so on.

Additionally, there were queries about such general items as home ownership and facilities available in the home. The interviewers listed as well any occupants of the dwelling who might not be entered on the family trees and, finally, determined the composition of each subject's household.

Most importantly, the interviewers obtained as much subjective *and* objective information as they could from each person on the *kind* and the *extent* of that person's interaction with each other person. *Kind* of interaction meant regular, deliberate visits, chance meetings at church or the market, and meetings in social contexts—weddings, funerals, and confirmations, or family parties and holiday celebrations. Occasions for mutual aid were included, because house-repair projects, baby-sitting, and escorting someone to a clinic or the welfare office are a part of the whole scheme of living in a *familia*. *Extent*, meaning frequency, was answered with "daily," "weekly," "monthly," or "once a year." Extent referred also to length of time—minutes, days, weeks, and so on.

Most important to the study were replies to such questions as:

- Do you enjoy these encounters? In what way?
- Do you do these things because you want to or because you feel obligated? Why?
- Are interactions with friends markedly different from those with kin?
- Are you content with your own and your spouse's interactions with in-laws?

Other queries dealt with significant changes in interaction which might have occurred in the past or which the subject thought might occur in the future. There was an effort, too, to determine the subject's feelings about change or lack of change. Of particular interest were inquiries concerning what the parents try to teach their young about the kind and extent of interaction with other family members and how they do this teaching. As a sidelight, when it was discovered that someone had been excluded from the *familia*, there was an attempt, usually unsuccessful, to make discreet inquiries about that individual without insistent, insensitive probing.

It was "as if for each couple it was a single rather than a dual existence that had occurred."

In every case, there was an effort to make these interviews as comfortable and relaxed as possible—for instance, babysitting by one interviewer so that another could interview the parent. In the case of a few of the older subjects, it involved attending to physical needs and, above all, being watchful for signs of overtiring.

The interviewers were impressed with the interaction of the great-grandparents in the two families which had both spouses still living. The fond joking and exchange of views and informa-

tion were not a part of the plan for individual interviews, but they were not discouraged and probably could not have been stopped. As the interviewers observed later, it was "as if for each couple it was a single rather than a dual existence that had occurred."

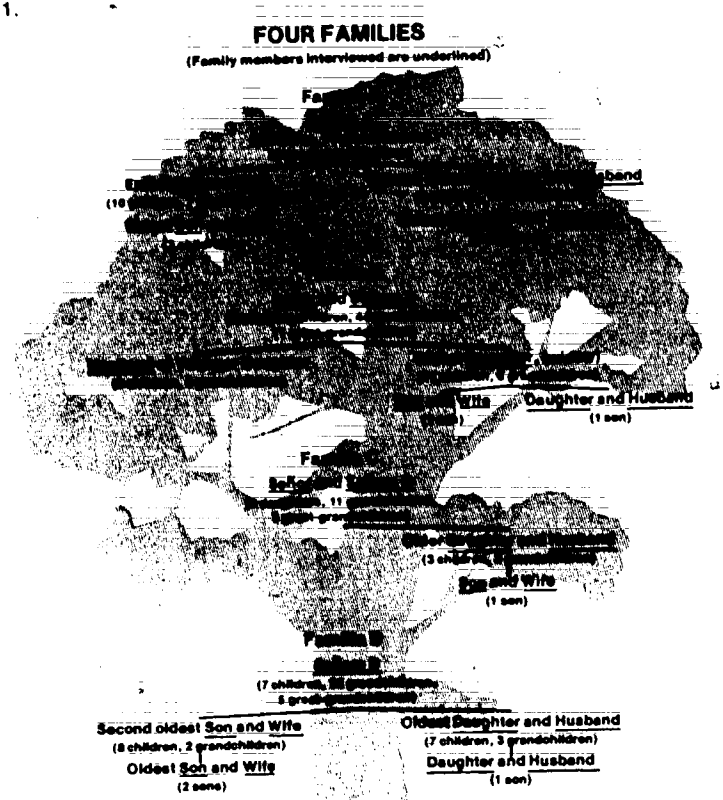
Some bits of information in these stories were altered or omitted if they were not essential to the study, in order to maintain the anonymity of these *familias* who gave so graciously of their time and their history. In his final report to the NIMH Sena-Rivera dedicated his study to the members of these four *familias* and to members of other *familias* who gave individual interviews preliminary to the main investigation. He wrote: "We are especially indebted to the great-grandparents interviewed, for whom the interviews sometimes were taxing physically and at times taxing emotionally as well. We hope they find some return for their discomfort in this accounting of their inestimable contribution to American sociocultural history—the establishment in their lifetime of four generations of *familia* in the United States."

LAS FAMILIAS

The characterizations by economic achievement and social standing of the four families selected do not describe the rich complexity and the individual struggles portrayed in their biographies. Interviewed in each *familia* were the great-grandparent(s), a son and a daughter and their spouses, if available, and one or more grandchildren and their spouses if they were parents. Figure I shows the "family tree" of each *familia* and indicates which members of each generation were interviewed.

Only *Familia A* is described in fairly complete detail here. With the exception of the first generation founders of the other three *familias*, the sketches give emphasis mainly to the respondents' feelings about familial interaction, concepts of duty or volition, or generational changes in these attitudes or in socioeconomic status. Each *familia's* typical and individual expression of *mores* is distinguished, along with their view of the world through Mexican-American eyes.

Figure 1.


FOUR FAMILIES
(Family members interviewed are underlined)
Daughter and Husband
(1 son)
Second oldest Son and Wife
(8 children, 2 grandchildren)
Oldest Son and Wife
(2 sons)
Oldest Daughter and Husband
(7 children, 3 grandchildren)
Daughter and Husband
(1 son)

Familia A, 141 persons, 29 households, of rural origins, mixed agricultural and blue-collar occupations, and principally small-town residence.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandmother

Señora A and her late husband were born in 1898 in Nuevo Leon, Mexico. At age 19, after a year of marriage, they received permission from Señor A's father to come to the States for 3 months, but remained in San Antonio, Tex., for 24 years, where Sr. A was a railroad worker and where their children were born. Eventually, Sra. A's mother, two brothers, and two sisters joined them, though they lived in separate households.

Sra. A recalls that while they were in San Antonio they were all very close, having been raised according to "the custom in Mexico." The children of the *A Familia* remember visiting with these relatives, especially the grandmother, and getting together with the entire group every Sunday. They still remember, too, learning love, obedience, and respect for them. Sra. A recounts another aspect of the familia relationship: These brothers and sisters helped each other in times of sickness and the brother or sister who sometimes "had more than others helped those who didn't."

San Antonio was hit especially hard by the Depression. In the late 1930s, the *A Familia* joined the great exodus of Mexicans from Texas to the "Michiana" area. The A's came directly to the small semiurban, semirural central Michigan town, outside a predominantly industrial city, where they still live. In the beginning, both parents and children mostly picked vegetables in the nearby fields. Now, several male household heads work in the automotive industry in the city. In general, their various occupations are a mixture of agricultural and automotive jobs, with upper-lower to middle-middle class and status.

Many *familias* in this area, despite their poverty, manage to make the grueling trips back to the Southwest or even to Mexico fairly frequently. The A's, however, returned to San Antonio only once, 5 years after their trek North. After this, they saw only one brother, who died of pneumonia when he came for Sr. A's funeral. They were unable to maintain satisfactory contact because of the illiteracy of that generation.

Sra. A was interviewed in Spanish in the comfortably furnished kitchen of her Victorian-era, two-bedroom home, located in an apparently upper-lower socioeconomic neighborhood. When her husband died 6 years ago, her sons sold the *familia* home situated on several acres farther from town and with the proceeds bought this smaller, neatly maintained home. She is, therefore, able to live independently and to be nearer her sons and daughters, who all visit her about once a week, some more often. She enjoys their telephone calls, although she has not mastered dialing so that she can call them.

She is pleased that her grandchildren visit, most of them at least once a month, and some take turns staying with her when she is ill. In fact, one grandson, a 20-year-old college student who visits her almost daily, helped during the interview with names and ages of her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The visits of the little ones, she says, "lift her spirits," even though they speak only English and she only Mexican. Her affectionate term for them is *bolli-itos*, the name of a popular Mexican dinner roll made with bleached flour, and an expression often applied to non-Mexicans.

The interviewers noticed in the parlor at least four dozen framed photographs of various kin, outward symbols of attention that include extra visits when the grandmother is ill and taking her to visit other *familia* members when they are sick. Sra. A is grateful for her children's practical gifts and their collective help in paying utility bills, insurance, or taxes. Although saddened when she remembers the old days when they were all one *casa*, Sra. A hopes that things will continue as they are. She believes that her offsprings' visits are made because they love her and want to visit her. It is especially important to Sra. A that "within each house there be no discord between them."

(The opportunity to reminisce, to talk about her loving *familia*, was a great pleasure to Sra. A. Her mind was clear and active and the experience was so exciting to her that she gave the appearance of much better health than was the actual case. When a bit of tape was replayed for her and she heard her voice recorded for the first time in her life, she was truly exhilarated.)

The Second Generation: The Eldest Son

Sra. A's eldest son, age 52, lives less than a mile from his mother in a neat, clean house which he owns in a community of lower-middle socioeconomic class. He is an inspector in a motor-wheel manufacturing plant in the nearby city and, except for a 4-year-old car and a color television set, appears to have few material assets. Among the framed photographs of all his children and grandchildren, the son pointed out especially the children's high school pictures and his son's athletic trophy. The comfortable furniture is shabby; outside, the house needs a coat of paint. As a former field hand, the eldest son has apparently seen little point in fixing up the yard, which has had no effort wasted on it other than keeping it cleaned up.

Although this son would, by custom, be expected to replace his father in the role of dominance in the *familia*, he does not appear to have assumed that position. Perhaps heading his own family is enough. He visits his mother at least once a week and telephones every other day and usually sees his brothers and sisters every day, either at work or visiting back and forth. Babysitting is a common exchange among them, and they help each other with small loans and assistance in large household jobs. The son expects these enjoyable activities to continue and wishes an even closer familial relationship. He and his wife see their children daily, even the married ones with their children. He hopes to continue these close ties, which make him proud and happy. Their visits are a token that he is still important to them. The children's financial assistance when he is ill for an extended period, or his to them, is an indication of love among them, he feels. Like his father before him, he has always tried to teach his children to respect and help each other.

The Son's Wife

The daughter-in-law was interviewed in Spanish by necessity, unlike her husband, for whom it was the choice. Born in Monterrey, Mexico, she and her mother, a brother, and two sisters came permanently to the States about 1945. She could contribute little about her branches of the family tree—almost nothing about her father, that her mother and aunts and uncles were born in North-Central Texas, and that the relatives still living are scattered throughout Mexico, Indiana, and, mainly, Texas. Every few months she

enjoys seeing her Indiana cousins, usually at family parties when they can all arrange to be together, since holiday times are spent with each one's closest composite or lineal family. After a painful 15-year break, the daughter-in-law is reunited with her own mother, with whom she exchanges frequent and enjoyable visits.

The wife is happily and completely a homemaker or, as she terms it, *la alma de la casa*, translated literally, "the soul of the house." During the interview, children, grandchildren, and nieces came in constantly, and other relatives called frequently on the telephone. She is intensely interested in and involved with her in-laws, especially Sra. A. She hopes that the family will always remain *unidos*, but seems to feel that they may not in the future and is sad about it.

The Daughter

Sra. A's second oldest daughter and her husband live in the same town in a rundown, two-story frame house surrounded by a large, neglected yard. This rental property appears scheduled for razing soon, to be replaced by a business area similar to that across the busy street. The dilapidated furnishings, and this couple's whole way of life, may well be explained by the extended illness and unemployment of the daughter's husband.

During the interview, the couple revealed that this was not the daughter's first marriage and that not all of their children were by this husband. The interviewers had noticed during the great-grandmother's responses that neither she nor the grandson who helped her with names and ages had mentioned all of this daughter's offspring and that the old lady had seemed confused about the ones she did enumerate. Since the earlier marriage had been an unhappy one and "irregular," it was convenient to forget it when the family tree was being branched out. The surviving son of the daughter's former marriage lives in San Antonio with his wife and two children. The two daughters live in the nearby Michigan city, with four and eight children respectively.

This present couple's youngest daughter, a student, still lives at home, but the other four, three automotive-worker sons and a daughter who works in a nursing home in the city, all live in separate homes in that city. These four and two unmarried male cousins

are the only unmarried children living apart from their parents in all of *Familia A*.

The daughter recalls her youth fondly, especially visiting with her mother's relatives while still in San Antonio and working in the fields and playing with her siblings. According to her account, Sr. A kept the *familia* together and "harmonious," insisting that his children come home on weekends, whether or not they were married and whether they lived away from the hometown or nearby.

In spite of their troubled pasts, this couple seems reasonably contented and satisfied. The daughter visits her mother nearly every day because of that lady's failing health, and she uses this time also to call her own children since she has no phone. She visits these children regularly, often uninvited, and receives visits from them when they come to see Sra. A. She sees her brothers and sisters often—at church, at their mother's home, and at picnics. These occasions, combining present good times and recollections of happy times in the past, are a treat to her. Apparently, this daughter is kept busy babysitting for her own children and for her brothers and sisters and their children. In all, she is happy with her *familia* and their relationship and hopes they will all continue as they are now.

The Daughter's Husband

For this man, born in 1931, 5 years after his wife, and disabled from a number of stomach operations during the last 4 years, *Familia A* is his "real" family. From them, he feels that he has the acceptance, love, and respect he never had before, either in his native Puerto Rico or in the United States prior to his marriage. A source of great pride are visits from the children who live in the area, whether they are his own or not. He is especially happy that these seem to be made from enjoyment, not obligation, and he feels that his attempts to teach the young people not to "lose" their family have been effective. Like Sra. A, whom he loves deeply, he is especially happy when the grandchildren visit, and he is delighted to be called "Grandpa." This household, like the other relatives, has many framed photographs of children and grandchildren, and of Sra. A as well.

When he was 10, the son-in-law was placed in an orphanage by his widowed mother, a cleaning woman,

and there he remained until he was 19. He lived with his mother for a short time, then he came to the United States at age 25 and did field work until he could save enough money to join a brother in Detroit. Finally, he got a job using the automotive body-work training learned back home. He even sent money home and, when the Detroit brother died, he helped with the funeral expenses, as apparently no one else did. He still corresponds occasionally with his sisters in Puerto Rico and calls them when he is ill and hospitalized. He feels that they will continue to care about his well-being but is embittered about the treatment from his college-professor brother in Puerto Rico. Apparently his 2-week visit there 12 years ago was shortened because his mother made him feel unwanted and his brother's reception was equivocal, at times welcoming but often scornful. The warmth of *Familia A*, then, is particularly meaningful.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 29-year-old man, his Anglo wife and their young daughters live in a new house with swimming pool, on a 2 1/2-acre plot in a middle-middle level area. Their home is on the outskirts of town, near open fields, and only a few miles away from most of the *A Familia* members, who come often to the grandson's home for cookouts and swimming and to enjoy the larger area than they possess.

A welder in the main auto-body plant in the nearby city, the grandson is a pivotal part of his extended family and appears to be a loved and loving father. Except for a younger brother who lives alone, he sees most of his siblings and his parents three or four times a week. These visits are made from enjoyment, not obligation, he says, adding that he also likes to have his mother's Mexican cooking, which his wife can't do very well. He and his wife often call on his parents for babysitting, and he and his father help each other with heavy household jobs and with loans occasionally, too.

He is proud to be the oldest brother, to whom his siblings come for help. This help has included his signature to get loans or small amounts of money. He has, in turn, borrowed occasionally from them, and he and his wife obtained help from her parents when they were first married. The grandson misses these requests as his brothers and sisters grow older, but is proud that they have done well and that he has been instru-

mental in their achievements. Actually, he is afraid that he has been too free with advice and scolding, although sometimes not severe enough. He has been happy to help them but does not want them to "take advantage" of him.

He visits his grandmother about twice a month and sometimes helps her move bulky objects. His memories of his grandfather are particularly warm, perhaps because he recalls their working in the fields together during his teen years. He and his father, with the aunts and uncles, bought property in the country so that they can hunt and fish together, and they have built a cottage there. The "club" they have formed, with monthly dues and regular meetings about the use and maintenance of this property, is apparently more important to the grandson than to the son, who did not mention this connection with other *familia* members. The young man feels that his relationship with his aunts and uncles, whom he sees about twice a month, is good and will remain unchanged.

The Grandson's Wife

The granddaughter-in-law, 29 like her husband, was expecting their third child within a few days after the interview. She is a fourth-generation "Anglo-American," of German and English stock with a large family connection which has moved into the middle-middle class. The interviewers noted that there was never any reference to this difference in "class" or "race" but only to differences in language and cuisine.

The young couple see her relatives on a few holidays, which the A's understand and accept, and keep in touch with her family's activities during monthly visits with her parents. The grandson's wife enjoyed the frequent contacts with extended family members when she was younger and misses them, but feels that now they all have much less in common. Of the future, she thinks that perhaps their friends may be as important to her and her husband as their relatives.

This young woman is busy with her children and teaching geography and history to seventh and eighth graders. She sees neither her mother-in-law nor Sra. A as often as her husband does but is more comfortable with her mother-in-law in any case, since they can converse in English. The relatives who belong to the hunting club are frequent companions, especially

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during the hunting season, when, according to her, "The husbands and boys hunt, and the women and girls cook." The couple cooperate in the usual babysitting and report that their children look forward to being with their cousins on both sides of the family. The granddaughter-in-law thinks she should learn to speak Spanish better, and she appreciates her in-laws' patience and understanding with her present inability.

The Granddaughter

This 32-year-old mother of eight, the eldest child of Sra. A's second oldest daughter and her first husband, is a school-bus driver and lives in a home she and her husband are buying in the city in a lower-middle-income housing development. Her husband's 20-year-old nephew, who has just begun working in the city, is at present a member of their *casa*. The granddaughter was raised by Sr. and Sra. A and feels like a sister to her aunts and uncles who were growing up in the same home, although she is not as close to her own brothers and sisters as she otherwise would have been. She is especially close to a cousin who was also raised by their grandparents and writes often to her now that the cousin is living in Indiana. The granddaughter is confident that the families will be even closer and frequently includes some of her many cousins, nieces, and nephews in outings with her own children.

Her love for her grandmother is very special. The granddaughter visits her every weekend, when she also sees many other relatives, especially her mother. Her vacation visits to her own father in San Antonio are a mixture of pleasure and homesickness. Since her husband's family does not celebrate holidays because of their religious practices, these occasions are spent with her extended *familia*.

The Granddaughter's Husband

The grandson-in-law, the only non-Catholic reported in all of *Familia A*, has a large and complicated family tree of his own. Most are step- and half-brothers and sisters from his father's three marriages, and all, apparently, are on the best of terms; they turn to this young man for advice with their problems since he is the oldest. He adds, though, that he and his wife try to solve their own problems without going to members of either *familia*.

In 1965, when he was 28, he came directly from Mexico on a permanent basis to work in the fields around the town. Now a maintenance sweeper for a large automotive plant, he has somehow managed to save enough money to assist his own *familia* members when they are in need and has even sent his aged grandmother in Mexico enough money to rebuild her house when it burned down. This is one of the *familias* which travels back to Mexico frequently, and visits the many cousins and especially the uncles who raised the motherless boy with warmth and kindness. These visits are important to the grandson-in-law and his children, as are the frequent visits with the Michigan brothers and sisters and their father. The couple regret that they do not see the granddaughter's older relatives as often as they did when they still lived in the smaller town and before the children were so busy in sports and other events with their peers.

Prototype *Familia*

In many ways, this large, 141-member clan is highly typical of that aspect of Mexican-American culture known as *familia* at its most traditional, possibly because of its semirural, extraurban ambience. Close-knit and devoted—*unidos*—cousins, and aunts and uncles of the same age group, for that matter, interact like brothers and sisters. In-laws, especially females, are drawn into the intense relationship of the network. There is reflected here an emotional interdependence which, especially for the older members, satisfies most of the individuals' recreational and social needs, visits and larger gatherings being an important part of daily and weekly life. The sense of obligation to each other, to help in times of economic trouble or illness with small loans, household services, or child care, appears to stem not only from the sense of duty instilled in early childhood but from voluntary desire and strong emotional attachment. In general, most *familia* members hope to continue this involvement *along with* entry into the economic and social mainstream of their locality.

Their Faith

With the exception of one third-generation in-law, the *familia* members are Catholic. Their faith and their church are an integral and accepted part of daily and weekly life, although

only routine ritual participation for some. Family bonds are strengthened further when godparents are chosen for christening, First Communion, and confirmation. Dr. Sena-Rivera says, though, that this custom is not as strong as it is nearer the border or in Mexico itself, where the "fictive" kinship, the practice of "claiming" relations through godparenting, is also still strong.

Marriage and Divorce

Familia A reflects, also, changes in patterns of marriage and divorce. A shift toward intermarriage with other groups is rather noticeable among them. From the one "out-marriage" out of eight marriages in the second generation, the daughter's second marriage to a Puerto Rican, to nine out of sixteen marriages in the third generation, eight to Anglos and one to a Cuban, the trend is striking. Striking, too, is the assimilation of most of these spouses into the warm interaction of the *familia*.

According to Sena-Rivera, *familias* in his study were in one respect not typical of many that he knows about: There were no common-law marriages among them. Only Sra. A's daughter had what was apparently a less than "formal" marriage. Serial marriage is quite acceptable, and divorce is no longer frowned on. As Sena-Rivera sees it, usually divorce "has meant that they haven't lost anything. In most cases, the children stay within the *familias*. It's an in-law, usually a male, who leaves. The divorce is not with the son, the blood line, so the daughter keeps the children. And apparently, when there is intermarriage or marriage with a divorced person, a man brings his own children, who are gladly accepted into the extended family."

Language and Assimilation

The grandson articulated a concern about a trend he has observed in *Familia A* and among his friends in the Michiana area when he expressed his regret that so many younger generation members know so little Spanish. In fact, the interviewers observed that given names in the fourth generation have been Anglicized when they are not actually non-Spanish.

Sena-Rivera has noticed change in his own group in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. He adds, however, when speaking of both customs and language, that at present, with

the huge numbers of Mexicans and other Latins coming in, there is still a good deal of language retention. Referring particularly to the Los Angeles area, he remarks: "They come across into LA now and work in small industries directly for Mexicans or at least for Mexican foremen, and shop in Mexican grocery stores. Even big super markets have Spanish clerks . . . Now the burden is on shops and restaurants who serve these people rather than on the minority struggling to make their wishes known in English. This change has taken place in less than a generation. Now social services in LA have Spanish-speaking personnel and signs on buses and in public buildings are in Spanish; there are TV stations which are Mexican and there are other bilingual programs. Particularly the churches now have the masses and other services in Spanish, so there's not really a great deal of need to de-Mexicanize yourself."

As Sena-Rivera reflected on this, he mentioned that some of the bilingual programs work but that many of them are simply devices for assimilation in a bilingual, bicultural civilization. Certainly it has been found among other groups who are making their way into the mainstream of American life that satisfaction is greater and alienation less among those who have achieved a bicultural balance, by retaining much of the old while assimilating much of the new. Sra. A's grandson sees this as a goal for his generation and his children's.

Grandson A sees other changes which should take place. While cherishing memories of the older generation and loving relationships with them, he feels that the younger generations of Mexican Americans should be more "independent" and less traditional. Friendship with Anglos should be fostered, he believes, and younger Chicanos should make an effort to participate in and enjoy things which their parents did not (or could not), such as travel and dating alone. Chief among the interests to be promoted is sports, the grandson's own personal delight.

The "Nonpersons"

A strange custom appeared during interviews. Usually, several interviews were necessary to fill out the branches on each family tree, and occasionally a few branches were not leafed out completely. "Somebody would crop up here and somebody there, and we'd try to straighten them out. What's a child doing over there in that household? He was born over here."

And in the case of a couple of families, "all of a sudden you realize there's somebody who isn't even being talked about, and the person is declared almost a nonperson."

There was never any attempt to intrude or to probe more deeply than the family members wished to go. The interviewers were struck by the firm, quiet refusal to reveal information about a recent or imminent rupture in any couple. In the cases where someone had, seemingly, "disappeared," clues came only from comparing conversations and interviews among the various persons interviewed in the same *familia*. Females and their children involved in divorce had apparently rejoined their own extended families.

This kind of mystery first showed up in *Familia A* when Sra. A neglected to mention some of the daughter's children, and only later did the interviewers learn that the A grandparents had actually legally adopted this granddaughter. It was this same granddaughter who mentioned one uncle who did not visit with anyone because he has "set himself apart." Later, the interviewers realized that this was the individual who had refused to see them. The mystery remained closed.

Sena-Rivera said, "I didn't probe to find out exactly what these people had done that was so wrong that they were kicked out of the family. Since it was sensitive, the only way we found out was from a word here and a word there; then from different interviews we put the mystery together." He has observed that mental health practitioners who are not of or very close to this ethnic group are not likely to appreciate what being cut off in this way means, nor to understand how this diminishing of identity can destroy an individual and his sense of self.

Familia B: 71 persons, 26 households, of urban-industrial, mostly blue-collar orientation.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

> Senor B, described by his interviewers as "an introspective, uncomplaining, philosophical man of striking calm and personal dignity," was reading a Spanish-language Bible when the interviewers arrived. He and his wife are Baptist converts, the only ones in the family. Although literate in his own language, he has mastered little English and was interviewed in Spanish in the upstairs flat of their two-unit house.

In 1921, after several bitterly hard early married years in Texas, the Bs migrated to this small steel-industry city in Indiana, across the State line from Chicago. Sr. B worked 3 years past retirement at 65 to finish paying for the modest but well-maintained house, situated 20 yards from one end of a railroad yard overpass and next to a small ironworks plant. This neighborhood once had many young Mexican families in it, since they considered it a good place to raise their children. Now, it appears to be mixed black and "Latino," the local term for mixed Spanish-origin people.

The great-grandfather was born in Mexico City in 1893 to a maid and a textile-factory worker, orphaned when he was 10, and placed in a government orphanage with his 4 siblings, since the few relatives still living were unable or unwilling to take them in as was the custom. The orphanage was a good one, according to Sr. B., and he and his brother learned linotyping, the brother's lifelong profession and Sr. B's source for odd jobs since he retired from his job as a foundry worker. Soon after the two brothers' age forced them to leave the orphanage, they feared conscription due to the Revolution. Since Sr. B was unable to find a secure job he decided to try his luck in the United States and, in 1911, when less than 19 years old, he paid a small fee, showed his receipt, and walked across the bridge from Ciudad Juarez to El Paso, Tex.

Sr. B has maintained contact with his brothers and sisters in Mexico, writing and sending money "when they said they needed it" and once receiving money from a brother so that he could visit Mexico City. He misses the vacation trips there or to Baja California to visit Sra. B's sister. Sr. B regrets that his descendants and their relatives in Mexico have no contact with each other and blames his offspring's lack of interest on the fact that not all of his 44 grandchildren and none of his great-grandchildren can speak Spanish.

He is grateful for his progeny's frequent visits, which he feels are voluntary. Proud that he has never needed to ask for their help, he has sometimes helped them, although there were times they did not want him to. Occasionally, he has paid small debts for them without informing them. In his view, respect and obedience are the basis of "harmony" in the family, and he has insisted on this for his wife and, "if they wish," for himself as well. A key to this man in his *familia* is his

wife's repeated comment to the interviewers that Sr. B was "a good man," which meant to them that he was kind and gentle, not a drinker, and provided as best he could.

The Great-Grandmother

In 1912, when she was 15, this lady married Sr. B, who "treated her right," and began with him their struggle for survival. Even though they lost three of their children before the age of 3, and Sr. B was able to earn no more than 10 cents an hour in his various jobs in Texas, Sra. B was happier than she had been for many years. Motherless shortly after her birth, Sra. B and her siblings spent 4 happy years with her paternal grandmother, then went with her father and his 15-year-old bride to Texas, where jobs were difficult and pay small. When he was killed by a train a few years later, the young stepmother signed away claimant rights and returned to Mexico, taking her baby daughter and Sra. B's brother and older sister. She placed 6-year-old Sra. B and the other sister in a Catholic orphanage in San Antonio.

In the orphanage, Sra. B received only a year of kindergarten, the extent of her schooling. Her fondest memories were of several yearly events in the month of May when the children were allowed to go into the deserted street in front of the orphanage at 4 in the morning to run and play, a freedom Sra. B loved. They all looked forward to that one month, when they were also treated to a trip to the circus and to an early morning walk to the old San Antonio Mission where they had breakfast.

After about 2 years, when she was barely 9, Sra. B was "adopted" by an Anglo family who had assured the nuns she would be treated like a daughter. Actually, her many duties included feeding, dressing, and bathing the invalid father. She had to sleep on a mat rather than in one of the extra bedrooms and was severely beaten when the guardians were not satisfied with her work. On the second occasion that the coachman's kindly wife reported the beatings to the orphanage, an interpreter came so that the little girl's story could be told to the English-speaking nuns, and she was returned to the orphanage.

When the stepmother and her new husband regained custody of the children, the younger girls were put to

work for "Americans" as household helpers. From this experience, Sra. B learned English well, a boon ever after for herself and her *familia*. Because of her miserable childhood, she and Sr. B legally adopted and raised two grandchildren whose parents were divorced.

At the time of the interview, Sra. B was trying to recover from the amputation of one leg below the knee. Although uncomfortable, a bit deaf, and suffering from some lapses in memory, she viewed her present life with contentment because of her husband's devotion, her children's frequent visits, and her religious convictions. She wishes only that she were not so dependent on her husband and oldest daughter, who cares for her daily. Sra. B states that she has tried "to teach all of them to do what's right and not to bear any grudges."

The Second Generation: The Daughter

This woman, widow of a Mexican-born steel worker-mechanic, still has her unmarried eldest daughter, a clerical worker, her four school-age children, and an 18-year-old niece in her *casa*. Her days are filled with babysitting for a small grandson and taking care of Sra. B, but she finds time to enjoy her children's and grandchildren's frequent visits and the twice-weekly visits of most of her brothers and sisters to their parents.

The daughter feels that her *familia* is harmonious and always will be. Indeed, she is confident that her children will remember her teaching respect for their elders in *casa*, *familia* and society-at-large. She remembers with pleasure the huge assemblages of her younger days, at a park or a hall rented for the occasion, and arranges holiday gatherings at her "big house." Her daughter-in-law, who sees her mother-in-law every Sunday because that lady likes to get all her offspring together as often as possible, commented: "Like she usually goes out of her way—she makes *flautas, mole, enchiladas, menudo*. Then she calls everybody up, and everyone goes over. If someone can't make it, she feels real bad. She likes to get everyone together every so often, you know. For Christmas, all the sisters-in-law and daughters help her make a whole lot of tamales. We exchange gifts, all of us. It's a close family. Real close. The Grandma and Grandpa are there, too. Thanksgiving and Christmas at her

house . . . . She does a lot of the cooking, but we all bring something . . . ."

The Son-in-Law

The Bs' son-in-law, husband of their third youngest child, was interviewed in Spanish in the couple's well-kept duplex, in a neatly maintained neighborhood of solid lower-middle or middle-middle economic level, over the viaduct and about a mile from the Bs. Five children live at home and four elsewhere. A 23-year-old daughter, an elementary school teacher in this city, was especially interested in the study. She and her father tried to persuade her very shy mother to be interviewed. The mother's older sister, to whom she is very close, was instead the other respondent for her generation, a fortunate circumstance for the study in view of that daughter's pivotal position in *Familia B*.

The son-in-law's example of family interaction has been consistent and strong. He maintains close ties with his relatives, and goes to Mexico several times a year to visit his siblings, whom he has often helped with medical expenses and in other ways. He and the brother who lives nearby see each other nearly every day, and their children's friendship for each other is a source of pleasure to these men. His children's and grandchildren's visits, even the babysitting he and his wife do, bring this man satisfaction and joy. He gives the impression that these interactions and the frequent visits with his wife's family are voluntary and enjoyable and will continue.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 23-year-old man is a maintenance worker at the city's largest steel mill where many of the men of *Familia B* work. He lives with his wife and small son in a one-bedroom apartment in a nice-looking, four-unit building among several good ones on its side of the street, along with several commercial buildings and a bar. Across the noisy street are a number of small industrial plants.

The grandson sees his mother once every week or two. He gives her a small portion of his paycheck and, with his siblings, contributes to larger gifts, such as a washing machine or other labor-saving appliance, at Christmas. He visits the grandparents about once a month, with phone calls in between, and takes them places

when they need rides, a service he frequently provides for his mother-in-law when she delivers her Avon products. Babysitting, as well as occasional loans of money, usually comes from his in-laws. He seems to make little effort to see his relatives except while at his mother's but wishes that they were closer and plans to make more effort in the future. He also wishes, he says, that he and his brothers and sisters "would talk seriously about what is going on with them" and not be content with "just having fun together."

The Grandson's Wife

Fleeing from an "overly strict, jealous" husband, this young woman's mother brought her to the United States from their native Guadalajara and raised her in this city. The granddaughter-in-law sees her mother often, stays with her when her husband is on the night shift, and talks often on the phone. Her relationship with her mother-in-law is frequent and loving and especially warm with her husband's younger siblings. This young woman revels in the closeness of her husband's family, and her dream, when they can afford it, is to go with her husband and son to visit her mother's relatives in Mexico, which she enjoyed when she was younger.

Of her son's future relationship with his *familia*, she says, "I think just how we visit all the time; as he gets older, it's going to blend into his heart that he's going to want to. And they give him a lot of love. I don't see how he wouldn't want to, you know . . . ."

The Granddaughter

This young woman, a 27-year-old bank clerk, lives with her husband and son in the carefully furnished downstairs unit of a converted two-story house on a well-kept street occupied by people of apparently lower-middle income. The adopted married grandson of Sr. and Sra. B lives upstairs. Busy and striving to be independent, the granddaughter does not see her relatives often or talk on the telephone with them, unlike many of the others who spend a great deal of time this way. Her son is taken to his grandmother's and picked up by his father, so that this former interaction between the two generations of women is curtailed. Both parents are pleased that their son has this opportunity to get to know his grandmother and the great-grandpar-

ents; it seems not to occur to them to pay for this service, however, in spite of that lady's need.

The granddaughter gives the impression of needing the *familia* continuity and emotional ties; she says that she enjoys being with her relatives and has no outside friends. She is especially concerned that she visit her grandparents at least once a month, even though she cannot really communicate with her grandfather. Of Sra. B she says, "My grandmother's a wonderful person. There's no one like my grandmother. She's the best person I've ever known, and I'm glad that my son is over there every day."

The Granddaughter's Husband

This police detective is a third-generation Mexican-American whose parents were born in Iowa. The father, a railroad worker like his own father, brought his family to this city where some of the other men of the family still work in the steel mills. The young man's mother, who visits them about once a month, is a home-demonstration agent for the Indiana University extension service. He visits her occasionally and sees his younger brother, a welder, who lives in a nearby city, about twice a month. He sees his younger sister, who is a high school friend of his wife, and her husband more frequently, since they get together often to play basketball. Otherwise, he is mainly concerned with his immediate family and, like his wife, he indicates that, as a couple, they prefer to be independent and that their chief interaction is at large gatherings of the *familia*.

Las Chicanas

The remarkable women of *Familia B* epitomize, for Dr. Sena-Rivera at least, the strength of the countless women, Mexican and Mexican-American, who have borne children, prepared tamales, enchiladas, and all the rest for countless *familia* members, and worked side by side in the fields with their husbands and children. This kind of life has been the historical lot of these women on the estates of the *padrones* in Mexico and on the lands of Texas, New Mexico, California, or Midwest farmers. At the same time, apparently, most of them have managed to buttress within their *familias*, as an integral cornerstone of their culture, the image of male dominance, in spite of the low

social and economic stature of their men. Quotations given below, from comments made by some of the B women to the interviewers, well illustrate their lives and their forceful personalities.

Sra. B, herself, exerted great influence on her family because of her strong maternal control and her fluency in English which, despite her illiteracy in both Spanish and English, aided her in dealing with an Anglo-dominated world. The help to her family in this one area alone was immeasurable and, further, she had no language barrier to separate her from third and fourth generation members. Her will was indomitable and her devotion tenaciously directed at saving her progeny from the poverty and unhappiness she knew in her childhood and from the deprivation of her early married years in Texas.

Her ambition for her family is reflected in her granddaughter, who said during her interview:

> I think I'm better off than my brothers and sisters . . . and once in awhile I hear someone say, "Well, you've got money to do something." I do, but they forget that I work hard and save. I've been working since I was a freshman in high school. After high school, I went back to my counselor and he said, "Now, you don't want to go to college—you're just going to get married." You know. But I decided to go. First I got a job there (Indiana University, Bloomington), then I enrolled. Sometimes it was really hard—I didn't have any money. But I would never call my mother. I don't know if it was a sense of pride or because I didn't want to impose on her—she didn't have anything.

Loneliness brought together the six "Latinos" who were at the University at that time. This girl helped establish a Mexican-American program and is very proud of how well some of the members, including some women, have done. As she added, some of the women "even became lawyers."

She married at age 20, 3 years after her father died, and says of the early years of her marriage: "We started out with zero—nothing. We paid for our own wedding. We saved up for him to go to school because I wanted him to get a degree real bad—that meant a lot to me. We lived in furnished apartments and whatever . . . . He finished his degree in night school . . . ."

Now she is not certain about finishing the 2 1/2 years she needs to get her own degree because of her commitment to her

husband and child. But she wants it very much, "just to have it."

The granddaughter-in-law, too, shows the kind of support for her husband that has helped these Chicanos to "make it" in an alien culture and an unfriendly work environment.

> I tell him to be a foreman, you know, or a big shot at the Mill—not just to stay down. Like before, he was an iron worker, and when it snowed, he was laid off . . . . Now he's in the Mill. It's less money than before when he was at the foundry, but there's always work whether there's rain or a storm or not and the benefits . . . . But he had to start at the bottom, in the labor. Two months ago, he took his exam to get into mechanics at the Mill. So, like, I would always build him up—you can do this, just try, you're not dumb. You've got to do that to your husband. If not, they don't think much of themselves—just so they're making money, they're happy. They should try to make more, and get up high, I think . . . .

Discrimination

Sra. B's poignant memories of her husband's work experiences are sadly typical of the experiences of all too many Mexican Americans and, for that matter, of most socioeconomically depressed newcomers to the United States work force. She described his struggles while working for the railroad in Texas:

> All the Mexicans were assigned the hardest jobs, like digging, even if you could read and write—as he can—and were able to handle better work. Why? Because we were Mexican. They wouldn't give us a chance at nothing. There were many abuses . . . . Some of the foremen were very mean. They would see that you were marked down at the store for more than what you bought, and you always owed more than you made. That's not fair . . . .

In the memories of the great-grandparents of *Familia B*, discrimation extended beyond the work place. As Sra. B remembered it:

> Life for the Mexican was pretty hard . . . . It was almost like for the colored. There was a lot (of) discrimination. They wouldn't allow you to eat at a table with a white—they would separate you. Once I went to meet my husband in another city. In the morning I went to a restaurant by the station to have breakfast.

> Now, I am pretty light and I can pass. They served me. When I returned to San Antonio with my husband, we stopped at the same restaurant. They saw my husband is Mexican. They wouldn't serve us up front. They wanted to serve us in the kitchen. . . .

Sra. B added that things had not been too different for Mexicans where they now live. She said that her husband had always had to work at the hardest jobs in the steel mills, under unhealthy conditions, and that he was never steadily employed or for many days a week. Sra. B then added, lest she make the one "white" interviewer feel uncomfortable, "I owe no grudges . . . I take things as they come—as God sends them."

Employment

In regard to the employment problems of the Mexican Americans, as with a study of illegal immigrants which he hopes to do, Sena-Rivera is afraid that his study, while good and valid, may be used against these people. "You can manipulate family associations, particularly emotive tendencies, to get at the various members and manipulate them even to hold down the work force," he explained. "Even these individual laborers say that. This person will stick with the job because he has greater responsibilities to a wide range of people. They can make greater demands on him than on another worker. I've seen that. I've heard 'white' employers speak in those terms. 'I'd rather have a Mexican worker because I know he'll be steady and work for less, because that money has to go to a lot of people.'"

While agreeing that many immigrant groups have met with similar difficulties, he added, "Our bad luck is that we came at the end of the Industrial Revolution, so that as a group we are locked into that stage of history that we can't get out of . . . . And even if we were able to move up, it's in categories that don't make that much difference. Like in academia . . . it's high prestige, but it's still a middle-class occupation in our society . . . Each group has had to work its way in our country; that's true, but here, now, the average person has to work much, much harder."

Familia B in the third generation has a number of exceptions to the blue-coll caste of the older members. In addition to the police detecti grandson-in-law and his clerical-worker

wife, that generation includes a computer programmer, a musician, a telephone operator, a bilingual teacher, a secretary, a bank employee, and a salesperson. Among the other young, adult grandchildren, there are several college and university students. It is hard to say whether they are feeling at their age the constraints of their time and their ethnic group, of being "locked in," as Sena-Rivera describes it. Whether fuller entry into a bicultural world and emergence of more of the women out of the *casa* and into the working world will make a difference in *familia* life is a matter for further study.

Of this *familia*, the interviewers noted that they "did not receive any sense of being-at-the-bottom or depression from any member for living in this or similar neighborhoods and especially not from Sr. and Sra. B. At the same time, we do not wish to convey the impression that various members of *Familia B* are not desirous of, or not working toward raising, their present socioeconomic status."

Changes

The grandson's perceptions are interesting. In his interview, conducted in English with much Anglicization of Spanish surnames, he made distinctions among his relatives, calling anyone born and raised in Mexico "Mexican." To him, "Chicano" stands for those born in the States but who "think like a Mexican," and "Mexican American" means those of Mexican descent who "think like Americans."

The propinquity of most of these poor slum houses to their neighbors and the enforced propinquity of their numerous occupants to each other certainly do not epitomize the American Dream. They are not the Dream pictured in glossy magazines or on the ubiquitous television, whose aerials project from every tenement. But the always-room-for-one-more hospitality for other members of *familia* has been an assurance of the enduring qualities of the Chicano kin network. Will these qualities endure unchanged?

The Third Generation members of the *B Familia* who were interviewed indicate a possible drift. There is an embarrassment about inadequate space and enforced closeness which may interfere with the old hospitality-despite-inadequacies. The granddaughter, who wants to continue the large gatherings at Christmas, at least, like the all-*familia* party she went "all

out" for the previous year, is looking for a larger house because "I don't have the room" to entertain adequately. The grandson indicates that he does not visit his siblings formally, or they him, except for calling on his next-older brother who has just bought a house where, the grandson feels, visits now will not be an imposition.

Transmission of Values

Familia B, throughout its generations, demonstrates well the transmission of values. The fathers in all of the *familias* in this study have been instrumental, in both precept and example, in teaching respect and obedience to one's elders and love and volition in helping all *familia* members. In addition to reinforcing these principles, the mothers have been largely responsible for teaching moral strictures and proper behavior to the young women of the *familias*. The B's granddaughter-in-law reported the lessons from her Mexican relatives, especially her own grandmother:

> Not to take the pill! Take when God gives me a child, not to abort it, and to have as many children as he wants me to, you know . . . . Respect—respect for your elders, respect for your Mom.
>
> I always had to respect my Mom and I did! She brought us up real strict, like the Mexican custom. Like my husband couldn't come into the house for the longest time while we were dating! She just didn't want him in the house "unless he wants to marry you—is going to ask for your hand." I'd say, "Well, Ma, we're not living like that any more," and she'd say, "While you're under this roof you are!" But then he proved himself, like there was no hanky-panky, and he didn't get me pregnant or anything so after 3 years, she let him come into the front (enclosed) porch! We had a little color TV there to watch together. We went together for about 5 years befo we were married and he was finally allowed inside the house.

She said her husband, who told her later that he wouldn't have married her if she had been "easy" and that he was glad her mother had been strict with her, would be strict like that with his own daughters. His viewpoint does not entirely reflect the trend reported for some third-generation members, who are

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trying to adapt to different dating patterns, among other more "American" ways.

(Since the interviews, Senora B has died. The interviewers were of the opinion, when talking with the *familia*, that the group appeared to be at a crucial point in their cultural continuity. Senor B did not give the impression of stimulating enough emotional reaction alone or of having the material resources which might compensate for that lack. They feel, though, that the daughter who has been with her mother at the center of visits during the older lady's illness and the granddaughter who appears to want to continue the larger family gatherings may be able to carry on the role as the *familia* focal point.)

Familia C: 23 persons, seven households of metropolitan central city, mixed blue-collar and other occupations.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

In 1917, when he was 22, the now-81-year-old head of this *familia* came to the metropolitan center in Michigan where the *familia* still lives. This retired automotive worker spends most of his days and nights cheerfully looking after his invalid wife. The interviewers were impressed with his gentle dignified manner and the fact that he was not embarrassed to be doing women's work; they noted as well the emotive interdependency of the couple.

Their home is old, spacious, and reasonably well kept up, on the first floor of a two-family dwelling that they own. Throughout the years, the upstairs flat, with its separate entrance in the back, has been occupied successively by other *familia* members: Sra. C's parents, an aunt and her husband, a patrolman grandson and his wife, and now a newly married granddaughter and her Irish-descent, automotive-worker husband. The C's elder daughter and her husband live next door. where Sra. C's childless sister and her husband, both deceased, had lived. The C's other daughter and her *casa* is not far away. The neighborhood is largely of Mexican and other Latino families and appears to be low income, in a blighted central city area adjacent to a freeway which split up the old neighborhood and the Catholic parish.

When one of his brothers was conscripted during the Mexican Revolution, Sr. C and 13 other similarly threatened young men started walking toward the States, having heard that they could find some kind of work there. After nearly starving going over the mountains toward Guadalajara, Sr. C finally arrived in Texas where he worked for a few years before coming to this city in Michigan. While in Texas, he was able to send money back to his brothers and sisters, some of which was repaid by the brothers who came to Chicago.

Sr. C often calls his brother who is still living in Chicago; they rarely visit together anymore because of the brother's and Sra. C's physical conditions. There is almost no contact with the brother's children, since they are young and busy and "very proud." The great-grandfather of the *C Familia* finds his greatest delight in the grandchildren, the youngest of whom stop in nearly every day for treats, and in his great-grandchildren, who are often brought by for visits.

The Great-Grandmother

Like her husband, Sra. C loved working in the fields during her childhood in Mexico. She still remembers the days there with her parents, a grandmother, and her brother and four sisters. The family was sufficiently well-to-do that Sra. C nearly completed training to become a teacher and included French and shorthand in her repertoire. In 1920, after her grandmother died, Sra. C, her parents, three sisters, and a related couple with five children joined the post-Revolution exodus to the States to work in the sugar-beet industry. Eventually they settled in this small western-Michigan city.

Sra. C never completed her teacher training as she had hoped to do. She and her sisters got maintenance jobs in hotels in the city and worked in the fields in the summer. She met Sr. C in this city, and after they were married they settled in their present place. Fortunately, they remodeled the house into two independent units so that Sra. C's parents could live there. Shortly afterward, the father became a invalid, never to work again, and had to depend on Sr. C and his other daughters and their husbands for financial support and on Sra. C for help in caring for him.

Because of a loss of motor control, which has caused several injuries, Sra. C must use a wheelchair and

walker, and requires almost constant care. Her life is brightened by the attention of her husband and the frequent visits of her daughters and their husbands and offspring and the cooked food they bring. The patrolman grandson, who conveniently works in their precinct, stops in often, as do the granddaughters and the great-grandchildren. The Anglo grandsons-in-law come frequently, too, and each of them has brought his mother to visit. A great source of pride is the fact that all of her offspring speak both Spanish and English. She is proud, too, to show off the many framed photographs of her *familia* members.

The Second Generation: The Daughter

Sra. C related proudly that this daughter was the first "Latino" to graduate from the city's Catholic high school. A former secretary and presently office manager in an airmail service firm, the daughter and her husband apparently make an upper-middle-class income. Their home is beautifully furnished, far better than the exterior and the neighborhood would suggest.

The couple travel frequently to many parts of the world, especially to Mexico, and hold the *familia* gatherings at their home several times a month for first cousins and her closer relatives. The entire lineal *C familia* gather at her home for Thanksgiving and once at Christmas she held a dance, with a live band, for them.

Her intensive interaction with her relatives includes seeing her parents daily and her sister almost as often. Her younger daughter, recently married and living in the apartment above the Cs, is her mother's office assistant. The patrolman son and his practical-nurse daughter and their families visit often, and the daughter frequently takes her adored grandchildren on outings. In addition, she manages to keep up with her mother's relatives in this city, her father's "very proud" nephews and nieces in Chicago, and her husband's family in Mexico.

The Daughter's Husband

This "dignified and somewhat formal man" met the Cs' older daughter when she was on a vacation trip to Mexico City and took her back there after their wedding in Michigan. They lived there for 8 years, where he had a business and where their two older children

were born, and returned to this city in 1951. He is now sales manager for a large St. Vincent de Paul store.

The husband feels close to his in-laws and visits often; both he and the other son-in-law heartily endorse their wives' assistance to the old couple during Sra. C's illness. He is apparently supportive of the parties which his wife gives for her *familia* and thoroughly enjoys the visits of his children and grandchildren. Before his brother's death, he visited him yearly in Mexico, giving financial support as well. He sees his two sisters often during their visits to his home, the last being for his daughter's wedding, or during travels with his wife. A principal concern, he says, has been to assure the education of his children to save them from the hardships he knew as a young man.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

The daughter's only son, a veteran, and a police patrolman for the past 5 years, chose that profession after getting the impression that he was being passed over for promotion in a previous occupation because he was Mexican, so his wife said. Interestingly, he gives himself this designation, rather than Mexican American or Chicano. Since he is proficient in Spanish and English, he is often called on to interpret at work, as is his medical-aide sister, a matter of great pride, not only to Sra. C but to her son-in-law, who insisted that his children know both languages. This young man enjoys contacts with his aunt, sisters, and cousins, whom he "likes to kid around with," and wishes the visits were more frequent. He adds that he wishes they had done more things together when they were younger. Now he seems particularly pleased that his son and the son's cousins are developing a strong relationship, visiting back and forth and "sleeping over." His aim is to inculcate in his son the same respect for, honesty with, and politeness to the aunts, uncles, and grandparents that he himself learned as a child.

The Grandson's Wife

This quiet 25-year-old woman, a medical technologist of mixed Italian and German heritage, and her husband are raising their son in the modest, middle-middle-level neighborhood of tree-lined streets and brick bungalows. Although she is busy with her job and homemaking responsibilities, she sees her own and her parents-in-law several times a week, taking Sunday

dinner with them and having her mother-in-law baby-sit occasionally. She has only pleasant memories of living with her husband's family when she was first married and of their stay in the apartment above the grandparents. Now, she corresponds with some of her mother's relatives and tries to see her brother and his wife more often. Meantime, she is concerned that her son get to know both sets of his grandparents and the C great-grandparents.

Traditions and Changes

Except for their lack of male descent lineal heirs, *Familia C* exemplifies many of the attributes considered typical of this ethnic family group. There are the physical propinquity of three of the households, the interactions both emotional and dutiful, and the occupational assistance.

An additional evidence of interdependency is the drawing of the sons-in-law and so far, apparently, the grandsons-in-law, into the intensive, warm family interaction. This has occurred even though Sra. C has always believed firmly, so she indicated, that a woman's obligation must be first to her husband and children.

It remains to be seen whether the ties that bind this *familia* will hold after the great-grandparents die and the more affluent daughter and son-in-law leave the three-household enclave, as it is assumed that they will. Perhaps those ties will hold for a time, at least, because this is the daughter who, after the parents, appears to be the pivotal force in the lineal *familia*.

Spanish Language and the Chicano

This *familia* differs from the other three in the study in a highly significant detail, the transmission and retention of the mother tongue even to the fourth generation. Whether due substantially to the higher education of this particular great-grandmother, the extensive travels and ambition of the more affluent daughter and her husband, or the obvious advantage this ability has brought to the patrolman and his sister, it is hard to say. Perhaps each of these has been a factor. Certainly, the remembrance and frequent use of Spanish has facilitated communication among the generations, even though both great-grandparents do have some knowledge of English.

In "Growing Up Chicano," a chapter in one of his volumes of *Children of Crisis* (1978, pp. 353-354), Robert Coles describes the dependence of the Chicana mother on her own language: "Moreover, they have the Spanish language, a reminder that one is not hopelessly Anglo, that one has one's own words, one's way of putting things and regarding the world, and, not least, one's privacy and independence. No wonder many Chicana mothers, who can speak English easily, if not fluently, and who know full well that their children will be going to Anglo-run schools where English is the only or certainly the preferred language, choose to speak Spanish not just to their young children, but, it often seems, *at* them—as if the sound of the language offers the mother a sense of herself to fall back upon, a certain reserve that causes the child to feel comforted and loved . . . . The mothers, of course, are talking to themselves, reminding themselves that their children may well suffer in the future, but at the very least will not lose their language, their sense of a specific heritage: a religion, a nationality."

The Chicanos whom Coles observed and wrote about with such sympathetic perception live in Texas and other parts of the South and Southwest. Possibly those who migrated to the Midwest found a somewhat more egalitarian climate in which to raise their children and perceived less need for them to retain facility in their language. Perhaps this latter group envisioned a greater chance of upward mobility and thought that chance would be more possible with greater skill in English.

When more research studies of the Mexican in the United States are done, as Dr. Sena-Rivera hopes there will be, the use of Spanish only, English only, and of the two interchangeably should be investigated, with regard to region, socioeconomic class and mobility, and the institution of *familia* as a continuing and viable unit. It will be interesting to determine whether the younger generations of this ethnic group as a whole will find, as other groups apparently have, that the bilingual, bicultural mode is conducive to greater socioeconomic *and* emotional well-being.

Familia D, 58 persons, 13 households, of urban-industrial, mixed blue-collar and self-employed occupations.

The First Generation: The Great-Grandfather

Sr. D, 1890-1968, was born in Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and died in the small, mill-dominated, northwest Indiana city where most of the family still live and carry on the "family business." The interviewers pieced together this extraordinary man's story from the glowing descriptions by his children and included it with the others to complete the *familia* picture.

Sr. D's father died at the beginning of the Revolution. Unfortunately, his widow and 13 children did not have time to divide his extensive lands, with their cattle and goats, orange groves, and sugar cane plantations, to avoid the Revolutionary practice of breaking up large holdings. The lands were expropriated, and the family moved to Monterrey, Mexico, where most of them remain. The sons found work, bought a home for their mother, and cleared their father's debts.

After working at various jobs in an American-owned refinery for awhile, Sr. D was put to running the company's general store. When he realized the opportunities of commercial trade, he decided to go into it on his own and, what's more, to go to the States to try his luck. For a time, he worked in El Paso as a peddler, carrying household wares across the border in a horse-drawn wagon. It was then that he began to court the boss's daughter.

His next venture was to the rapidly growing city of San Antonio. Here he began to learn English. In his clothing store job, he learned to measure for suits and to alter finished garments. Still, he wanted to be in business for himself. News of large settlements of Mexicans in the Chicago area spurred him to go there, and he moved to the small town, now a city, where the family still lives. The courtship continued, with letters and short, sporadic visits.

His first business was a shop for tailoring, dry cleaning, and selling Spanish-key typewriters. There, besides pressing dry-cleaned clothing, he measured for suits, cut them out, and completed the final fittings after the suits were sewn in Chicago.

Theft of his bolts of material and machinery ended the operation at about the time the Depression hit. Being

wise enough to realize that people might go without new or mended clothing but not without food, Sr. D determined next on a Mexican foods distribution business.

Then, at age 37, in spite of the Depression and in spite of being broke, he made a quick trip to Chihualma, Mexico, where his former boss' family was then living, and married his 27-year-old fiancee. Even this was difficult. The religious ceremony following the civil marriage had to be performed in secret because revolutionaries were still repressing the clergy.

Upon their return to the place Sra. D. was later to describe as "the ugliest town in the world," they began their family and the family business, which was eventually to provide a substantial living for them and their seven children. The enterprise still provides sufficient financial security for Sra. D that she can give small sums from the proceeds to each child every month.

This business has been a prime focus of family life throughout the years. The children remember the long hours their father worked, late into the night and early each morning, to prepare packages of chocolate and other products for sale and delivery during the day. When the boys were small, they were paid on a piecework basis to wrap products from the basement work area, always after, never during, school. In the summers, before success led to importing more canned delicacies from Mexico, the family would go at 4 each morning to the Lake Michigan dunes to pick and clean tender cactus leaves which their Mexican customers particularly enjoyed.

The oldest son took over when his father became bedridden 4 years before his death. At present, the two oldest sons are in the business, and the oldest daughter's husband is a salesman for the firm. The other two sons sold out their equal shares during a slump. One is buying his shares back; the youngest is in Texas with his family and quite successful in his own business. The daughters never helped much when they were children, since their place was to be in marriage and homemaking. The second daughter, now divorced, has been employed in the business recently, however. The youngest daughter and her husband have their own business, possibly even more successful than that of the family.

Many of the grandchildren have worked in the business from time to time, but, as yet, there is no sign that they are being groomed to take over. Like the senior Ds, the parents of these young people apparently have not pushed their children in any occupational direction. While only 23 of the 33 grandchildren are grown, the trend so far, both occupationally and educationally, seems to be as workers in the industrial labor force rather than in entrepreneurial or professional jobs.

Sr. D's children still relish stories about their father, how he taught them to show politeness and deference to elders and, at the same time, to be bold and adventurous; he used to let them find their own way home from Chicago, transferring from bus to Loop to bus, all the way back to their own city. Sometimes he would send them alone to Chicago, or even to Mexico, to locate relatives and acquaintances.

The Great-Grandmother

Sra. D. was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1900. In reasonably good health, but with some memory lapses, she still lives in the home where she and her husband ended their days together. A young girl lives with her as a companion, but much of her time is spent in the homes of her children. Her oldest daughter arranged that each child visit Sra. D. or take her home on a fixed day and entertain the *familia* with cake and coffee if this day coincided with her birthday or Mother's Day.

This great-grandmother is content with her life and with the children's love for her and for each other. Only the lack of communication between herself and the third- and fourth-generation family members disturbs her, since she understands English very poorly and many of them speak little or no Spanish. Apparently, her own children have not considered this an essential part of their children's rearing as she did. She used to return annually to Mexico, taking one or more of her children and later some of the grandchildren, so that they could see the "homeland" and the relatives there and learn their parents' native language.

Although, as a bride, she missed the trees and green landscape of her childhood, Sra. D set about willingly making a home in the rear rooms of the building

where the business was located. At first, there was a mattress on the floor and boards on crates for a table. Her contribution to the business was significant, even though she never worked in the basement or the shop. Her son said, "My father had this machismo. It worked in funny little ways. He 'catered' to my mother. He would take care of bringing in the money; she would take care of the family . . . . Yet her presence was everywhere—the house and the store. She would keep an eye on things, and she even caught the accountant in a serious and suspicious error [illegible] inventory of checks once . . . . Once my father was [illegible] payments behind on our large, expensive chocolate-mixing machine (chocolate then being the mainstay of the business). She negotiated partial payments so that they would not take away the machine, and until my father caught up with the payments. This was during the Depression . . . . She did her part in so many little ways . . . ."

Most Mexican children, when they work in the fields or other jobs, give up all or part of their pay to help their families. Sra. D followed this practice with her sons and, supposedly for household expenses, withheld part of their pay from their jobs wrapping chocolate. When business seemed slow, the withholdings increased. The sons now see this partially as a necessity and partially as a device to teach them not to spend all their money as soon as they made it. As each one married, the mother returned in a lump sum whatever amount had been withheld.

he Second Generation: The Son

This unpretentious, friendly man is second to his older brother in managing the business and is active in community affairs. His home is in a middle-middle level housing development, complete with elementary and intermediate schools and near the new city library. The activist civic group he belongs to fought for 10 years for the project, combatting city officials and the economically dominant steel mill which finally found the land for it. His modestly furnished home is large enough for six and has a yard big enough for active playing.

The son interspersed his English-language interview with Spanish when quoting others in stories about his *familia*. His stories of coping and succeeding were funny but pointed, and much of the *familia* history

came from his interview. His own history is impressive. He was married at 19 to the girl from down the street and, like his entire *familia*, has become involved in several influential civic and parish organizations, in some of which he is an officer. "Until it got political," he belonged also to the local Mexican-American self-betterment association of business men. As a board member of this national group, he and his entire *casa* were invited to a White House reception when Ramona Banuelos was installed in a high Treasury Department position during the Nixon administration. The *familia* came through handsomely, with an envelope full of money for his expenses, a story which the son still relates with pride and appreciation.

The son said that the monthly parties of his generation, usually held in each other's homes without the children, have almost been curtailed because everyone is so busy. The large, all-*familia* parties, where older and younger members can get to know each other, are scheduled for a public park or a similar place large enough to hold them all, like the party planned for the week after the interviews. The son observed that the *familia* has always been so close and their involvement with each other so complete that, with the addition of their civic membership, they have little time for friendships outside their own group.

The son is happy about his own *casa* and their feeling for each other and their *familia*. There is a busy exchange of hand-me-down clothes, of babysitting, and of children visiting back and forth for an afternoon, a night, or a week. This stalwart *familia* man hopes that these interactions will increase and fears only that he has not taught enough discipline to his children.

The Son's Wife

Interviewed in English but completely fluent in Spanish, this busy housewife is contented with her *casa* and *familia* relationships. When first married, she and her husband lived in an apartment across the street from the family business and the elder Ds' living quarters, so she would finish her housework and go either to her own mother's down the street or to visit her mother-in-law, whom she liked and found "very tactful." She still relishes her many contacts with her husband's family, in visits or "at functions." At present, she and her daughter-in-law next door exchange babysitting serv-

ices, and there are frequent visits from those who have left home.

She believes that being in a large family has taught her children love and respect and that growing up near their grandparents' house was a positive influence. "Every Sunday everybody was at Grandma's house—all the brothers and sisters and their wives and husbands and their children got to see each other." This experience and the fun of holidays as *familia* occasions formed their ideas about themselves and their relatives, she says.

The Daughter

The Ds' oldest living child, now 48, lives in a neighboring suburb of the city and works as a fill-in bank teller. She was interviewed in English in her home, which is situated in a development of middle-middle income level. Near the garage and back patio were two cars, two motor cycles, and a motor boat. Her two daughters, the older solely a homemaker and the younger a telephone representative, come by with their Anglo husbands and children at least twice a week, sometimes together and often for a meal, [illegible] babysitting and parties with the daughter's five children still living at home—as the daughter says, the grandchildren "just sort of blend in with my own kids."

Gatherings of the *familia*, especially at Christmas, when all of them celebrate together and share costs and cooking, mean a lot to her. She says she will be glad when she and her siblings can resume their monthly get-togethers; now she sees individual families at birthdays, graduations, or weddings.

Of the third generation, she noted that age pairings among cousins were frequent and their friendships have led to subsequent pairings among their offspring. This goes on among almost all the cousins in the various households.

The Daughter's Husband

This man chose to be interviewed in English and to Anglicize the pronunciation of Spanish surnames and given names although he uses Spanish as a wholesale salesman of Mexican foods for the D business. His designations of ethnicity were Mexican for his parents,

aunts, and uncles, and Mexican American for his own generation and his children.

The son-in-law remembers with special fondness his maternal grandparents, who had followed their daughter here, because he was sent to live with them for about a year since they all "didn't fit" in his parents' small house. He liked the arrangement because his grandmother "babied" him. When his grandmother overheard him telling his mother that he was not eager to return to his parents' because he was so comfortable where he was, she sent him back immediately. She didn't want him to lose his *cariño*, or fondness, for his parents.

The son-in-law has been drawn more closely into the D kin network, although his own family of 8 brothers and a sister, 29 grandchildren, and 6 great-grandchildren is closeknit and they all care for their widowed mother with visits and small services. He and his wife spend Christmas Day with his family and Christmas Eve with hers. The two *familias* have been friends since the daughter and son-in-law were children; in fact at about 13 years of age, he became her first boyfriend. As she said, "and my last, but with others in between."

The daughter's husband follows his own father's role model and thinks they all have good relations now "because my Dad brought us up that way where we always get together and discuss things. He always told us that when any of us had a problem to talk it over with ourselves. I think this is beautiful and I have taught this to my children."

Now, although the son-in-law and his brothers and sisters do not need financial help from each other, they often assemble for advice and for weddings, new business ventures, and the like. He indicates that his married daughters and eldest son are close and that the daughters and their spouses often include this son and his dates in social activities.

The Third Generation: The Grandson

This 23-year-old man and his *casa* live next door to Sra. D's son and daughter-in-law in a well-furnished 1-year-old house; he is refinishing the do-it-yourself basement room when off-duty from his job as a railroad switchman. He is happy they chose this property over several others in the development because he enjoys

the proximity to his parents and is anxious that his sons and any future children be close to their *familia* and get to know them well. The children of both households delight in visiting back and forth.

As the oldest brother, the grandson is the source of advice, as he says, just what you'd expect from a younger brother or sister. He sometimes helps some of them with small loans, a favor they occasionally return with money from their babysitting or odd jobs (if he is broke before payday). The grandson hopes that things will remain the same between them and is confident that they will. Since his work schedule precludes many visits, he would like more *familia* gatherings, like the one they were all looking forward to the following week. A special recollection is the generosity of his aunts and uncles at the time of his wedding and at a shower for his older son's birth. He feels sure that they would help him financially or in any other way should the need arise.

He regrets that he and his siblings were not spoken to in Spanish and have not learned it well, so that now he cannot talk with his grandmother, whom he sees about once a week. He would like to converse in Spanish but is afraid of offending his elders by unknowingly addressing them disrespectfully with the wrong verb endings, for instance.

The Grandson's Wife

In the interview, conducted completely in English, this third-generation Mexican-descent woman furnished the account of a family tree even larger than her husband's—108 consanguineal relatives and 35 nonconsanguineal. One of her most thrilling memories is of her wedding, when so many *familia* members of her own and her husband attended that only a few non-*familia* friends could be invited to the reception, a situation everyone understood. That night, there was a dance for friends and both *familias*. And all three events were packed.

The granddaughter-in-law visits her parents once a week, sometimes for breakfast after Mass, when her mother serves the traditional Sunday morning soup, *menudo*. The 4-year-old son loves these visits, especially because of an aunt just his age. Except for one nearby household, this wife sees her other relatives rarely, mostly on holidays or at weddings or birthday

parties. She sees the parents-in-law every day, occasionally sharing babysitting and excursions with the children. Like friendly neighbors everywhere, they often borrow from each other.

The Granddaughter

This daughter of Sra. D's oldest daughter was interviewed entirely in English, since she cannot converse in Spanish, even though she used to go to Mexico every 3 years with her parents and went twice with Sra. D on her annual trips. Now she says: "My Mom's mom—unfortunately we don't see her as often as we probably should. For one thing there's a speech problem between us because she speaks Spanish and I speak English. I can understand a little bit but that's the main reason we don't see her much. My husband knows nothing of Spanish. We do see her, though, on the big family get-togethers, maybe on the average of once a month, which I know isn't too much . . . ." When her husband is coaching the Little League team, of which one of her younger brothers is a member, she comes more often than usual because the practice field is behind her parents' house. Besides the large *familia* gatherings, she sees some of her cousins socially, particularly if the husbands are friends of her own husband. There are the usual favor exchanges, like using the family truck and giving bridal showers, but, apparently, no other requests for help have been made.

The Granddaughter's Husband

He was born 24 years ago in Chicago and raised there, of the fourth generation of German, Scotch, and other European ancestry, from an immediate family background which appears to be mixed white- and blue-collar. Genuine enjoyment of his relationship with his own family and his in-laws is evident in this young man's account. He is happy about his twice weekly visits to his parents' home, where he sees his siblings as well, and he believes that marriage and maturity have brought him closer to his parents. He said, "What seemed dumb about the way they treated me when I was single, I see now wasn't so dumb." Besides spending Christmas Day with his father's side of the family and summer weekends at his parents' beach cottage, he and his wife and son see his paternal grandparents once a month. They feel responsibility toward these

grandparents, who live alone in Chicago, particularly because their son is the only great-grandchild.

The grandson-in-law is familiar with his wife's side of the family and is happily getting to know them better, through visits to the parents and, on birthdays and holidays, to the grandmothers. He enjoys these contacts, such as seeing one of his uncles-in-law twice a month at Lion's Club meetings and another occasionally in his work. There are also social contacts with her same-age married cousins and mutual assistance on repair jobs. Things have been this way since his marriage and he does not foresee any change. As he said, "It will go on like this forever and ever."

Predictions

"Forever and ever?" On the basis of a four-*familia* study, Dr. Sena-Rivera is hardly willing or able to make such a strong speculation. For one thing, there are other relevant factors to be tested, especially that of socioeconomic class. *Familia D* makes this circumstance evident since, although it is the most affluent and highest in status of the *familias* studied, it cannot be considered upper stratum.

Sena-Rivera does predict, however, that *familia*, as described in his study, will continue for at least one more full generation. Each generation, he says, tends to repeat with their children the patterns of socialization received in their own childhood. This cycle should carry, then, among the great-grandchildren as adults with their own households, into the 21st century—100 years of *la familia chicana*.

Changes Coming?

Familia D is typical in its intensity of *familia* involvement. It appears atypical, however, in the decline in ambition and economic achievement evident in the adult fourth-generation members. This apparent decline is reminiscent of the Anglo expression, "from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations," not an unusual phenomenon. Perhaps the younger family members have the perception that Sena-Rivera articulated, that their group is "locked in" in the lower and middle class. Possibly, with their *familia* as buffer and refuge from the alienation and boredom endemic in many industrial jobs, plus the added cushion of their parents' relative prosperity, they see

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little need to put forth the effort necessary for advancement into other occupational fields. It is possible, of course, that they need only greater maturity.

Judging from the individual interviews, this family can be seen as happy, well-integrated, and more involved outside their own group than other *familias* in this study, who reported little activity outside of home, family, church, and work. The individuals who told about their community activity are proud of their engagement in the broader spectrum, but regret that it cuts into their time with the family, their first social group. Undoubtedly, this interaction with people of other cultures will make subtle changes in the Chicanos' perceptions of themselves and their own acculturation. Conversely, the perceptions which these "others" hold of persons of Mexican heritage will be altered as each becomes better acquainted with the other.

SUMMARY

In presenting the sociohistorical studies of four extended families of Mexican descent in the Michigan-Indiana-Illinois region, the researcher has investigated the contribution of the extended family structure and system to the individual's sense of well-being and to the *familia* as a social organization. He has explored this contribution, both subjective and material, within three lineal generations of each *familia* with objective and open-ended questions and limited direct observation. The findings have been charted on individual family trees, with each individual placed as a second-generation member and with each household, or *casa*, delineated within each *familia*.

Conclusions

This qualitative sample has revealed a few characteristics which appear to be constant for *these families* in *this* region:

- Migration from Mexico, largely to Texas, followed economic and political turmoil, repression of the Catholic Church, division of large landholdings, or fear for their lives or of induction into the armed forces.
- The immigrants arrived with some intention of returning to their homeland eventually, as, indeed, many of their relatives did.

- Migration from Texas occurred with news of better economic and working conditions in other parts of the United States and with the hope of finding greater equality and opportunity for themselves and their families.
- Catholicism is taken for granted as a part of the daily lives of these people. (Only one set of great-grandparents and, apparently, one in-law in the sample are non-Catholic.)
- Families are larger in the second generation than in the first because of better and more extensive health care. The norm appears to be holding for the third generation so far.
- The tendency toward out-marriages increases markedly with the generations, and some correlation between out-marriages and upward mobility has been noted. In this group, almost half of the marriages are with non-Mexican-descent spouses.
- The centripetal force of *familia* is notable even in the case of out-marriages since, almost universally, the non-Mexican-descent spouses have been drawn into the Mexican-descent *familias*.
- Upward mobility in both status and socioeconomic class has generally occurred unevenly within generations, depending somewhat on the urban or semirural locale of the *familias*.
- Socioeconomic class appears to work against *familia* integration only for the poorest.
- Dispersal to the suburbs or other more economically and socially favorable areas may, in time, lead to less intensive *familia* integration.
- The value of *familia* to the persons interviewed or to others indirectly observed cannot be overestimated, nor does it tend to diminish with the third generation. Different ways of interacting do occur with the passage of time and the involvement of individual members in work and community life, or with the use of the telephone rather than personal contact, but the intensive interaction goes on.
- *Familia* norms, learned from earliest childhood and practiced throughout life, are emphasized by the value of volunteerism supported by duty, blending desire for interdependence with love and a sense of disinterest.

- Individual *familia* members internalize their own self-fulfillment and self-worth as bound with those of their own *casa* and with the *casas* that have the same internalization of norms and values.
- *Familia* socialization is implanted mainly through example rather than instruction, through positive reinforcement rather than negative reinforcement or punishment.
- Age groups across generation lines in childhood and across status and class lines in adulthood appear to be the primary basis for peer associations in the formation of friendships.
- Obedience and respect for one's elders, regardless of sex or remoteness of kinship, are integral in *familia* socialization, with the younger protected by the older. Adults are viewed according to their talents and learned skills, economic status and possessions, or masculine and feminine role qualities.
- In general, those of the first generation think of themselves as Mexican, often literally in terms of citizenship as compared to cultural practices and affinity to the homeland; those of the second more often consider themselves Mexican-American, denoting a bicultural identity; the third generation has adopted the unhyphenated Mexican American, indicating cultural rather than nationalistic ties to the home country. Among younger members, the label Chicano indicates a rebirth of identification with Mexican cultural values which are considered less materialistic and individualistic than American values.
- Each generation tends to repeat with its own children the *familia* socialization it received in childhood.

La Familia and Mental Health

Internalization of self-worth within the primary social group is seen as basic to the mental health of the Chicano in childhood and, it follows, to the adult, a buttress against feeling poor or different, even alienated, from the larger society. *Familia* is perceived as a place for problemsolving because there is someone to talk to, someone with the same frame of reference.

As Padilla and Ruiz (1973) point out, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed (SSSS) people will probably not refer themselves to Anglo institutions perceived as alien. It is difficult to talk

with someone who does not see as normal such prevailing customs as male dominance and female submission, or frequent visits by a son to his mother, for instance. And hospitalization is seen as a removal from the source of comfort, the home and often extended family members.

These things are changing. Cultural isolation is ending. The women's movement, out-marriages, political *movimientos*, and more varied occupations all play their part. Dispersal of the traditional extended family, inevitable in socioeconomic mobility, will have an enormous effect. What will happen then to the traditional supports, a father's advice, a mother's solace, a brother's loan until payday?

More health and mental health facilities geared to people of Spanish language and cultural backgrounds are being established, and more individuals of those ethnic backgrounds are entering the health fields. It can be hoped that these resources and those of the *familia* can be melded effectively.

Plans for the Future

Dr. Sena-Rivera hopes that other professionals concerned with family will view his investigation of *la familia chicana* as a pilot, since he is aware that there are other items of typicality and regionality to study. He says there are larger factors to be considered and quantitative analyses of specific items that need doing.

He would like to do more of these studies himself, in the *barrios* of Los Angeles and in the fields and cities of Texas and other Southwestern States. Did families of Mexican descent bring, and cling to, the *familia* norms there? To what extent? Have the younger generations discovered a bilingual, bicultural middle way for integration into the mainstream? And what about "illegal," or "undocumented," entrants, a whole new group whose traditional supports are in question?

Mexico City, recently classified as the world's largest city, is an area ripe for study. There are street-wise, family-poor "street kids" and whole villages of dislocated, poverty-stricken families there, hoping for jobs and security. Are the old, institutional supports of *familia* life holding up? Jaime Sena-Rivera hopes to find out.

As a beginning, he has put together a master questionnaire which includes suggestions made at a conference which he

called in January 1978 on *familia*. "Most of the people who are working on family phenomena among Mexican-descent people" were there. The survey questionnaire is made up of testable hypotheses drawn from his own study and that of psychologists, sociologists, and social welfare people who attended the conference. This questionnaire, Sena-Rivera believes, will provide solid data and the external validity not found in smaller, individual studies. At present, it is being pretested in Detroit by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. After the results are in, the test will be part of a larger questionnaire for national study.

Not Just for Chicanos

Dr. Sena-Rivera sees his work with Chicanos in a larger frame, interesting in view of the proposed head count of Hispanic Americans in the 1980 census. He perceives this *familia* perspective as part of a larger class picture, too. During the 1960s he was very nationalistic. Perhaps working for 2 years in a city in the Southeastern United States where people "were fighting over bones, just absolute dregs," or living for a year in Spain and 2 years in Mexico helped to broaden his view. Now he sees a greater identification of Chicanos with all working-class people and a greater overlap in all class and culture problems. *Family*, in all its various forms, may be the greatest single denominator.

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FACTORS SUSTAINING MARRIAGE; FACTORS IN ADJUSTING TO DIVORCE

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The last 15 years in the United States have evidenced the most sustained increase in divorce ever experienced in this country. In 1973, we reached an all-time high in divorce rates. By 1978, the divorce rate had reached 5.0 per year for each 1,000 individuals in the population. The rate has more than doubled since the mid-1960s so that now, in the United States, over a third of those marrying are likely to experience at least one divorce. Half of all marriages of young Americans are predicted to end in divorce.

Despite the visibility and portent of this social phenomenon, few social scientists to date have taken much interest in investigating its implications, nor have many been led to study the social and psychological adjustments of the growing number of people who have experienced the trauma and readjustment associated with divorce. To help fill this void has been the objective of Dr. Graham B. Spanier, a sociologist on the faculty of The Pennsylvania State University at University Park.

Dr. Spanier and his associates have been engaged in a two-part study of adjustment to separation and divorce. The first part was designed to gather data by means of some 50 indepth, unstructured interviews with recently divorced individuals. From these data and from other literature on the subject, an interview schedule intended to assess the social, psychological,

and economic dimensions of separation and divorce was developed for use in the second part of the study. For this second part, more than 200 recently separated people were interviewed about their marriage, its termination, and its aftermath. They answered the interview developed from phase one. Most of the findings of phase one were confirmed by the much larger group of 200 in phase two.

MARRIAGE STABILITY AND QUALITY—THE BACKGROUND VARIABLES

In a companion work that reviews the extensive literature on marriage quality and stability, Spanier and his colleague, Robert A. Lewis, provide a theoretical context for the separation and divorce studies. Their general theory integrates many variables that a body of research indicates affect marriage quality and stability. The object of this integration is to understand more precisely why some marriages fail and others not only endure but flourish. Reviewing these variables is a reminder of how many-faceted and intricate the marriage relationship is, and thus how tangled and bewildering its dissolution may be.

Spanier and Lewis distinguish two primary dimensions that can be used to describe a marriage—its quality and its stability. The quality of a marriage may be influenced first by premarital variables that each couple brings to the marriage. Among these are premarital *homogamy*, that is, sharing similar ages, race, social class, religion, intelligence, values; premarital *resources*, such as degree of education, maturity, social class, length of acquaintance, interpersonal skills, emotional health, self-esteem, physical health; exposure to adequate *role models*; and *support* from significant others. Each spouse brings such social and personal resources to the marriage, and these will in part determine marital quality.

In addition, the satisfaction each derives from their lifestyle together will influence marital quality. These variables include social-economic adequacy (income level and stability, occupational status, whether the wife works with mutual approval); household composition (number of adults, control of fertility); and community embeddedness (approval from a network of relatives and friends). And, lastly, quality is also determined by

the deep satisfactions spouses can give each other directly. This factor includes variables such as the degree of mutual positive regard, the amount of emotional gratification, effectiveness of communication, and degree of role-fit. A host of costs and rewards operating on these variables will move a couple along a continuum from high to low marital quality.

But given any level of marital quality, some couples will divorce, and others will not. Although marital quality and stability are highly correlated, for different reasons some marriages of high quality end in divorce, and some marriages of low quality remain intact, despite what may be an intolerable situation.

Why is this? Two controlling variables influencing the *relationship* of marital quality to marital stability are alternative attractions to the marriage (pulling toward its termination) and external pressures to remain married (shoring it up). Examples of external pressures associated with high marital stability are strict divorce laws, strong social stigma toward divorce, or strict adherence to restrictive religious doctrine. Examples of social and psychological forces reinforcing high marital stability include a low evaluation of nonmarital alternatives, a high degree of commitment to marriage, and a high tolerance for marital conflict and tension. The converse of each of these tends to decrease marital stability.

While Spanier and Lewis propose a full-fledged general theory, this brief summary of some of their variables influencing marital quality and stability is a backdrop that gives context and perspective to the divorce study.

In 1976, the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated that for persons born between 1940 and 1949, more than one in three are likely to experience at least one divorce during their lifetime. In addition, between 34 and 45 percent of those who obtain one divorce and then remarry obtain a second divorce. If we add to this the significant number of married couples who separate but never divorce, it is not unreasonable to estimate that perhaps half of all marriages among young American couples will be disrupted by divorce or separation.

Despite recognition that separation and divorce can be disruptive and traumatic, there have been few systematic attempts to find out precisely what processes are involved and what problems are most often encountered in adjusting to sepa-

ration and divorce. Most of the available relevant data are from clinical case studies and research on persons who attend discussion or counseling programs. Such studies are valuable for leads and insights, but they are based on selected and therefore possibly biased populations, not a general population. Dr. Graham B. Spanier undertook an indepth study of the social-psychological adjustment processes of divorced persons, using a less specialized sample of people.

RESEARCH APPROACH

The study was divided into two separate parts. The first phase, conducted during the fall of 1976, consisted of 50 in-depth, unstructured interviews with individuals who had filed for divorce within the 2-year period preceding the interview. The interviews were structured only to the extent that the research team tried to get a general idea of the couples' premarital and marital history, a detailed picture of the problems and events that led to the separation, as much information as possible about the process of separation and divorce, and an overview of the difficulties that accompany this process. From these case studies, as well as from the literature on marriage and divorce, an interview schedule was constructed for use in the second phase of the study, designed to assess social, psychological, and economic dimensions associated with separation and divorce. The schedule was divided into 10 sections: (1) background information about the marriage and the individuals in the family; (2) marital quality and marital interaction; (3) relationship with spouse since separation; (4) social network; (5) legal matters; (6) mental and physical health; (7) children; (8) sexual relations; (9) economics; and (10) conclusions and followup information. This schedule was then used to interview 210 recently separated individuals.

Respondents for both phases of the research were obtained through public records available in Centre County, Pa. Three types of records were used as a basis for sampling: divorce decrees granted, divorce petitions filed, and child and spousal support agreements filed in conjunction with separation. In Pennsylvania, such records reveal all separated and divorced respondents except those who have informally separated, but who have not filed for divorce or requested support.

Potential respondents were sent personal letters informing them of the study. This was preceded by lengthy feature articles in the local newspapers discussing divorce in general, announcing the research, and explaining the purposes and goals of the study. This strategy, used to help establish credibility for the study, was judged by the project staff to be very important for eliciting cooperation. Phone calls followed the letters, and appointments were made for interviews in respondents' homes or project offices, depending on respondent preferences. Follow-up letters and calls were sent, as necessary, for difficult-to-reach respondents, those with unlisted numbers, and those who had recently moved. Babysitters were offered so that respondents with young children could be encouraged to do the lengthy interviews without interruption. Letters were sent to all attorneys in the county informing them of the study, so that they could answer questions directed to them by potential respondents.

The researchers eventually contacted, in person or by phone, 37 percent of the persons whose names they had obtained from the county records. The remainder were primarily people who were no longer residents of the county, although there were also a number of people with no phone listings whom they were unable to contact. Of the 37 percent contacted personally, 61 percent agreed to participate and were interviewed. The other 39 percent refused to participate in the study. Scientists often need to know how far they can generalize findings. In a survey it depends in part on how representative the sample is from which they draw their data. The 37 percent contacted of all those on county public records are not likely as representative as random sampling of the total, had they all still been available. But the number is still much better than anecdotal and clinical data. The 39 percent of those who were contacted but refused to participate also limit generalizability, since it is not known whether findings would have been different had they consented. For such reasons, ingenuity, patience, and caution are as much a part of successful surveys as research design.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents for phase one of the study were 28 females and 22 males, all Caucasian. They ranged in age from 21 to 65

years old, with an average age of 36. The average length of marriage was 12 years, with a range of 1 to 38 years. Thirty-two of the respondents were divorced at the time they were interviewed, while the remaining 18 were separated but not yet divorced.

The time since the couple last separated ranged from less than 1 month to 12 years, with an average of 21 months and a median of 12 months. Only six respondents had been separated for more than 3 years.

Twenty-nine of the respondents were the plaintiffs in their divorce actions, while 21 were the defendents. Sixteen of the respondents were childless, while 34 cases involved a total of 82 children, including the adult children of older respondents. The respondents were fairly evenly distributed across the working, middle, and upper-middle classes.

The sample for phase two of the research consisted of 50 (24 percent) separated persons and 155 (76 percent) divorced persons. Forty-four percent of the sample were male and 56 percent were female. The ages of the respondents ranged from 20 to 67 with a mean of 33. For both the respondent and his or her spouse, the mean level of education was 14 years.

The sample was 12 percent Roman Catholic and 60 percent Protestant. Nine percent stated other religious preferences, and 19 percent were atheists, agnostics, or had no religious preference. The total yearly income was less than $5,000 for 28 percent of the sample. Thirty-one percent of the respondents had a total yearly income between $5,000 and $9,999, while 23 percent had an income range of $10,000 to $14,999. The remaining 18 percent of the respondents had incomes greater than $15,000.

In 70 percent of the cases in which a divorce had been filed, the plaintiff was the wife. Ninety-six percent of the divorces granted had not been contested. Almost 50 percent of the respondents stated that the respondent and his or her spouse jointly were responsible for the breakup of their marriage.

The mean length of marriage was 9 years, with a range of 4 months to 45 years. Eight percent of the respondents had been divorced more than once. There was a total of 279 children in the 128 cases involving children (including the adult children of older respondents), while 38 percent of the respondents were childless. Of the 128 respondents with children, the wife had

been awarded custody of the children in 73 percent of the cases. According to 68 percent of the respondent reports, custody was decided by mutual agreement between the spouses. The court decided the custody arrangements for 22 percent of the respondents, and in 7 percent of the cases the children primarily determined their own custody arrangement. Seventy-four percent of the respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with the custody arrangement. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents were receiving child support, while 19 percent were paying child support. Fifty-six percent expressed satisfaction with this amount of support.

DATA COLLECTION

Interviews for the first phase of the study ranged from 1 1/2 to 3 1/2 hours, with a mean length of 2 1/2 hours. The interviews were conducted by four graduate students trained in open-ended, unstructured interviewing techniques. The interviewers prepared field notes, as nearly verbatim as possible, following each interview. The project director and the interviewers read each other's notes and met weekly to share ideas and to suggest topics or questions to be included in future interviews. Approximately 1,000 pages of field notes provided the basis for the findings of the first phase. Interviews during the second phase ranged from 1 1/2 to 3 hours, with a mean length of 2 hours and 15 minutes. The interview schedule contained approximately 550 questions.

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

In analyzing the field notes, Dr. Spanier and his colleague Robert Casto concluded that people who separate and divorce have to make two separate but overlapping adjustments. First is the adjustment to the dissolution of the marriage. This includes dealing with the legal process, working out a property settlement, and working out custody arrangements if children are involved. It also includes informing and otherwise dealing with persons in one's social network, such as family, friends, and business acquaintances. It involves coping with the emotional effects of the dissolution, including feelings about the (former) spouse, such as love, hate, bitterness, guilt, anger, envy, concern, and attachment; feelings about the marriage,

such as regret, disappointment, bitterness, sadness, and failure; and more general feelings, such as failure, depression, euphoria, relief, guilt, lowered self-esteem, and lowered self-confidence.

The second adjustment is to the process of setting up a new lifestyle. This can include finding a new residence, living on less (or occasionally more) money, getting a job, or applying for welfare. If children are involved, it includes adjustments to single parenthood if one has custody, or adjusting to occasional and limited visits with the children if one does not have custody. It also usually includes finding new friends and establishing new heterosexual relationships. Finally, it includes an emotional adjustment to feelings such as fear, frustration, loneliness, or inadequacy, as well as possible feelings of freedom, happiness, and heightened self-esteem, if this adjustment is successful.

ADJUSTMENT TO DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

Legal System

Pennsylvania was one of only three States without any no-fault divorce provisions whatsoever. Sixty-eight percent of those interviewed in the first phase of the study expressed strong dislike toward the legal system. For most, the problems were relatively minor, often being primarily a resentment at what one was forced to say about the partner under an adversary arrangement. For 20 percent of the respondents, however, the system presented major problems. Usually they occurred when there were property or child-custody disagreements. Of the 16

> ***The [legal] system often encourages couples to become adversaries to a greater degree than they already are.***

respondents who did not specifically complain about the system, 12 had only minimal contact with it, either as the defendant in an uncontested divorce, or as someone who had barely begun the divorce process. Three of the remaining four cases were handled by Legal Aid.

Because of these findings, Dr. Spanier and associate Elaine Anderson looked at the effects of the legal system in more detail in phase 2 of the study. In that sample, 55 percent of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with the entire legal process of divorce (including the laws, judges, master, domestic relations office, and lawyers). Seventy percent strongly disagreed and 14 percent mildly disagreed with the statement that "divorce laws should require that one spouse be held responsible for the failure of the marriage." A striking 84 percent agreed that Pennsylvania laws should make it legal for persons who are incompatible to dissolve a marriage, while 60 percent disagreed that strict divorce laws lower divorce rates. Twenty-six percent of the respondents agreed that Pennsylvania laws prevented them from obtaining a divorce as soon as they wanted to.

In terms of personal experience in the legal sphere, 84 percent of the respondents had hired or consulted an attorney, and 38 percent consulted more than one. Seventy-four percent indicated satisfaction with the job their lawyer did concerning legal matters. Ratings of lawyer helpfulness with nonlegal matters were somewhat less favorable. While 30 percent regarded their lawyers as extremely helpful and 38 percent regarded their lawyers as somewhat helpful, 32 percent regarded them as not at all helpful. Moreover, 16 percent believed their legal fees were outrageous for the amount of work done, and an additional 36 percent believed the fees were too high. Nearly 73 percent of the respondents reported that they had been informed of the legal fees after the first appointment with their lawyer. Finally, 6 percent reported that their attorneys used delaying tactics to increase their fees, and 27 percent believed their spouses' attorneys had used delaying tactics to slow down the divorce process.

Advice to exaggerate marital problems during the process of divorce was not an uncommon occurrence. More specifically, 20 percent of the respondents maintained that their lawyers encouraged them to make a bigger issue of the separation or divorce than they wanted to. Thirty-seven percent claimed it was necessary to exaggerate problems in the marriage to obtain a separation agreement or divorce. In addition, 26 percent admitted that they or their spouse had lied or trumped-up statements in the hearing to help insure the desired outcome.

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The system often encourages couples to become adversaries to a greater degree than they already are. The researchers found a range of feelings about lawyers. The reported effect of dealings with lawyers on the marital relationship seems to have been adverse in some cases. Twenty-six percent of the sample reported that involvement with attorneys worsened the relationship with their spouse; only 6 percent cited improvement, while 69 percent believed there was no effect whatsoever. Twenty-one percent of the respondents had consulted a lawyer jointly with their spouse. Specific advice from attorneys for dealing with estranged spouses included not paying bills (13 percent), not talking to the other person (20 percent), taking money out of the savings account (15 percent), and moving out of the house (13 percent).

People who have experienced a marital separation may encounter the legal system at a number of different points. Most persons retain an attorney to help them with legal matters pertaining to the separation and divorce. In Pennsylvania, individuals who are separated and wish a court-ordered custody or support agreement must see a domestic relations officer in their county. In addition, most Pennsylvania divorce hearings are conducted by a master, an experienced attorney in the county who makes a recommendation to the judge following the hearing. The judge having jurisdiction may also become involved in matters pertaining to separation, divorce, custody, visitation, support, and property settlements.

The data indicate that the legal system is burdensome for individuals in many ways. Over half of the respondents reported dissatisfaction with the legal process, and the overwhelming majority felt that the divorce laws of Pennsylvania should be changed. The data suggest that divorce statutes based on an adversary model encourage collusion and dishonesty; many indicated that their attorneys suggested to them that they act in these ways.

The role of the attorney is that of advocate for his or her client. But an *adversary* divorce statute may force an attorney to put his or her client in an adversary role which is wholly consistent with the client's best interest. Anecdotal evidence suggests that even judges bend the law when necessary to expedite a divorce decree which is assumed to benefit all parties involved. Defenses against divorce such as collusion, condo-

nation, or recrimination are sometimes overlooked, for example, if not formally contested. Attorneys, masters, and judges often attempt to facilitate a divorce wanted by both spouses, even when a justifiable defense to divorce exists. In any case, there is a great deal of frustration which the system produces for those who must negotiate it, and hence it is legitimate to look for the source of this difficulty. If we look at why attorneys and other factors in the legal system contribute to interpersonal discord or dishonesty among separated or divorced persons, we are led to the adversary divorce statutes.

Such statutes do not reflect the reality of the marriage and divorce experience nor are they sensitive to social and psychological needs. Collusion, condonation, and recrimination are widespread. Marriages rarely fail as a result of wrongdoings committed by only one spouse (Lewis & Spanier 1978). Furthermore, there is serious doubt about whether the adversary system encourages reconciliation. Respondents often reported being given advice and conducting themselves in ways that decrease the likelihood of reconciliation.

However, the data lead to more favorable conclusions about the impact of the legal system on the social-psychological adjustments which *follow* marital separation. Analyses indicate that the problems encountered in the legal arena do not significantly influence postseparation adjustment. It had been expected that persons who encountered problems with the legal system might report poorer adjustment. It was found, however, that those least satisfied with the legal process were neither more nor less likely to have adjusted. Thus, while the legal system can be trying for individuals experiencing a marital dissolution, the social-psychological adjustments are not adversely affected by such difficulties. Research based on this study found that factors such as economic status, dating relationships, and health status were considerably more important in predicting a person's overall adjustment.

There is a need, then, to examine adversary divorce statutes in relation to how well they fit the reality of marital and postmarital interaction, how well they meet the needs of the citizenry, and to what degree they facilitate the possibility of reconciliation among persons who may be so inclined. Fortunately, the study suggests that those who do experience dissatisfaction with the legal system are not likely to find subse-

quently that this made their personal adjustment more difficult.

Children

In every marriage with dependent children, the children were the catalysts for some of the major adjustment problems. These problems included worrying about the effects of the separation on the children, deciding who should have custody, and, for those without custody, feelings of loneliness or guilt. Most of the parents interviewed in phase one seemed to be trying to work together to minimize the effects of the separation and to do what was best for the children in settling custody. Most of the respondents said they were making an effort not to let their marital difficulties affect their child's relationship with the other parent.

The researchers did find three notable cases, however, where it seemed that children were used either to punish the other spouse or to get a better settlement. Not surprisingly, when they were told about the children being used in this way, these behaviors were attributed to the spouse not being interviewed.

Social Network

Eighty-four percent of the interviewees in phase one stated that their friends, relatives, and other acquaintances were generally supportive during the separation process. In the few instances where friends or family were not supportive, however, this lack of support seemed to increase the overall difficulties in adjusting to the separation, especially the emotional adjustments.

In most of the cases where there was little or no support from family members, they had strong feelings against divorce in general. Several respondents said that it was difficult for their parents to understand or accept the fact that they were divorcing. One woman had not told her mother she was getting a divorce, even though she saw her several times a week, because "it would hurt her too much," and she couldn't help anyway because "she wouldn't understand how I could do it."

Only a few respondents had friends who were actively hostile after the separation. In these cases, the respondents reported feeling very hurt by their friends' attitudes. They felt that this

lack of support from friends made the overall adjustment to the separation much more difficult.

Some respondents, on the other hand, isolated themselves. Some did this, they said, because they didn't feel like being social: "Those that are happy, I don't want to go near. They make me feel terrible." Others felt like a third wheel or that their couple friends might consider them a "threat" now that they were single. Whatever the reason for isolation from friends or family, it was found that those persons who did not make new friends had a very difficult time adjusting.

Kinship Interaction

Kinship interaction was another factor looked at in more detail in phase two of the study. A review of previous literature on separation and divorce by Dr. Spanier and colleague Sandra

Kin, . . . by virtue of their special status and the emotional investment they may have in the marriage, may react to the separation or divorce situation in a way which would hinder, rather than help, adjustment.

Hanson indicates that kin also play a vital role in the process of adjustment to separation. One of the variables, the receipt of support, has been singled out by several authors as being valuable for the separated person's adjustment. Kin often prove helpful by making their homes available, offering services such as child care, providing companionship, and lending money. Separated individuals end up receiving economic and emotional support from extended kin, even though there are no institutionalized norms delineating the direction and degree of obligation. This support might allow the individual to continue to play necessary roles and fulfill ordinary obligations at work and in the community. Support, then, satisfies certain needs in the new role situation and, as a result, is important for a good adjustment. One can predict that support typically will come from kin during the adjustment process, and that this source of

support will lead to better adjustment because of the intimate and customarily supportive nature of the interaction. In addition, it is likely that support from extended kin does not involve some of the burdensome obligations of support from other sources. For example, interest may not be charged for monetary loans. Further, kin support may be preferable to support from friends, coworkers, or commercial establishments because there is less feeling of obligation to return the favor.

Evidence suggests that sociability varies in quality and consequently varies in its ability to fulfill needs for all persons (Weiss 1975). Previous research suggests that the social relationships with extended kin will have a more positive effect on satisfaction with life than other social relationships. The typically comfortable and intimate social settings surrounding kinship relations presumably are likely to produce interaction conducive to more positive social-psychological adjustment. Spanier and Hanson were thus able to formulate and test, using data from phase two of the study, two current hypotheses:

1. The greater the amount of *support* received from extended kin following marital separation, the better the adjustment to separation.
2. The more *social interaction* with extended kin following marital separation, the better the adjustment to separation.

A positive adjustment to separation includes regaining individual autonomy following a marital separation. Broadly, regaining individual autonomy can be conceived of as a process of achieving a pattern of life where the primary point of reference is no longer the separation or divorce. "Social interaction" denotes any sort of direct contact with an individual or group. The concept of "support" given to the separated person includes lending or giving money, offering services such as babysitting or home repair, and giving moral support.

In the first place, kin may not have the opportunity to provide support or interaction. In many nuclear families there is a desire to be close, but not too close, to extended kin. Many marital problems, then, may never be reported to relatives (Weiss 1975). It is possible that kin are unaware of marital problems at the critical time when separation is being discussed, seriously considered, and carried out. Thus, relatives may be unable to give support at a critical time and conse-

quently may have little influence in an adjustment process which is already underway.

But even when interaction and support are available from kin, they may not help the separated or divorced person's adjustment. Previous theory and research on extended kin relations and marital dissolution led to the hypothesis that kin *interaction* and *support* are variables which contribute to better adjustment to marital separation. Findings from this present research do not support the hypothesis. The sample studied had a high incidence of interaction with and support from kin, yet their adjustment was not contingent on these variables. Several critical factors pertaining to kin interaction may help explain the finding.

Presence or absence of familial approval or disapproval of a separation was found by Goode (1956) to relate to adjustment. In his sample, 60 percent of the respondents' families approved, and 20 percent disapproved, of the separation. Respondents in Goode's sample were less likely than those in this survey to say that friends had approved or disapproved. According to Goode, when there is high approval or disapproval, the involvement of kin in the conflict is likely to be great. The most favorable situation for low trauma, he states, is one in which major reference groups are viewed by the individual as being relatively indifferent to the divorce. The highest proportion of high-trauma cases were found by Goode when various groups actively disapproved of the divorce or separation.

Relatives, especially parents, may sometimes feel that their commitment (or bond) to the separated person obligates them to evaluate the decision to separate. Parents especially may feel they are free to comment on the separation, to criticize it, and to disapprove or approve of it (Weiss 1975). Parents may feel that a marriage has been ended frivolously and may urge reconciliation. They may find it hard to understand the concept of "incompatibility" and may argue for "trying harder." Parents and siblings may somehow feel they are to blame for the breakup. A recurrent complaint in Weiss's (1975) sample of divorced persons was that separated individuals wanted to be treated with acceptance, but they do not want intrusion. On the other hand, parents want to know and understand all that has gone wrong.

Kin, then, by virtue of their special status and the emotional investment they may have in the marriage, may react to the separation or divorce situation in a way which would hinder, rather than help, adjustment. The support and interaction which kin offer may be tempered by evaluation, approval, criticism, and other intrusions which they feel free to voice.

Although separation, and subsequently divorce, is a common phenomenon in American society, it is possible that there continues to be a lack of accepted norms for dealing with it. Because of the resulting inability of kin to provide unambiguous support and interaction, and because of the lack of prescriptions for reaction to marital separation, an ambiguous situation may be created making adjustment to separation difficult. The ambiguities may center around when and how to give financial, moral, and service support or the redefinition of individuals within the kinship structure. Goode (1956) points out that our society is typified by an emphasis on the single family unit. This situation may leave some separated persons virtually on their own.

A majority of the parents of the respondents in this study were born in the early 1900s. Many in this generational cohort do not favor divorce. A divorce in the family may be a traumatic, even disgracing, event. While support may be forthcoming, it may be difficult to offer, and negative judgments can come easily.

Support from and interaction with extended kin were not found in this research to be related to postseparation adjustment. A great majority of the sample received significant amounts of support and interaction from kin, but these variables are not predictive of adjustment. While kin may offer a variety of unwanted evaluations and thus create additional stress, the support and interaction they offer are not matched by any other group of people. Those without kin support may go supportless. Nevertheless, the data indicated that kinship relationships do not help the recently separated person with important social-psychological adjustments. Support is forthcoming but seems to do little to enhance adjustment. As new cohorts of parents and relatives emerge, and as divorce becomes a more institutionalized and accepted phenomenon, familial reaction to divorce may become less burdensome for the separated person, and future researchers may find kin support

and interaction more helpful in adjusting to separation and divorce.

Emotional Factors

The degree of initial emotional difficulties appeared to be related to how unexpected the separation was for the person interviewed and whether the respondent favored or opposed the separation. It was hypothesized that *the degree to which the separation is sudden and unexpected is positively related to the degree of initial emotional problems*. In phase one of the research, respondents' initial emotional reactions to the separation were rated as mild (38 percent), moderate (36 percent), or severe (26 percent). Respondents were also classified according to whether: (1) they initiated or expected the separation (78 percent), or (2) they had found it sudden and unexpected (22 percent). Of those whose initial reaction was rated as severe, 62 percent stated that their separation was sudden and unexpected. Only 17 percent of those whose initial emotional reaction was moderate and none of those with a mild reaction stated that their separation was unexpected. Thus, this hypothesis was confirmed.

While a sudden and unexpected separation produces strong initial distress (Weiss 1975), the long-term effects are quite variable. Some of the respondents with unexpected separations took a long time to recover, while for others the recovery was rapid. In the long run, the degree to which problems persist seems to be primarily a function of how well the individual is making the adjustment to a new lifestyle.

Attachments

An important area of concern in discussing the emotional adjustment to the dissolution of the marriage is the individual's feeling toward the (former) spouse. Weiss (1976) suggests that continued feelings of attachment for the (former) spouse are nearly universal after marital dissolution and are a major cause of emotional problems which follow separation. Therefore, Spanier and Casto examined in more detail whether or not, following the dissolution of the marriage, individuals reported continuing attachment and what effect this attachment had on the adjustment to the separation.

As evidence of attachment they looked for such things as: (1) specific expressions of feelings of love, affection, or stated attachment for the (former) spouse; (2) continuing thoughts about the (former) spouse, including negative thoughts; (3) efforts or desires to contact the (former) spouse; and (4) efforts to learn about the (former) spouse and what he or she is doing. They excluded activities pertaining to the divorce proceedings, children, or support payments. On the basis of these criteria, they divided the respondents into three categories: (1) those still with strong attachment (36 percent), (2) those with mild attachment (36 percent), and (3) those who showed no evidence of attachment (28 percent).

While Weiss (1976) found feelings of attachment and distress to be nearly universal among his respondents, he points out that Goode (1956) found evidence of separation distress in only two-thirds of his cases. Weiss attributes this discrepancy, at least partially, to the length of time between the separation and the interview in Goode's survey. The findings of Spanier and Casto were closer to Goode's (28 percent with no attachment). But all findings suggest that feelings of attachment remain for at least one spouse, which may intensify emotional problems.

An equally important issue is the effect that feelings of attachment have on the overall adjustment to the separation. The researchers hypothesized that *the greater the attachment to the (former) spouse, the more difficult will be the adjustment to the separation*. To rate the overall adjustment of the respondents in each of these groups, the respondents were divided into two categories: those (22 percent) who were judged by the researchers to have adjustment problems sufficiently serious that there was some impairment in the majority of the areas we examined (e.g., legal, emotional, social, heterosexual, and economic), and those who were having only mild or no problems in these areas (78 percent).

Twenty-eight percent of those who still had strong attachment were having serious problems adjusting, while 22 percent of those with mild attachment and only 14 percent of those with no attachment were in this category. These percentages were in the direction hypothesized but were not statistically significant. Both the extent of our respondents' reported attachment and its apparent impact on their adjustment were consid-

erably less than that reported by participants in Weiss's studies (1975, 1976).

There are at least two possible explanations for the discrepancy between Weiss's findings and Spanier's. One is that Weiss's respondents were all people who had sought professional help in adjusting to their separation. Thus, they may be a self-selected group who sought help because they *are* still attached. Spanier's method of sampling, on the other hand, produced respondents who ranged from those with little adjustment difficulty to those with severe adjustment difficulty. Thus, attachment may not be as important a factor for all separated persons as Weiss suggests. A second possibility, however, is that because his interviews took place over several sessions, Weiss may have elicited much deeper feelings from his respondents than Spanier and his colleagues were able to elicit from their respondents.

ADJUSTMENT TO A NEW LIFESTYLE

Economic Adjustments

Economic adjustment was the only area of adjustment in which significant sex differences were found. Only one man reported major economic problems caused by the divorce. Most men held a full-time job before the separation and either continued in that job or obtained a different job as good or better. Twenty-three percent of the men reported that they were somewhat, but not significantly, worse off economically since the separation. However, the large majority reported that they were as well or better off than before.

For women the opposite was true. Thirty-nine percent, primarily younger women and those married for a short period, reported that they were about as well or better off economically than before the separation, but most said that they were significantly worse off. Many of those not working before the separation or only working part time were having real difficulty in getting a good job. For many women, economic problems affected their whole adjustment. Some women had been out of the labor market for a long time or had never been in it. Many of them had few marketable skills. The presence of young children made it even harder to find work, and babysitters' wages often cut deeply into their earnings.

Discrimination

Several women reported discrimination against separated and divorced women in addition to a general discrimination against women in terms of both hiring practices and pay rates. Some also reported discrimination in housing and credit because of being separated or divorced. Quite a few women (and some men also) objected to indicating "divorced" or "separated" on job applications.

One common area of concern reported by older women who had been married for many years was being cut out of their husband's social security and insurance programs, even though most of the accumulation in these programs had occurred during the period of their marriage. Even among the older women who had good jobs, there was much concern about what they would do after retirement.

Children

Whether or not they had child custody, all parents reported the necessity of major adjustments. Parents with principal custody as well as those without custody experienced adjustment problems related to the children. Fathers and mothers with custody reported the same problems, and fathers and mothers without custody had similar problems. The only sex difference found was that mothers who did not get custody reported more public censure than did fathers who did not get custody.

Parents With Custody

The parent who receives principal custody is faced with the difficulty of fulfilling alone some of the roles previously performed jointly by two parents. It is hard to get time away from the children, and this creates problems with work, dating, and social life in general. Parents with custody report feeling a lot more responsibility, more pressure in parenting, and a greater sense of being trapped by the children.

One complaint many custodial parents have is that the other parent, who only sees the children occasionally, does not have to deal with all the problems of discipline and may, therefore, be more attractive to the child. While there are hardships involved in having principal custody of the children, most of those who have custody are glad they do. Many of them cited

their children as a major source of support during their separation or divorce.

Parents Without Custody

Those parents who do not have custody have to adjust to being with the children less often, which most of them see as a serious deprivation. They miss their children a great deal and have real regrets about their lack of interaction with them. Several parents stated that the main thing, or in some cases the only thing, they regretted was losing the children.

More parents report feeling guilty about "deserting" their children. They also are dissatisfied with the limitations and artificiality of their relationship with the children. Many of the parents without custody also found their children to be sources of support through the divorce process.

Social Adjustments

Although most of those interviewed reported that their friends were supportive, half also reported growing away from many of their close friends after the separation. This was especially true if the friends were ones they had shared with their spouse, particularly if the friends were also couples.

For the most part, when there was a growing apart from old friends, the separated individual was just as responsible, perhaps even more so, as were the friends. Typically, the individuals felt that they didn't really fit in the group any more now that they were single. Occasionally they also reported feeling that as a single they were a threat to married couples, either because they represented the possibility of failure in marriage, or more directly because they might be considered a sexual threat.

Many of the people interviewed were quite successful at finding new friends or had already developed their own circle of friends even before the separation. When they did have an intact network of friends, their adjustment was made much easier. For those who were losing their old friends but were unable to find new ones (8 percent), and those with no real friends during or after the marriage (34 percent), the process of adjustment to separation and divorce seemed much more difficult.

Because of the impression that social support and activity together constitute an important factor in helping a person adjust to a separation, the researchers looked more closely at a hypothesis similar to one tested by Raschke (1974): *The more social interaction the separated individual has (with relatives, friends, and the community), the fewer will be the adjustment problems*. To test this hypothesis, Spanier and Casto related the overall degree of adjustment (using the same two categories as previously) to the degree of social interaction. Respondents were classified as having either moderate-to-high social activity (52 percent) or low social activity (46 percent). Only 8 percent of those with moderate-to-high social activity reported serious adjustment problems, while 39 percent of those with low social activity reported serious problems. Thus, this hypothesis was supported. The analysis was unable to assess the direction of causation, but it is reasonable to suggest both social interaction may positively contribute to adjustment and that good adjustment is conducive to social interaction. Bidirectional influences may also exist in the next hypothesis.

Heterosexual Relationships

A related hypothesis was: *Separated individuals who participate in heterosexual dating or cohabitation relationships will have fewer adjustment problems than those who do not*. The researchers found that of the 60 percent of the respondents who were dating regularly, living with someone of the opposite sex, or remarried, only 7 percent were having serious adjustment problems. However, 45 percent of those with little or no heterosexual activity (40 percent of the whole sample) were having major problems in their adjustment, confirming the hypothesis. Dating a variety of people with no close or steady relationship seemed to be about as helpful as one very close relationship.

Many of those not dating also corroborated the hypothesis by discussing how much they wanted to form new relationships. A common set of problems with these people was where to meet others and how to start dating again after not dating for so long. Several women also said it was difficult to establish new relationships, because the only thing men want from a divorcee is sex.

Emotional Factors

Individuals having problems adjusting to a new lifestyle report much depression, loneliness, frustration, low self-esteem, and low self-confidence, as well as heightened negative feelings toward, and regrets about, their (former) spouse, marriage, and the separation. Conversely, to the extent that the individuals are successful in establishing a new lifestyle, they are more likely to feel they did the right thing in divorcing, to be more tolerant of their (former) spouse, and to report positive feelings such as freedom, relief, happiness, heightened self-esteem, and heightened self-confidence.

Factors Influencing Adjustment to Marital Separation

In an analysis which attempted to examine the *relative* influences of several factors on the adjustment to marital separation, Professor Spanier and his associate, Margie Lachman, used multivariate statistical techniques to study the separate and combined influences of dating relations, economic stability, health, and social interaction.

As expected, economic status and good health consistently were associated with better adjustment. An unexpected finding was that frequency of social interaction with relatives and friends was *not* related to adjustment. Further research is needed to examine this relationship more closely.

The hypothesis that dating would be positively related to adjustment to separation was also supported. Those who were dating most frequently were better adjusted than those who were not.

DISCUSSION

The findings from this study suggest that, in the transition to separation, establishing a new lifestyle is more difficult than adjusting to the dissolution of the marriage. Raschke (1974) also looked at factors reported to affect postdivorce stress and found that variables Spanier described as part of the adjustment to a new lifestyle—high social interaction, economic success, and sexual involvement—are important to postseparation adjustment.

While creating a new lifestyle appears to be more important to overall adjustment than dealing with the dissolution of the

marriage, more research is needed to fully understand the interrelationship between these two processes. Preliminary findings from this study suggest that those who successfully launch a new lifestyle have less difficulty dealing with problems related to dissolution of the marriage than do those who have problems adopting a new lifestyle. Other problems with the marital dissolution, such as feelings of regret, attachment, and bitterness toward the spouse, actually may increase over time if failures in creating a new lifestyle become apparent. Some of the respondents who reported the least initial problems and who, in some cases, reported that separation had made them feel free, excited, or eager about life for the first time in years were at the time of the interview very despondent and showing signs of separation anxiety. In all cases, these were respondents who were having major economic or social problems.

While successfully establishing a new lifestyle seems to aid in the adjustment to the marital dissolution, it should not be assumed that the relationship between these two variables is in one direction. It is much more likely that the association is in both directions. As examples of adjustment affecting lifestyles, some respondents who were having legal difficulties had little energy left to deal with the demands of a new lifestyle. Others said they would not feel right dating until the divorce was final. Also, where the dissolution was particularly sudden, some respondents needed a recovery period before they wanted interaction with others. For others, the severity of the initial shock seemed to act as an impetus for establishing new relationships.

The qualitative analysis from phase one of the study demonstrated that the adjustment to separation and divorce can be a challenging task. It was found that the difficulties which people encounter vary greatly, depending on the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of their marriage, the support they receive as they make the transition from marriage to separation, and the nature of the postmarriage lifestyle. Children, parents, friends, the former spouse, individuals in the legal system, and dating partners play important roles in the life of a recently separated individual.

While one's ability to negotiate the transition adequately will depend on economic stability, custody arrangements, social and sexual involvements, and other factors, it is unlikely that one

could easily predict the nature of postseparation adjustment. Nevertheless, this is a worthwhile goal, since knowledge gained about adjustment to marital separation would be extremely helpful not only to social scientists but also to those experiencing the pain of marital dissolution.

Currently the work is at the descriptive level in the study of adjustment to separation and divorce. Many more questions, some of which have followed logically from the findings of this study, remain to be answered. Eventually it may be possible to integrate data at this descriptive level by discovering explanatory principles. Some of the suggestions generated in this research are aimed in this direction. Such understanding would enable scholars to develop strategies for intervention. Certainly application of these findings (e.g., to counseling settings) does not have to be completely delayed. The results may be timely and useful but should be applied with caution and tempered by professional experience and good judgment.

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WORKING COUPLES AS PARENTS

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Parenthood is almost never an uncomplicated undertaking even in those increasingly rare traditional families where husband and wife have agreed to devote themselves single-mindedly to the respective roles of breadwinner and emotional nurturer of children. The emergent phenomenon of the working mother compounds the job of raising young children by placing demands on parents to assume new responsibilities and new roles for which no well-defined models exist. Popular literature suggests that a mother's resumption of outside work can be fraught with peril for the family; but her working and the resulting pressures toward change in family structure and functioning may also lead to creative and adaptive innovations. Such is the finding of a Boston-based group of young social scientists who title themselves collectively the *Working Family Project*. Headed by NIMH grantee and social anthropologist, Dr. Laura Lein, of Wellesley College, the full Project group (including Kevin Dougherty, Maureen Durham, Gail Howrigan, Laura Lein, Michael Pratt, Michael Schudson, Ronald Thomas, and Heather Weiss) has been studying intensively a small group of 25 middle-income families in which both the husband and wife are employed outside the home and responsible for the care of children, typically of preschool age.

During a preliminary review of field research on families, the Project discovered that the group "in the middle" economically

had been neglected, perhaps because the problems they faced were relatively less urgent than those of poverty-stricken families or relatively less glamorous than those of higher income families where both spouses pursued exciting and personally gratifying careers. The middling status of the families obscured the difficulties they had to contend with.

For example, because of their middle-income status, they were usually not eligible for subsidies available to poorer families for such services as formal child care. Nonetheless, most did not have so much money as to be able to pay for the convenience of live-in housekeepers, regular babysitters, or day-care centers affordable by higher income groups. They faced the pressures of having to arrange, within these income limitations, for responsible substitute care of one or more preschoolers.

Second, in the absence of many social supports reinforcing their efforts, even in the face of frank social disapproval, spouses in middle-income, dual-worker families had to try to assume new roles and to share tasks around the home. Little money was available to spend on hired help or labor-saving devices that could alleviate some of the strain on working parents. Few realistic models were available of housecleaning husbands and working wives. As it turned out, in the Boston study, although men in some of the families pitched in, and a few consciously tried to assume new domestic roles, women usually bore the major burden of household work. Standards of performance concerning the care of children and home were little lowered by working mothers, however. Rather, most evolved ever more complex schedules to accommodate increased demands in decreased time.

A third problem, although not tied to families' middle-income status, was nonetheless foremost in their minds. Parents saw as their primary responsibility the successful rearing of children, and many perceived the larger social environment to be a hostile, threatening influence that could ruin their offspring despite the parents' best efforts. For some parents, skepticism of formal child care emerged from a fear that outsiders would influence their children in undesirable directions.

The Working Family Project described the families they studied as *dual-worker families*. The term was meant not to minimize the labor contribution of full-time housewives but to dis-

tinguish the kind of families they studied from more traditionally structured, two-parent, one-worker families as well as from *dual-career* families in which the wife's position and advancement in her occupation were closely tied to cumulative training and work experience. Only some of the women in the Working Family Project's sample had intended to hold paying jobs while raising preschool children, and relatively few thought of their jobs in terms of a career.

In further contrast to dual-career families, the dual-worker families were of relatively modest means, with family incomes ranging from $6,500 to $20,000 in 1974. The criterion used to include a family in the sample was strictly income rather than occupation or some combination of occupation and income, so that a range of professions and potential professions was represented among both husbands and wives. For instance, a few of the men were students at the time but were engaged in training for lucrative careers that promised to lift their families out of their current tight financial straits into more affluent lifestyles. The majority of men, however, worked in occupations that did not lead to high-paid positions and that offered little prospect for change from middle-income status and related difficulties in making ends meet. Although virtually all the families reported themselves as aspiring to own their own homes, only about half actually did so. Of the remainder, few could predict when they might be in a position to achieve this prototypical American goal. The physical environments in which the families lived—their houses, apartments, and neighborhoods—would be judged by most observers as pleasant, but their financial situation left them with little money to spare for unforeseen contingencies. In many of the families, the financial contribution of the working wife enabled them to maintain a middle-income position.

The attitudes of the dual-worker couples toward the mother's employment outside the home were often complex and contradictory. Husbands' appreciation of their wives' contributions was often in conflict with the men's perceived diminution of their masculine role of breadwinner. Perhaps defensively, some men tended to minimize the importance of their wives' jobs to family well-being, even when it was clear to the researchers that the extra money was needed badly.

Both husbands and wives tended to espouse traditional attitudes about the proper roles of men and women in family life. Even though a wife was working full time, she was usually still seen as "helping out" her husband in his primary role as breadwinner. In most instances, a woman's primary role was considered to be that of wife and mother, and the major responsibility for arranging child care and housework still fell to her.

Despite the apparent traditionalism of the families, more subtle secondary motives for a woman's employment emerged. Initially most wives were reluctant to admit to working outside the home for pleasure or personal advancement, especially when their jobs took them away from young children. But such motives existed, and while they may not have been primary when employment began they came to assume importance through a natural evolutionary process. Reasons behind a woman's employment, while most frequently given in terms of economics, were often more complex.

The Working Family Project started the dual-worker study without many preconceived notions of what was to be examined about the families and without specific hypotheses to be tested. The study was viewed as a hypothesis-generating one meant to yield leads that could be followed up more intensively if they seemed worthwhile. It was through initial conversations with the participating families that areas of interest and concern came to be more clearly defined. What emerged as most important to the families were problems in and solutions to such matters as child care, division of housework between spouses, coordination of work with home life, and supports for parenthood in modern urban society.

In the past, it would not have been at all unusual to find a research team composed exclusively of individuals trained in one discipline. The resultant research effort, while it might reflect in depth a psychological or anthropological perspective, would be one-sided. The Working Family Project took another approach to social-science research: a multidisciplinary one. Each team member had a different training orientation and different interests in family life. For instance, Lein, a social anthropologist, tended to view the family as a social system enmeshed in a social network. Other members were trained in developmental psychology, clinical psychology, and sociology. Each saw the families from a slightly different perspective, and

each brought this perspective to bear on analyses of problems in adapting to demands of home and outside work. Each team member also exerted a corrective influence on the others so as to ensure that no one aspect of the lives of dual-worker families was emphasized at the expense of others. The research product of the team is one wider in scope than would have emerged from a unidisciplinary effort.

The way information was gathered by the Working Family Project can be distinguished from other methods. The 25 Boston families were studied intensively over a relatively short period of time; some of them were also studied longitudinally. Such an approach to gaining information about attitudes and problems can be contrasted to large-scale survey techniques. In the latter, a substantial number of respondents are polled on attitudes or behaviors usually only once. The generality of findings and their accuracy in reflecting attitudes is thought to be ensured by careful sampling and item selection.

By comparison, the small-scale-intensive method does not yield a basis for ready generalization. Findings must be characterized carefully, particularly in terms of the specific group studied. But the small-scale technique, especially if it is intensive, can surpass the survey technique in the credibility one can place in findings.

Respondents to questionnaires may or may not be reporting accurately on their circumstances. Ambivalent feelings may be suppressed in favor of more one-sided and uncomplicated attitudes. In matters requiring verbal reports, different parties in an emotionally keyed interaction may have different impressions of the same "objective" situation.

In this vein, the Working Family Project noted that initial interviews with family members often led to an impression that was modified after greater rapport had been established and after initially hidden conflicts and disagreements had emerged. For instance, husbands reported somewhat differently on their contribution to the running of the household than did their wives. Both spouses underestimated the other's contribution in what was for many an issue of overt conflict. This discrepancy was often discovered only after a series of interviews had taken place.

In general, the tendency to put on a good face is well noted in social-science research. Even on questionnaires that are

anonymous, the social desirability of answers to questions can bias responses. Even in face-to-face interviews, threads of consistency in personal reports of attitudes and behavior on emotionally charged topics can usually be established only after rapport has grown between the observer and the observed.

Because the sort of information that emerges from them has great validity, intensive studies can be viewed as complementary to large-scale survey techniques. Intensive studies can yield hunches that can be subject to further verification in studies that employ larger samples. In the specific case of the dual-worker study, the ability to generalize about a large group of urban families was subordinated to a search for uniqueness. The research group was seeking out the creative, innovative ways in which people dealt with the pressures of family life. The 25 families seen were alike in three ways: all had children (usually preschoolers), all the wives worked, and all were middle income. In other ways they were different. The staff deliberately sought to include examples of people who had confronted unusual situations and had evolved unusual solutions to them. In many ways however, the Working Family Project does not think that the 25 families they saw are much different from most urban middle-income, dual-worker groups, either in the difficulties they encountered or in the range of solutions they formulated. But it is possible that only certain kinds of families will permit researchers to study them. It is clear that findings from such a study should be tested on a broader basis.

The families were both interviewed and observed as they went about their daily lives. Husband and wife were interviewed twice apart and once together. Family life was observed at least three times: once when the wife was alone with her children, once when the husband was alone with them, and once when both parents and the children were together. Spouses were asked to describe their childhood backgrounds, aspirations in work and family life, the stresses they were experiencing, and their attitudes toward their lives. Sometimes the method of questioning was structured; other times it was open-ended. The resulting data, while impressionistic and not amenable to most statistical tests, are extremely credible because of the repeated verification to which they were subject.

Lein notes some difficulties in conducting intensive research. By its very nature, it is intrusive. The people agreeing to cooperate have essentially opened their personal lives to outside scrutiny for a considerable period of time. Working families in particular are under a kind of added stress in that they must give of a very limited resource—hours of leisure time—in order to fulfill research goals. Of families approached, 40 percent agreed to participate; 60 percent refused. Such a high refusal rate is the rule in intensive research in urban areas of the United States. Lein suspects that refusals in the study may have come disproportionately from families in which conflict over the wife's working was most marked and in which the husband, particularly, objected strongly to the airing of these difficulties to outsiders. The sample was gathered in two waves. The first 14 families were contacted in 1973 under the grant auspices of the National Institute of Education (NIE). This group served as a type of pilot for further work. Areas of concentration were narrowed down, given money and time limitations, and the focus was sharpened. The additional 11 families were gathered under NIMH grant auspices to make a total sample of 25. Papers were written by staff members at regular intervals in the course of data collection and were subject to revision or expansion in light of further investigation. For instance, a paper based on the first 14 families dealt with the division of household labor between husband and wife, and the findings held for the 25. Further analyses of the 25, however, also yielded new aspects of labor splits that were reported on in other contexts. Rich in anecdotes which portray the families vividly and enable the reader to empathize with them readily, each paper can stand alone, yet every aspect of family life is in reality integrated with every other one.

In partial return for their participation, the Working Family Project shared their findings with the families. Both spouses were given papers to read and react to. In many instances, they improved the quality of research by providing alternative interpretations or even by pointing out methodological weaknesses. Hence, their perusal of preliminary manuscripts exerted a very useful corrective influence on the product.

To provide the reader with a more personalized view of the families, table 1 presents some characteristics of the original 14. It can be seen that, with the exception of Mr. Parks and

Mr. Sandle, who were full-time students, all the husbands were working full time. The number of hours wives worked varied from 15 to 40 a week. Most of the men had been at their present jobs for some time. The couples ranged in age from their 20s to their 40s, and all but 3 in the sample of 25 had at least 1 preschool child.

Table 1—Some Characteristics Of The First 14 Families

Families	*Husband's Occupation*	*Hrs Wk*	*Wife's Occupation*	*Hrs Wk*	*No. of Children*
Deneux	Business manager	40	Typist	35	2
Farlane	Salesman	35	Nurse	24	5
Henry	Maintenance	40	Factory	35	2
Hunt	Business manager	40	Keypunch	25	2
Jackson	Factory	40	Nurse	24	4
Long	Factory	40	Keypunch	15	2
Nelson	Teacher/ salesman	65	Nurse	15	9
Parks	Student	30	Administration	15	1
Raymond	Business manager	55	Saleswoman	20	4
Samuels	Armed forces	40	Day care	25	2
Sandle	Student	40	Nurse	40	1
Sedman	Maintenance work	40	Keypunch	25	2
Tilman	Draftsman	40	Administration	40	1
Wyatt	Policeman/ construction	55	Secretary	40	2

Arranging for Child Care

Once the decision had been made for a mother to work, the first and most pressing practical problem facing couples was

the management of satisfactory child care during periods in which the parents were outside the home. Parents resorted to a variety of care arrangements, partly because day care of good quality was costly (around $40 a week in 1974) and difficult to find and partly because the parents differed in what they considered desirable for their children. In each family, the decision to have an outsider take care of a child was an important issue.

Parents were willing to make tremendous sacrifices in order to ensure that their children enjoyed the best possible care that they could provide.

Various alternatives were represented among the families: care of children by each spouse in turn while the other was at work, care by hired babysitters, informal child-care arrangements with neighbors, assistance from relatives if they were nearby, and formal day care or nursery programs. Often, more than one type of care was used. The complexity to be encountered in scheduling child care was frequently remarkable.

In the face of severe limitations on amount of money available, the solutions some families arrived at were ingenious. Although monetary considerations were important in the minds of the couples, their solutions also reflected a deep concern for the quality of the children's family life and their life away from home. Parents were willing to make tremendous sacrifices in order to ensure that their children enjoyed the best possible care that they could provide.

An adage of sociologists is that "attitudes follow behavior," or that people first of all act and then rationalize actions verbally. To a great extent, this situation held in the Boston sample. The demands of the parents' jobs determined and limited child-care options, but the converse was also true. That is, concern for children determined the parents' work schedules as well. The fears that some parents voiced about their inability to retain sufficient control over their children's environment influenced the type of care that they considered acceptable.

Anxieties became especially obvious when parents were queried about outside-the-home child care.

When the Working Family Project was first starting out in their efforts to collect a sample, they went to Boston-area day-care centers on the assumption that working parents would be most likely to use this type of care as a solution of choice. To their surprise, they found relatively few middle-income children enrolled in day care. Instead, the typical paying day-care user was more likely to be a child of a professional couple or the child of a single parent.

When the full range of child-care options used by study families was finally understood, the project found that many arrangements tended to be informal and either free or relatively inexpensive in terms of financial cost. For instance, several parents had worked out a type of child care labeled the "split-shift." In the split-shift arrangement, the father was available to take care of the children during time off from outside work while the mother went out of the home to work. Since all but three fathers in the sample held jobs during the core hours of 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., the majority of split shifts involved the mother's working jobs at night or on weekends. Split-shift arrangements imposed severe limitations on the kinds of jobs that women could take. The project members noted the relatively high proportion of women in the dual-worker sample who were nurses or nursing students—seven to be precise—probably because such a career could be left and re-entered with less loss of tenure and because it offered flexibility in arrangements of work schedules.

One apparent advantage of split-shift arrangements was that they obviated the need for outside paid assistance. Child-development advantages were also apparent. The consensus of the Working Family Project is that split shifts lead to good care for young children who can remain in their homes with familiar caregivers and familiar play objects. However, the arrangements exact costs from the parents. In addition to placing real limitations on a woman's advancement in work, the split shift dramatically decreases the amount of time a couple has to spend together. During the work week, couples often saw each other primarily going in and out of the front door of the family home. However, most had decided that the split-shift arrange-

ment was worth the personal sacrifices involved if the child's comfort and happiness were correspondingly enhanced.

A typical example of the schedules split-shift families followed was seen in the case of the Longs. Mr. Long was employed on a shift at a warehouse from 5 p.m. until 1 a.m. He got home around 2 a.m. and slept until 9 or 10. Mrs. Long had a part-time job where she was allowed to vary her hours within certain limits. She usually worked as a typist from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m. but occasionally went to work later if her husband was sleeping in. Each was responsible for the children while the other was away. One result of the arrangement, Mr. Long explained, is that he now understands why his wife likes to get away from the house. After caring for the children alone while she worked, he was really glad when she returned and took over and he could go to work for some peace and quiet.

The split-shift arrangement could create frictions between husband and wife. For instance, a father who participated in the arrangement might think that he was fulfilling his obligation to help his wife by giving the children dinner and putting them to bed while she was at work. The wife who came home at midnight to a kitchen sink full of dirty dinner dishes left over from a meal she had prepared before going off to work might believe otherwise.

A few families in the sample managed to solve their child-care problems by having the wife work in the home or in other places where she could be with the children. Three women provided family day care, and others worked in day-care centers where their children were enrolled. Although there were exceptions, most of them viewed day-care provision as a good way to solve work problems during their children's preschool years rather than as a long-term career.

A few of the families evolved an informal give-and-take child-care arrangement with like-minded families in their neighborhoods. The three families with this arrangement had mothers who worked only part time. The Henrys were a family using this type of care. As Mrs. Henry explained about her relationship with her neighbor: "Leila takes the Marshs' kids and mine. Now I'll watch hers and the Marshs' little boy. It's done for nothing . . . it does get tiring sometimes. I had five the other day, and I was glad to see them go."

Despite the large proportion of families with relatives in the Boston area, only one family reported using a grandparent for child care during the working day. In explaining why she turned to her mother, Mrs. Raymond said, "This isn't a year-in, year-out thing, this is something that happens maybe 2 months out of 6 or 7 years." Relatives were relied on more often to provide occasional care of children while the parents were engaged in leisure-time pursuits.

A total of 11 families in the sample managed to meet their child-care needs without actually paying for them. Families who used out-of-home paid day care usually discussed its benefits to the child in terms of increasing his or her exposure to a variety of experiences and people. The decision to use a paid care arrangement frequently went along with a mother's employment in so-called prime-time working jobs. In addition, these families were more likely to perceive the mother's work as a stepping stone to a career or to long-term advancement and were usually willing to make the financial investment that out-of-home care required. They also prized dependable care.

Many of the families had at least tried out paid group care at one time or another. Most described how they met with some initial resistance from young children in the form of reluctance to be left—which might continue from a few days to a few weeks. Whether or not they persisted in using the care in the face of a child's reluctance depended in part on the family's dedication to the mother's employment. One difference between those couples who stayed with paid day care and those who did not seemed to be that in the former the wife saw her job as more than a respite from housework or a source of a bit of extra income and was willing to wait out the period of the child's discontent with the child-care situation. In the case of families who gave up after a brief try, the parents often saw in the child's discontent confirmation of the mother's primary role as chief nurturer. While all the families in the study demonstrated deep concern for their children, those who persisted with day care despite a child's protest were less focused on the maternal role as the single most important one in the mother's life.

As was mentioned earlier, use of multiple child-care strategies often complicated the family's scheduling. One reason for use of multiple-care strategies was the presence of two or more

children in the family, especially if one child was in school and the other a preschooler. The pressures placed on parents (particularly the mother) in accommodating to the demands of multiple-care strategies were great. For instance, Mrs. Wyatt worked full time as a secretary at a nearby real-estate agency, where she was also studying real-estate sales and management. Mr. Wyatt was a fireman and worked part time as a carpenter. Mrs. Wyatt rose at 5:30 each morning of the week to begin readying the children, Christoper, age 6, and Oliver, age 4, for school. She found this easier than getting the children up later and rushing them (in which case they balked and she was later than ever for work). Christopher attended first grade at a neighborhood school. Oliver was in a local nursery-school program from 9 to 12, 3 days a week. A neighbor and friend, whose son attended the same nursery, drove Oliver to school and then picked the boys up at noon. Mrs. Wyatt had to leave by 8 a.m. for work, so Christopher walked to a friend's house nearby and waited there to go to school with him. When Christopher came home from school at 2:30 p.m., he picked up Oliver and the two boys walked to another neighbor's house, where they were cared for until 5 p.m., when Mrs. Wyatt got them on her way home from work. On the days when Oliver did not have school, he usually stayed with the woman all day.

During the evenings and on weekends, the Wyatts took turns watching the boys, since Mr. Wyatt had to work occasionally. In addition there were often errands that needed to be run. The complicated schedule the Wyatts had worked out could be all too easily undone, as happened when the afternoon babysitter's husband became seriously ill. Mrs. Wyatt's mother lived in a nearby town and was able to fill in for a few days until a temporary substitute could be found. Illness and other emergencies were a constant threat to the precarious stability of multiple-care arrangements. When asked what she might change about her own child-care situation, Mrs. Wyatt replied, somewhat poignantly, "I'd like something a little more permanent. Not so many changes."

Integrating the Worlds of Work: Home and Workplace

Who does what around the house? For most of the couples in the Boston study, a wife's return to the work force necessitated at least a few changes in the way that domestic chores were

performed. Different couples evolved various strategies for coping with these new demands, and this variety was the subject of intensive investigation by the Working Family Project.

In writing about their findings on division of labor, 25 Project members make the point that housework is not trivial; its performance has a major impact on a family's quality of life. But it is time-consuming, and there are a number of ways to get it done.

In the dual-worker families, reallocation of chores was not the only important issue that couples had to negotiate. Often, underlying new divisions of labor was the need for changes in attitude toward the work that each partner performed or thought most appropriate to perform. Demands for changes in the way housework was carried out usually came from women who were dissatisfied with having to do nearly everything in the home and work outside as well. Husbands tended to resist such pressures. The issue was a sensitive one for many couples, as it involved challenges to long-held and deeply ingrained notions about the proper roles of men and women.

Some men spoke openly of their discomfort at being compelled or even being asked to do "woman's work." They could develop rather elaborate rationalizations for their unwillingness to perform around the house, as was the case with Mr. Sedman, a bricklayer. Both he and his wife worked all day out of the home. At night her discontent was obvious when he would adjourn after dinner to relax in the living room while she cleaned dishes from a meal that she had prepared. He admitted that she never openly confronted him on the issue, but she made remarks that he interpreted as asking him to help. Mr. Sedman thought that this was unfair. As he pointed out, his work was physical and could not be compared in difficulty to the office work that his wife performed during the day. Therefore, it was all right for him to sit down and relax at night.

Women, while demanding more from their husbands in many instances, also shared some ambivalence about changing the domestic status quo. The Working Family Project found a tendency among wives to equate cleanliness with a high level of performance of their role in the home. Since the home rather than the workplace was central to the identity of most women, they were unwilling to part with the homemaker role. Even in

instances where husbands did perform household chores, wives tended to be critical of their efforts. One man noted that his wife was much fussier about dirt since he had assumed some responsibility for dusting, and she, on the other hand, noted how he worked only "around the edges." Even when men took on a particular task, they tended to execute it with less thoroughness than their wives would have.

Members of the Working Family Project made a distinction between role-sharing and task-sharing. Role-sharing, they say, involves the assumption of responsibility for the execution of tasks by both partners. Accordingly, in a role-sharing family, the husband considers himself obligated to see that certain things are done, without advice or reminders from his wife. Task-sharing is a second mechanism for dividing labor without actually changing underlying assumptions about proper roles of the marital partners. The task-sharing husband "helps out" his wife as she needs his assistance, either on a short-term or a long-term basis. But the ultimate responsibility for seeing that something gets done remains hers. Likewise, the task-sharing couple see the woman's outside work as a way of "helping out" the husband in his performance of the breadwinner role. He remains, however, chief performer in this domain. The Working Family Project notes that most of the couples in their study were more comfortable with the concept of task-sharing. Viewing their spouses' contributions in this way allowed them to preserve traditional notions of the proper structure of the family (homemaker-nurturer vs. breadwinner) while at the same time dividing tasks among themselves. The researchers also note that women were more willing (and in some cases more eager) to assume a breadwinner role than most of the men were to assume a "househusband" role.

In their sample, the Working Family Project found only two couples who had actually negotiated the issue of roles and had decided upon a split of domestic responsibilities. In each case, the wife reported pleasure with the new equitable division but also a residual reluctance to decenter herself from the home. Each wife also demonstrated a high commitment to her outside job. In the other families, helping out remained the mechanism by which a new division of labor was undertaken. Men who "helped out" might perform a great deal of housework, as in one family where there were several children present in the

home. The mother had been working for years and the husband helped out extensively throughout this period. He saw himself as continuing to do so on a more or less permanent basis, but he still described his wife as retaining primary responsibility for the role of homemaker, even though for the forseeable future she could not shoulder the entire burden of domestic work because of the conflicting demands of her outside job.

Many of the women in the sample accepted this definition of their responsibilities. Mrs. Henry stayed at home with her children all day and then went to work at night. Despite the tremendous pressures placed on her, she still expected herself to be a good mother and a meticulous housekeeper. Mrs. Sandle was pregnant with her second child at the time of the study and was working 40 hours a week. Nonetheless, she chided herself for being "lazy" because she rested in the mornings. Hence, the working women in the sample were more likely to add new responsibilities to the domestic ones that most saw as primary rather than to rearrange their households so that tasks and roles would be more equally shared or simplified.

Couples in the sample were asked to complete a checklist on allocation of chores in the home. Results corroborated the impressions gained from interviews. Typically, women reported themselves as carrying out time-consuming daily chores such as cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, and making beds. These are precisely the tasks whose accomplishment is undone daily by the family. Husbands varied in the amount they helped out but men usually performed repairs and outdoor tasks. Most avoided those activities that the culture at large has defined as "woman's work."

To the extent that husbands regularly shared in home-centered tasks, they were almost invariably more involved with child care than with housekeeping. Since husbands were less preoccupied with the endless demands of managing a home than were their wives, they could play with their children, giving them their relatively undivided attention. The wife, in her role as housekeeper and mother, was usually involved in several activities at once. Especially if she worked outside the home during the day, her children could be particularly in need of attention and interaction at just that time when demands were heaviest on her for the preparation of dinner. Perhaps as a result, both husbands and wives tended to see the

man as the more patient parent. For example, in the Henry family, Mrs. Henry cared for the children all day and then went to work at night. Before she left she cleaned the house and prepared a meal for the family. Mr. Henry could not understand why she didn't relax more and enjoy the children as he did. Neither seemed to recognize how the allocation of home-centered work affected the time and emotional energy available to her for enjoyable child care.

The Working Family Project also notes that for many women a source of resentment was to be found in their perception of the husband as taking over many of the more pleasurable aspects of child care—for instance, bed-time stories—while they, the women, were left with domestic chores and routine child care. The husband who helps out may remove from the wife's domain one of the most rewarding aspects of her role.

While not minimizing the strain on the father in dual-worker families, the Working Family Project saw the mother as subject to more pressures. The toll women paid in trying to assume new responsibilities along with the old was a sense of being rushed constantly, under pressure, never able to relax or consider a job properly finished. The toll was compounded when a husband was ambivalent over a wife's working.

Most of the women interviewed admitted to feeling tired during the day although several said they were "ashamed" to say so. Others perceived themselves as irritable and edgy with their spouses and children. Trying to live up to the supermother/superwoman ideal as many did, they took on too many tasks at once. The Working Family Project believes that most of the women lacked clear models of working mothers or even a secure and realistic sense of their own role responsibilities and their limitations and instead strained to combine and reconcile competing demands on their time and energy.

About half the women in the sample expressed dissatisfaction with their domestic work situation. What they actually did varied, however. Some tacitly accepted it without engaging their husbands in overt argument or discussion, and two negotiated changes in roles. For others, the issue of housework remained a constant source of overt tension in the marriage.

On the other hand, change, while slow and difficult, could be noted in the families. For instance, many of the women at first emphasized financial reasons for their return to outside em-

ployment, saying that they were "helping out" the family. Subsequently, however, several expressed a real determination to work and to pursue a career. It does not seem implausible to suggest that the tentativeness they felt at the beginning about working was gradually overcome by the success of their new arrangements. Over the course of the experience, many came to see outside employment as a regular and normal part of their daily lives. Likewise, many men expressed to the interviewers how they had to rethink their roles as husband, father, and worker. Most began their participation in child care with an uncertainty which seemed to come from inexperience with infants and toddlers, but as their confidence grew they began to see themselves as much better parents than their own fathers and they took pride in their roles. Nonetheless, despite their apparent willingness to expand their participation in child care, and despite the fact that they were usually doing more than before, they were more resistant about doing housework than were women about doing outside work. This circumstance suggests something of an assymmetry in role transitions for men and women. The Working Family Project hypothesizes that in some of the families the initial stages of "helping out" were being transformed into something closer to actual role-sharing. However, the spouses often had different views of this transformation, many women ultimately seeing their participation in the breadwinner role as more than just helping out and most husbands not sharing this perception. Even in the two self-consciously egalitarian families in the sample, there were pressures to retain a more traditional sex-role organization. Where models of a new social form are unavailable, the impulse toward older norms remains strong.

Choice of Jobs, Career Commitment and Family Responsibilities

The choice of jobs and the individual's attitude toward his or her employment reflected further aspects of differences in perceived roles and responsibilities. While the home front remained a major arena of conflict for many couples, and while some of the women were consciously evolving new notions of their function in the paid work force, the provider role remained the most salient one for men and one which all the men in the dual-worker sample took with great seriousness. The importance with which the earning function was regarded

by the men was demonstrated by their work histories. Several explained to the interviewers how marriage and children forced a man to become very concerned with job security. Of the 11 men in the sample over 30 years of age, 3 had held their job for 10 years or longer, and 4 had been at the same job between 5 and 7 years. Time and again, the theme of stability and security recurred in reflections. Mr. Neal left a job in a white-collar company when his first child arrived and took a 30 percent cut in pay to become a teacher for the greater job security that teaching provided. Other men reported that they stayed in jobs they found difficult or boring in order to satisfy their family's needs for security. For men, their main role definition was outside the home, but they considered their outside work to be a family-related activity. Men were likely to report greater stress in the performance of their paid jobs than in their home work, whereas for women the opposite was the case. One of the mothers, a registered nurse, held a very taxing emergency-oriented job, but she spoke of it as a respite from the demands of the home. On the other hand, if men complained of stress, they were likely to identify outside work as its source.

Differences in perceived responsibility were also reflected in the types of jobs chosen. Very few women had jobs that had benefits or retirement programs. Most of the men held such jobs. More than the men, women placed importance in job choice on the task-extrinsic criteria such as hours, convenience of commuting, the character of the physical surroundings, and the friendliness and helpfulness of coworkers.

The differences in importance given to criteria probably reflected real differences in demands placed on men as compared with those placed on women. Women were expected to put their home responsibilities above those of paid work and to bear the principal burden of child care and housework. Many chose jobs because of the need for schedules or locations that would allow them to meet family obligations.

Women's greater emphasis on pleasant physical surroundings and friendly coworkers may have reflected the lesser intrinsic rewards of their outside work. If the work itself is boring, then it is important that the interpersonal aspects of the job be pleasant. Mrs. Samuels, a home day-care provider, described an earlier job she had.

> It was full time but a lot of the time, there wasn't enough to keep me busy even half the day. It was a really boring job. The only thing that made the job worth while was the people I worked with. They were just wonderful. But the job was very boring.

For many women, work surroundings were important because outside employment was the means by which they escaped from the isolation and tedium of being at home all day. Some said that work provided a means of preventing personal stagnation, offered a source of adult companionship, and furnished a way of keeping well-rounded. They thought that an expansion of their personal horizons was of benefit to their families as well.

Being a Good Parent

Being a good parent, in a confusing and dangerous world and in the absence of clear role guidelines, was perhaps the chief concern of the majority of the couples in the sample. This concern was reflected in choices of substitute child care, in the compromises many of the women had made in their jobs, and in the men's search for job security even at the expense of excitement or advancement opportunities. It was also reflected in opinions articulated during the hours of conversation that the Working Family Project engaged in with them.

Parents of both sexes, but particularly mothers, tended to be obsessed with the issue of malntenance of high standards in the performance of childrearing. Some complained that outside work had caused them to lower their standards although the evidence they could marshall in support of these claims was limited. Lein reports a particularly telling anecdote about one mother in the sample. Upon arriving at the family home for observation, Lein was greeted at the door by an upset woman who proceeded to characterize herself as a "terrible mother." As it turned out, the woman's 4-year-old daughter had gotten out of bed at sunrise and had gone into the kitchen where she cracked eggs and mixed them with detergent. She proceeded to smear the mixture on the walls of a hallway. Upon discovering the child's deed, the mother lost her composure and screamed at her. This behavior she defined in herself as an incident of poor mothering.

Virtually all parents had difficult-to-maintain notions of what a good parent ought to be. If they had experienced a happy childhood, they measured their performance against that of their own parents. If they did not hold pleasant memories, they strove to surpass their parents' performance. However, despite well-defined goals of producing a happy, adjusted child, very few parents had models of the *behavioral means* for achieving the desired ends.

For example, most parents were reluctant to accept advice about childrearing from their older relatives because they, the parents, thought times had changed so dramatically that such counsel would be obsolete. Others noted that the older generation had been far from faultless in childrearing. As Mrs. Henry remarked, "I don't think the way I raise my children is any of my relatives' business. If their kids were perfect, I'd go to them and ask how they did it, but they're far from perfect." Resistance to advice from grandparents was also a way of differentiating the newer family from their families of origin, particularly if they lived in close proximity.

The dual-worker families were likewise ambivalent about expert opinion. Mrs. Long said of the ubiquitous book of Dr. Spock: "When they [the children] were sick or something, I'd look it up . . . otherwise, he has a lot of screwy ideas." And Mrs. Hunt remarked, "When I first started out, I lived with Dr. Spock. Then I decided, I'm not going to bring my children up out of a book."

On the other hand, what reading the parents did in popular child development led many of them to believe that the personality of a child was strongly molded, if not determined, by environmental events occurring before the age of 3. Viewing themselves as responsible for providing an optimal environment for their children's development and yet lacking clear guidelines for parental behavior, the couples tended to rely heavily on their own inner resources or on talking things out between themselves. This need to define standards, particularly during the preschool years, added yet another significant stress to their lives.

The theme of parenting in a dangerous world kept recurring in conversations. The source of threats to the child was not always easily identified, although drug pushers were frequently mentioned, perhaps because of media attention to drug prob-

lems in the schools. Couples would discuss their anxiety over the prospects of rearing a child responsibly only to lose control later on. One woman noted that her son was a wonderful individual, "a great kid," and would continue that way unless some force "out there" got to him. Underlying the reluctance of some parents to allow outsiders to care for their children was the anticipation that the substitute rearers would hold values different from those of the parents.

Whatever problems they anticipated in the future or had to deal with in the present, the couples in dual-worker families were highly focused on the needs of their children. They hoped to instill in them "good" values and to promote their healthy development. To that end, the worlds of home and work had to be coordinated to make the children's lives secure and pleasant.

Summary

The Working Family Project came to establish rapport with most of the families they studied. Their efforts allow others to share a candid picture of how one group of urban married couples managed to coordinate the worlds of work and home. What emerges is a view of people trying to maintain some tradition within change. The welfare of children and the value of having them is held highest by most parents, although as concessions to economic factors many have limited family size to fewer offspring than they desired in the early years of marriage. In an era reputed to be egocentric, many of the couples arranged split shifts so that youngsters could remain in the home—this at the sacrifice of free time to spend together as a couple.

Economic factors necessitated wives' return to the paid labor force and had some influence on the way that the house was run. Perhaps understandably, women tended to be more stressed by their dual tasks than men, who oftentimes resisted change. But both men and women appeared to be somewhat reluctant to redefine their central roles. Women remained emotionally tied to the nurturer-homemaker role and tended to hold unrealistic expectations for their performance in the worlds of home and outside work.

The abandonment of traditional nuclear family structure was, initially at least, a source of difficulty for many. Men were concerned about threats to their self-image as breadwinner and

women about the effects of their employment on their children. However, there were indications, even among this apparently conservative group, that they were adapting successfully to the changes demanded by maternal employment. Women, more readily than men, were enjoying new role responsibilities, but both spouses showed some signs of assuming each other's roles.

It is regrettable that not enough time has elapsed so that the 25 families could be viewed longitudinally to see if their apparent ability to cope and adapt despite obvious tensions will be maintained over the years. In the meantime, the findings of the Working Family Project can serve to dissipate some of the more common fears of the decline of the American family as more mothers work outside of the home. The findings highlight positive as well as negative aspects of increasing maternal participation in the paid work force and offer a realistic portrait of family and work life as they exist in urban America today.

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STEPFATHERS AS PARENTS

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At least since Cinderella, stepparenting has had a bad name. Stepfathers have not escaped the onus. This is odd because, as one authority reminds us, "George Washington was the father of our country but the stepfather of . . . 'Patsy' and John Custis. Other noteworthy children of stepfathers include Henry Clay, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Henry Ward Beecher, and Joseph Pulitzer."

This authority, Mona McCormick, teammember on a stepfather research project at the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute (WBSI), La Jolla, Calif., adds: "It can happen to anyone." And these days it is happening to a lot of people. Every year, marriages involving a million children end in divorce. Most of the mothers usually keep their children with them and sooner or later remarry.

Now, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, a WBSI research study goes a way toward clearing the stepfather's name. The principal investigator during the final year of the research was Paul Bohannan, professor of anthropology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, a research associate at WBSI, and the recently elected president of the American Anthropological Association. Bohannan refers to himself as "stepfather of the stepfather study." He succeeded sociologist Louis A. Zurcher, who returned to the University of Texas after 2 years with the project. Sociologist Rosemary J. Erickson, coordinator of research at WBSI, coordinated the collection and analysis of data throughout the study.

*See note at end of chapter.

To begin the work, researchers conducted brief doorstep interviews with 1,764 families, chosen to represent San Diego County's 424,000 households in three main respects: income, ethnicity, and neighborhood. (Bohannan and Erickson, both of whom grew up in other parts of the country, consider San Diegans to be fairly typical of all Americans, since many of the San Diegans sampled also grew up elsewhere.)

Then, stepfather families, 9 percent of the total number of households with children, located during these short interviews were visited again and invited to participate in the study. If they accepted, they were asked the name and address of a family much like their own except that the husband was the natural father. Similarly, a natural-father family living nearby was invited to participate if it could refer the investigators to a stepfather family much like its own.

The project wound up with 190 families, 84 with natural parents and 106 with stepfathers. The two types of families were matched as to race, religion, income, education of father and mother, and the age and sex of the children being studied. Families whose children were older than 18 were not included.

Each family was administered a survey research questionnaire that was 60 pages long, contained 130 items, and took approximately 2 hours to answer. The questions were based on information drawn from 10-hour interviews by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists with the fathers, mothers, and children of 30 families—10 each of three types of homes: those with stepfathers, those with natural fathers, and those without fathers. The investigators call these long interviews "case histories."

A questionnaire based on what was learned from these histories was administered separately to the persons in the 190 families chosen for the study—to the father or stepfather, to the mother, and to the child nearest the age of 14. The adults were asked about their background and marital history and about the success of the child at home, in school, and with peers. The stepfather and natural-father families were assessed on numerous other factors as well and were found not to differ significantly on a variety of important characteristics such as cohesiveness, expressiveness, conflict, independence, recreational pursuits, moral and religious standards, and orientation toward achievement. They did differ in intellectual and cultur-

al matters, the natural-father families tending to show more interest in such activities. They tended also to differ on matters of control, stepfather families having more rules to follow.

Children were asked about their own success in the family and the school and with their peers. Their self-esteem and competence were measured. So were the amount of independence they were allowed and the amount of punishment received.

When the answers were analyzed, four major factors associated with the emotional health of children—and, often, of the adults into whom they develop—emerged. These were:

Grades, or how well the child was doing academically; *Family*, or how well the child got along at home; *Friends*, or how many friends the child had in relation to other children his age; and *School behavior*.

The investigation's major findings are simply but unexpectedly these:

Children living with stepfathers do just as well, or just as poorly, on all the many behavioral characteristics studied as children living with natural fathers. They are also just as happy, on the average, or just as unhappy. They do as well in school and in their social life. In general, they get along with their stepfathers as well as the other children do with their own fathers.

Those findings are based on what the children themselves say, what their parents say, and what the measuring instruments used during the interviews show. Says Bohannan: "There is no discernible difference using these measures between the children of stepfather families and those of natural-father families."

Obviously, the children with stepfathers reach this normal or average level by very different routes from the others. For one thing, they have experienced the loss of a father either by divorce or death. For another, they have lived in a one-parent household for a period of time. Moreover, they have experienced the entry of a new man into their lives. But these experiences have not harmed them in any of the ways that were measured.

Erickson points out, though, that in stepfather families there had been a period before the stepfather came along when the mother had been alone with the children. So a closer (or else

more embattled) mother-child relationship had developed, and it usually seemed to persist into the new marriage.

Also, the children of divorce tended to be more mature than the other children, partly because of the troubles the family had been through and the increased need to pull together; partly, too, perhaps, because they often had to do more household work and take more responsibility.

The women who lived with their original husbands and those who lived with new husbands showed from their responses that they rated stepfathers equally well, or poorly, as natural fathers.

Further, children with stepfathers rated them as highly as the other children rated their fathers. And the mothers who had remarried thought, on the average, that their children got along *better* with the stepfathers.

EXPLAINING THE RESULTS

The stepchild's "trajectory," to use Bohannan's term for growth through the life cycle, had necessarily differed in many respects, and the stepchild had had to face many problems that the other child had not. The investigators do not know just how these problems had been faced—what the child had to do, and how the mother and the stepfather helped or hindered—for the simple reason that the research was set up to look at how the child turned out and not at the course taken. Bohannan thinks that the good outcome can be explained "only by the overwhelming demands of the cultural pattern, which sets the goals a child is expected to reach." In other words, society—not just the family but all the people around a child, and even television—expects youngsters to be obedient, to go to school and do at least fairly well, to get along with people, and to think well of themselves. Children tend to live up to these expectations. "The culture patterns are so strong," Bohannan says, "that normally kids are going to reach a certain level no matter what they have to go through to get there."

Erickson adds: "We think another reason for the good outcome is that the mothers are pretty well intact. One of the things that struck us most is the positiveness on the part of the mothers in stepfather families. They feel they're better off financially than in their previous marriage. They feel they get

along better with their new spouse. They think their children get along better with the stepfather than with the natural father. The mother seems to feel positively about this marriage and about this man as the father for her children. So she is actually creating a positive kind of attitude that makes up for any bad things that might have gone before."

"Moreover," Erickson continues, "we found that stepfathers on the whole pay more attention to being fathers. They worry more about it but they also work harder at it. It's a very conscious step they've taken—which certainly is by no means always true with natural fathers."

The findings of the NIMH-sponsored investigation are backed in general by two much more broadly gauged studies. One was the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago. The other was the Youth in Transition Survey (YIT) conducted by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.

The NORC sample comprised 1,500 males and females chosen in an attempt to represent all persons 18 years or older in the continental United States, except those in institutions. These subjects were asked questions relating to their experiences when they were about 16 years old.

The YIT sample comprised 25 male adolescents from each of 87 high schools across the Nation.

Analyzing the data from both studies, investigators associated with the San Diego project found no substantial differences between the persons raised in families headed by their natural parents and in those headed by mothers and stepfathers. Like any other child, the researchers reported, one who is part of a stepfather family "may have a predominantly positive, predominantly negative, or mixed experience in that family."

Striking differences were noticed, though, in the proportion of people having stepfathers. In the NORC sample, it was roughly 3 percent; in the other, 4 percent—proportions that strike Bohannan and Erickson as unrealistically low, even for 1973, when the studies were conducted.

What about all the research demonstrating harmful effects on children when marriages break up? For instance, many studies here and abroad show a correlation between broken homes—or the dissension and strife that precede the breakup—and later delinquency by some of the children involved. Bohan-

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nan points out that a correlation is a statistical matter—a statistically stated association between two events. But it does not demonstrate anything about cause. "I'm a straight-thinking social scientist who will not be taken in by the myths of my profession," he insists. And one of these myths is the almost universally held conviction that an association between two events implies that one of them caused, or helped to cause, the other.

Erickson has a different answer. Today, being a child of divorced parents and having a stepfather are very different from what they used to be, even very recently. For example, the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute has found that about 40 percent of the prisoners studied in San Diego County had stepfathers. "But when you look at a prison population," says Erickson, "you're looking at people from 20 to 70 years old. And the ones with stepfathers acquired them when times were far different. Based on our interviews in the stepfather study, it looks as if having a stepfather today does not create much of a problem for a child—on the average. Now, of course, bad stepfathers do occur, but on the average having a stepfather means that you are going to do as well as a child with a natural father."

Bohannan believes that, even among the prison population, the stepfather had little to do with the child's having slipped into delinquency and crime. "The problem," he asserts, "is the milieu in which the children grew up; a stepfather may make it worse, make it better, or leave it the same."

Because of the earlier findings, nonetheless, the investigators were surprised by the results of the recent study. Erickson's succinct explanation: "*The cultural norm has changed.*"

THE STEPFATHER'S DILEMMAS

More surprising was this finding:

> *The stepfathers thought of themselves as significantly worse fathers than the natural fathers. Why? Bohannan and Erickson believe it is because the stepfathers had thought a great deal more about their obligations as fathers—had, in fact, in many cases, worried about them.*

As Bohannan explains it, a prospective stepfather knows that the woman he's marrying has, say, two or three kids from 5 to

18 years old. He knows these kids and has attitudes about them. And the kids have attitudes about the stepfather. So stepfathers are inclined to worry more and to be less sure of their fathering abilities.

On the other hand, there are some stepfathers who stride blithely into the new situation, confident that because they have raised kids of their own—as about one-half of the stepfathers in this study had—they can raise this new lot and in exactly the same way. "And of course," as Bohannan says, "it's a disaster"—for several reasons, he believes. Children differ. There is no set of rules applicable to all children and on every occasion. One raises children by interacting with them from day to day. Moreover, the stepfather usually hasn't quite as much authority as the natural father. "If the children are your own," Bohannan remarks, "all you have to do is pull rank and say: 'I'm the Daddy around here; shape up.' Stepfathers cannot do that in quite the same degree, because they risk getting the child's mother on their back. And there goes the marriage."

Of course, natural fathers may provoke the child's mother, too. Everybody knows of families where the parents disagree about childrearing. "But imagine the difference if the stepfather and the child's mother have such a disagreement. Now the mother has the kids on her side, and they all turn against this outsider. It's not turning against Dad; it's turning against That Man."

Nobody knows how often such a situation arises. The San Diego study was not designed to find out. Bohannan's views are based on years of observations as an anthropologist working with scores of families, of all structural types.

Then, too, when the stepfather first joins the family, he has to do a great deal of adjusting. As Bohannan sees it, in a natural-parent situation, more of the adjusting has to be done by the child, because he is told what to do. But if a stepfather comes in and tells a child what to do, the child may simply say, "You're not my father, and I don't have to listen to you." On the other hand, many children do not behave that way. Bohannan thinks the secret lies in the mother. Many mothers will not let their new husbands discipline the children. "The guy can't do anything about the children without alienating the wife."

Basically, the trouble arises because at first there are only two axes—the one between the husband and wife, and the one between the mother and the children. The missing axis, the one between the stepfather and the children, has to be built from scratch. The situation may be even worse. Some children told the investigators that they had made up their minds to get rid of the stepfather even before he moved in.

Bohannan recalls a case, not part of this study, where a man and woman had been divorced. The man had remarried, but the marriage had soon broken up. A few years later, the mother remarried. Then the children came to her and confessed: "We got together and we broke up Dad's new marriage, and we think we're going to break up yours, too." Why? Because the children wanted their natural parents to be living together again. "The parents were miserable together," Bohannan recalls, "so why try to bring them back again? The kids didn't look at it that way, of course; kids never do look at it that way." In that case it was 3 years before the children settled down and accepted the new man in the house.

Instances like that popped up unbidden in the San Diego County study, too, although the survey technique was not designed to elicit case histories.

DIFFERENT STYLES OF FATHERING

In a separate analysis, working with Carlfred Broderick, professor of sociology at the University of Southern California, Erickson found four dimensions or styles of fathering, each of which had different effects on the child.

The four styles and their apparent relationships with certain elements in the child's behavior follow:

Instrumental fathering, the type in which the father shows a competence in taking care of his family. The principal factors marking this type are relatively high degrees of education, occupational status, income, and interest in intellectual and cultural concerns. Also contributing to this dimension are church membership, active family recreation, and relatively little family conflict.

This type of fathering—instrumental—was positively associated with the child's academic success. It was negatively associ-

ated with punitiveness on the part of the parents and with the amount of father-child interaction; in other words, when the father was of the instrumental type, both punishment and interaction tended to be low.

Expressive fathering. Important factors here are the family's cohesiveness, the members' ability to express themselves, frequent interaction of father and child, frequent positive experiences in the interaction between husband and wife, and the man's high self-rating of himself as a father. Of less importance were low family conflict, interest in intellectual and religious-moral concerns, and the family's interest in active recreational projects.

Expressive fathering was positively associated with the child's success in school, his good adjustment at home, and to a high degree with interaction between father and child. Also associated with this type of fathering were the mother's competence and the frequency of her good experiences interacting with her husband. The expressive father was usually the child's natural father.

Autocratic fathering, in which the father's major focus is on enforcing rules. The family is tightly organized and achievement bent. Minor factors include father's low occupational status, a broken home in his background, and conventional moral-religious values.

Associated with this type of fathering were the number of friends the child had (many), the father's punitiveness (high), and the child's behavior at school (poor). More so than other types, autocratic fathers were likely to be stepfathers.

Patriarchal fathering. Here the father has generally come from a large family and is a church member. His present family is also large and its income low. Its moral-religious orientation is traditional. Less important factors include the father's low education, and, for most family members, a low measure of independence.

This type of fathering was linked with good behavior by the child at home but tended to be associated with poor behavior by the child at school. Patriarchal fathers, more than the other types, tended to have the final word about how a child should behave.

OTHER FINDINGS ABOUT STEPFATHER FAMILIES

Bohannan and his fellow workers, because resources were limited, could add little to the scant information about *how* children adapt to stepfathers, *how* stepfathers adapt to stepchildren, and *whether* some children turn out well and others poorly in stepfather households for the same reasons as in natural-father families.

> ***"Fathering is fathering. In the job description there is simply no difference. The stepfathers and the fathers have to do the same thing."***

But findings additional to those already reported did emerge, some based on the data analysis and some based on observation of the families.

For instance, Bohannan reports that a person becomes a good stepfather the same way he becomes a good father. "There is no magic about this," he says. "Fathering is fathering. In the job description there is simply no difference. The stepfathers and the fathers have to do the same thing. They have to interact with the children on a day-to-day basis. They have to be supportive of the child's mother. They have to be a role model to the children."

If the natural father tries to be a real father after his former wife has remarried, the same investigator reports, a social quadrant develops—father, mother, child, stepfather—and that may be difficult. "For if the real father tries to do his fathering well," Bohannan continues, "he becomes a joker—in the sense that jokers are wild in poker. His actions cannot be predicted. Seldom can he be seen as anything except a troublemaker. Even when the father does no more than make his visitation rights, the problem shows up. So the chance for difficulties are probably greater than if there had been a clean break. But I am not suggesting for a minute that the natural father and the child should not keep in touch. People can manage this problem as well as they do all the others life provides."

In the Bohannan-Erickson sample, there were children who resented the situation and said the real father could not be replaced. There were those who did not want to share the mother. There were also those who welcomed a stepfather because they wanted a father in the house and they wanted the mother to be saved from being alone. On a scale that rated the degree of acceptance of fathers and stepfathers, the numbers ran from 0 to 10, with 10 denoting perfect acceptance of the man. Both the children living with fathers and those living with stepfathers gave exactly the same average rating—6.9.

The mothers rated the children's acceptance of stepfathers more highly than the children themselves rated it. As the mothers recalled, 1 month after the marriage they would have rated the children's feelings as 7—better than average on the 10-point scale. The acceptance of the new man by some children would have been rated zero; on the other hand, some children accepted the stepfather at the beginning but grew to dislike him. At the time of the study the mothers, on the average, rated the degree of acceptance as 8.

The statistical analysis of the information collected during the survey of the 190 families is still in progress, but Erickson offers the following findings:

Better than 40 percent of the new stepfather families lived in the mother's house. Not quite 40 percent moved to a different place, and another 18 percent moved to the stepfather's house. The investigators have the impression that it's best for the children to stay on in the mother's home. But there are some advantages to moving to a different place. One man who had moved into his wife's home sadly complained that he did not have a chair he could call his own. As a matter of fact, that problem of "territory" or "turf" or personal space was found in most of the stepfather families. Other common problems were styles of discipline, division of labor, and, of all things, food—because the stepfather's tastes were frequently far different from his predecessor's.

Not quite 85 percent of the children with stepfathers still have a natural father living. Less than half of these fathers pay child support. Still fewer fathers (37 percent) get together with the child. Sixty percent of the natural fathers have remarried; 20 percent have not. What's happened to the other 20 percent, their former wives do not know.

The mothers of those children who receive visits were asked how the visits affected the stepfather-child relationship. The replies: 58 percent, no effect; 21 percent, positive effect; 15 percent, negative effect; 6 percent, don't know. In a beer-and-potato-chips seminar he had with some of the stepfathers, however, Bohannan got the impression that they were more upset by the natural fathers' visits than the mothers realized.

Concerning discipline, 37 percent of the stepfathers and the same percentage of the natural fathers reported that they were in charge. In 43 percent of all the families (the proportion was about the same for each group), both father and mother played a role. Discipline was the mother's job in 20 percent of each group.

Half of the children said that their mothers spent just as much time with them after the new marriage as before, and almost one-fourth said that their mothers actually spent more time with them—because, Erickson surmises, dating no longer demanded the mother's time and attention. Only 15 percent of the children said their mothers were giving them less time.

Both stepfathers and their new wives were more likely than natural fathers and their wives to have come from broken homes. A sizable proportion of these homes, though, had been broken not by divorce but by death. Of the stepfathers, 40 percent had come from broken homes; of the natural fathers, 24 percent. Moreover, 39 percent of the mothers in stepfather families had come from broken homes, as compared with 24 percent of the mothers in natural families. These statistically significant findings are considered to support to some extent the conclusions of earlier investigators that broken homes in one generation tend to lead to broken homes in the next.

Bohannan emphasizes that "We were set up to find out whether or not a stepfather made any difference in the mental health of children as displayed by their responses to the measuring instruments that we used. At that level, stepfathers don't make much difference in the mental health of the child. At the psychological level—meaning what a kid is like on the inside, what he really is—I think they make immense differences. The children with stepfathers had to solve a different set of psychological problems than the children with natural fathers. But there were no more mental health problems in one group than in the other."

The study was not designed to learn the effect of stepfather loss but did produce a moving anecdote on the subject. It concerns a little boy whose own father had died before the boy was born. The mother married again, and the boy loved his stepfather. But within a few years the stepfather was killed in a motorcycle accident. A year or so later, the mother married again. The boy disliked the new man in the family and ran away. He was found sitting on the corner where his stepfather had been killed.

Among Bohannan's friends, a man married a woman who had a 3-year-old son. They were divorced when the child was 10. The boy had had that man as a father for 7 years, but then the man—having no legal rights to the child and no visitation rights—just disappeared from the boy's life. Bohannan comments: "A wicked thing to do to a kid."

The investigators offer some advice. Erickson says, "Our basic message is: *Take heart, stepfathers*. If you're trying to do a good job, the kids will probably turn out okay." Bohannan puts it this way: "You can't go very far wrong as long as you observe the kids carefully, do your best, and are decent about it."

On the basis of this study, would Erickson advise a normal woman to remarry? "Yes, sure," she answers, "if she felt like it—particularly because it seems to me that having a father is more important than not having a father." The mother should see to it, though, that the child knows the potential stepfather before the marriage. "The children need not approve," Erickson advises, "but they should know." In one case the mother told the children nothing except that she was going away for the weekend. When she returned, her new husband was with her and proceeded to move in. The mother's two children—girls of about 10 and 12—were shocked. Eighty percent of the children in the study *were* told before the marriage, and 75 percent knew the stepfather-to-be, about half of them very well.

With so many marriages breaking up, Bohannan agrees with another authority, lawyer Diana DuBroff, that the time for "divorce insurance" has come. He points out that life insurance can be written in many ways, to do many things. "And there's no reason why it cannot be written so that if the marriage breaks down and a divorce follows, a certain amount of the proceeds can be used to support the children."

Following a review of the literature on stepfathers, McCormick of WBSI concludes that "the single most important factor, aside from general openness to love, appears to be straightforward recognition that the man is a *step*father, not a father; and that the child is a *step*child and not a child." Bohannan and Erickson agree.

DISCIPLINE IN A STEPFATHER FAMILY

In another study, Phyllis Noerager Stern, assistant professor in the school of nursing, University of California, San Francisco, took stepfather families as the general subject of a thesis for her doctoral degree (doctor of nursing science). She was particularly interested in the subject because she herself had brought a stepfather into her family.

After many hours of interviewing stepfather families—30, with 132 parents and children—Stern decided that the salient problem was conflict over discipline. Given this problem, she asked, how do stepfather families become integrated? And she made this question the specific subject of her dissertation.

Stern also concludes: "The advice often given to stepfamilies, to settle differences over discipline prior to marriage, is misguided. Not only is it impossible for the parents to reach such an agreement . . . but the advice runs exactly counter to a natural process in these families, and as such, it can only add to the frustration and guilt feelings of the parents and children in stepfather families."

Discipline that integrates the family, Stern reports, involves these major processes: rule-making; rule-enforcing; "friending," or "the behavior by which the stepfather reduces fear in and gains the confidence of the stepchild and projects himself as a person of value to the stepchild"; and "integrative undermining," or " a process whereby the stepfather reduces the mother's power position by aligning himself with the child in a dispute over discipline." The wise mother "views this as a friendly alliance" and "willingly gives up her position of supreme power over the child."

The achievement of integrative discipline, Stern found, requires from 1 1/2 to 2 years. "The family members need time to get acquainted, to learn to trust each other, and to learn the

needs of one another. Efforts to force the issue and hurry the integration are unsuccessful, and result in structural patterns where one family member is left out of the action."

Stern also advises:

"The assumption of child management duties by the stepfather must be slow, time must be spent to make friends with the child, and time is needed to teach the child how it is the adults want him to behave. Conversely, time is needed for the stepfather to learn how it is the child wants *him* to behave. The mother, too, needs time to learn what behaviors on her part are conducive to integration. A part of discipline is learning, and integrative discipline is learning for the whole family." Stern finds, too, that "an understanding of the child's point of view may stave off the stepfather's resentment of a shy or acting-out child"—meaning one who takes out worries and vexations by misbehaving.

Other advice from Stern:

- The stepfather is more likely to succeed if he adopts "a slow, gentle, flexible role-making-and-enforcing approach."
- The child is more willing to comply with family norms if he is allowed to participate in some of the decisions for the family.
- If the family is to move toward integration, the mother must resist persisting in a go-between role—a natural one for her to assume at first—in which she explains the behavior of the child to the stepfather and vice versa, in favor of promoting a direct communication between child and stepfather. But the mother who gives complete management to the stepfather encourages the use of coercive methods to control the child's behavior. The child feels abandoned by both the departed father *and* the nonparticipating mother. The likely result is that the child becomes either rebellious or withdrawn.
- The stepfather who is bent on controlling the child rather than making friends with him blocks the integration process. Since the child will be around for a while, it will be less effort in the long run to make friends with him.

- A united and authoritarian front on discipline may result in a condition where the child feels he is left out of the family or serves as the parents' scapegoat. Such children "are described by their parents as 'spacey,' 'going blank,' or 'absent-minded'."
- Children should have free access to other children so that they can compare notes and thus "relieve tensions brought on by a step-relationship." Although Stern adds that "Children of divorce and remarriage seek support from their peers, adults are quite another matter . . . many of the parents in this study had what they considered serious problems of adjustment, [yet] almost none of them went to their friends for advice, and only a few talked with other stepfamilies."

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MARRIED WOMEN: WORK AND FAMILY

Principal Investigator: Louise S. Hauenstein, Ph.D.

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It's a rare month indeed that magazines don't produce articles advising American married women on such subjects as husbands, children, and work. "Experts" fill pages of bestselling books with discussions of the problems and rewards of contemporary marriage. Militant feminist authors may treat marriage severely, in terms of its social and political implications for women. Militants of a more conservative ilk may claim to represent the Silent Majority of American married women, who find contentment in performing domestic duties and who believe that although a wife's working away from home may be an economic necessity, it usually results in the disruption of family life and is, therefore, to be avoided.

Even though various forces have already engaged to do battle for the psyche of American women and even though there is a general growing concern over their mental health, opinion surveys asking *them* just how they feel about their lives are scarce.

So it was with amazement a few years ago, in 1973, that Dr. Louise Hauenstein of the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan discovered this fact while searching through scores of journals and books on women and family life. She concluded that what was needed was a survey, free of theoretical biases, which would describe the attitudes of women toward important aspects of their lives, particularly attitudes

concerned with husbands, children, working, and economic conditions.

When asked how she became interested in the married woman's situation, Hauenstein mentioned her own background. Herself a housewife, as well as a trained research psychologist, she had worked professionally on a number of papers relating women's blood pressure to various life-stress factors. This work, done at a time when the status of women had just become a prominent issue, led her to wonder how satisfied married women were with their families and their work. She was particularly interested in finding out if there were differences in attitudes between housewives and working wives or between wives of different races.

A quiet and soft-spoken woman, Hauenstein firmly separates her interests from those of radical feminists intent on proving that marriage detracts from the mental health of women. Her research, she said, was done in an academic environment and developed out of a desire to fill a void in knowledge. She strongly believed that a good descriptive study would provide a basis of information. After that basis had been formed, then researchers could and should begin to test various notions about marriage and its consequences. But without that information, little scientific progress toward understanding the condition of the ordinary married woman could be made.

Hauenstein described herself as fortunate to have had available a large pool of information already in existence about married women. This information had been gathered on a Detroit, Michigan, sample by Dr. Ernest Harburg of the University of Michigan as part of a larger study on the role of stress and heredity in black-white differences in blood pressure. From the Harburg sample, she culled the responses of 508 married women, half of them black and half white, half of them housewives and half outside workers, to items concerned with their physical and mental health and attitudes toward their work, as well as toward husbands, children, and friends. The women in the survey were all living within the Detroit city limits with their husbands. On the average, they were 40 years old and had 3.02 children. In 1967, their *family income* was approximately $13,000, although as we shall see, this varied from one part of town to another. In addition, the women in the sample were broken down according to area of residence. For study

purposes, some were said to reside in "high-stress" areas, others in "low-stress" areas. The definition of stress areas, rationale for their selection, and criteria used are defined in the next section.

SELECTION OF STRESS AREAS

There is evidence that persons residing in "inner-city" areas exist in an environment sharply different from "outer-city" and suburban areas. The latter areas exhibit rates in educational, recreational, sanitary, and service facilities which indicate attainment of culturally valued levels of living. Conversely, inner-city areas exhibit sharply lower attainment levels and, in addition, repeatedly manifest higher rates of crime, divorce, unemployment, and population density than outer-city areas (*Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 332*). Detroit is no exception to these contrasts. It was assumed in Hauenstein's study that such statistically different rates, at their end points, indicate environments which vary objectively in chronic exposure to stressor events. Such different kinds of environments were called high- and low-stress areas.

To assign labels, all census tracts in Detroit were rank ordered by their "stress scores." These scores were computed as follows: First, the rates for selected variables (included in table 1) which represented the concepts of economic deprivation, residential instability, family instability, crime, and density were computed for each census tract in the city. The rates were then factor analyzed (a statistical method for yielding underlying dimensions among variables in a correlation matrix), and each of the tracts was assigned a factor score based on the two related factors that emerged: socioeconomic status and instability. The factor scores were separately rank ordered for all predominantly black tracts (50 percent black or more) and for all the white tracts. Then, within each ethnic group, census tracts were selected for having *both* the *upper* range (top 25 percent) for the instability score and the *lower* range (bottom 25 percent) for the socioeconomic status score. These tracts were labeled "high stress." The converse was done to delimit "low-stress" tracts.

To test the hypothesis that differences in socioecological variables might translate into psychologically meaningful differ-

Table 1—Characteristics of the Four Stress Areas

Variable	Black		White	
	High Stress	Low Stress	High Stress	Low Stress
(Total dwelling units)	(4118)	(1910)	(4410)	(1811)
A. Socioeconomic Variables				
1. Median income*	$4,627	$8,670	$5,417	$8,030*
2. Median education (years)	9.6	13.2	9.0	11.7
3. Percentage unemployed	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4. Percentage home ownership	19.0%	92.0%	40.0%	90.0%
5. Percentage professional/ managerial	9.0%	49.0%	7.0%	19.0%
B. Instability Variables				
1. Adult crime rate (per 10,000)	89.0	55.9	60.0	9.9
2. Juvenile crime rate (per 10,000)	17.2	6.4	13.5	1.3
3. Marital instability	1:2.9	.00	1:12	.00
4. Percentage in residence five years or more	27.0%	51.0%	48.0%	86.0%

* The reader will note throughout the paper reference to mean family income of respondents that is different from the *median* income figure reported for the four tracts above. Median figures were gathered as part of a census and reflect the earnings of the individual noted as *head of household*. Family income in Hauenstein's study refers to all sources of earnings, from husband, wife, children and other members of the household. Hence, family-income figures are likely to be higher, but also it is to be noted that money available is distributed among more persons. It should also be noted that median income figures present greater income contrasts among the areas than do family-income figures. The discrepancy may be due to the higher percentage of retired, single, divorced, or separated persons, as well as those receiving welfare or unemployment payments in high-stress tracts. Income for such "heads of household" would be expected to be lower in general than the income for most heads in a tract where the majority of households contained married couples (as would occur in low-stress tracts) and hence lower the high-stress tracts average score. Mean family income in a tract must also be adjusted for number of persons in the household (there were more persons per family in high-stress than low-stress tracts) and when this factor is taken into consideration, median household and mean family income figures tend to approximate each other in the degree of contrast offered. In ascribing weight to income in interpreting the stress levels of neighborhoods, it should be noted that income was only one of nine variables included in the definition and not the sole determinant of stress score.

ences, four contrasting neighborhoods were chosen in the Hauenstein study. There were two high-stress and two low-stress areas. Within each level of "socioecological" stress, there was a predominantly black and predominantly white area. Table 1 is a summary of the socioeconomic and instability characteristics of these areas.

Families in high-stress neighborhoods typically had incomes below average and consequently had trouble making ends meet. Housing was often crowded, rundown, and inadequate to accommodate the needs of family members. People living there tended not to be homeowners and moved in and out of the neighborhoods so frequently that there was little chance to get to know who lived next door. Families were plagued with such problems as high-divorce rates and separations from male heads of household. They lived in fear of being physically assaulted on their own streets.

The low-stress neighborhoods presented a contrasting picture. They contained among the best housing Detroit had to offer, the most stable families, the safest streets, and the highest wage earners.

Because Hauenstein thought that one picture would speak more eloquently than a thousand words in describing the four sections of the city, she included photos of typical housing in her final report to the National Institute of Mental Health. Illustration 1 is a picture of the black high-stress neighborhood. Windows in apartment buildings are boarded up, and children are throwing stones at them. Junk cars line the alley where the children "play" amid mounds of trash and garbage.

Of the four areas chosen, the black high-stress section had the lowest income. Male wage earners held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Very few families owned their own homes, and well over two-fifths of them had moved from one house or apartment to another within the past 5 years. Coming into such a neighborhood was not a housing improvement, however; most people had come from comparable sections of the city. The black high-stress area selected was next to Detroit's 12th Street Tract in which riots had erupted in the summer of 1967.

The black low-stress area, shown in illustration 2, presents a pleasant contrast. Children playing on bicycles are shaded by big old trees. Recent-model autos are parked in front of well-

maintained houses. In 1967, this area was 99 percent black; five years prior to that time it had been predominantly white.

The people living in the black low-stress area were a little younger than those from the other areas. They were typically Protestant (Detroit as a whole is about 35 percent Catholic), and most had moved into the neighborhood within 5 years. The black low-stress area was rated by income in the top 1 percent of black neighborhoods in the larger Harburg survey and in the top 5 percent of all neighborhoods in Detroit. Family income of those surveyed was higher than in the other three areas ($15,128 in 1967), and more people had high school diplomas (84 percent). A significant subgroup had completed at least 4 years of college (13.3 percent). This sector represented the historically new black middle class.

The white high-stress area, pictured in illustration 3, reminds one of a typical inner-city neighborhood. The houses are run-down, and litter lines the streets. While residents of this area were a little bit better off financially than those in the black high-stress area (mean family income of those surveyed was $11,675 versus $10,513 for high-stress area blacks), they were less educated, with only 43 percent having a high school diploma. One out of four families in the area lived in an apartment house, and most of the husbands were blue-collar workers. One-third of the residents were originally from the South. These families also had more children than any of the other three groups, so what money they had had to be divided among more people.

The designated white low-stress area, seen in illustration 4, was comparable to the black low-stress neighborhood in terms of the quality of housing and the desirability of physical surroundings. Large trees, children playing in wide streets, and well-kept houses attest to the relative material comfort of people in this tract. White low-stress-area residents tended to be a bit older than others in the sample, and about 70 percent of husbands had white-collar jobs. Although family income of those surveyed was good, $12,132 in 1967, it was not much higher than that of people in the high-stress areas (although high-stress-area residents had more children on the average). But the physical environment of the white low-stress neighborhood was clearly superior. Most of the people living there had

been raised in Detroit and had lived in their present homes for about 10 years.

Hauenstein wanted to see if striking differences in environment could influence the health of the married women residing in the areas. If socioecology influenced mental or physical well-being, then its impact would be most clearly demonstrated through contrasting extremes. For example, a high-noise level might lead to more complaints of a nervous nature. Fear of crime might increase personal anxiety. Poor housing could, among other things, reduce a woman's enjoyment of her role as a homemaker. Difficulties in making ends meet could lead to many marital problems, such as money squabbles and even family breakups.

The married women were polled in their own homes by trained nurses who were of the same race. Interview questions covered such topics as personal medical histories, financial status, and education. But the questions of chief concern to Hauenstein were the ones about the women's attitudes toward and perceptions of themselves and their life situation.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In her study, Hauenstein was primarily interested in finding out about the attitudes of women in the two defined economic roles toward their work and families. The purpose of the study was to investigate two related questions: (1) Do housewives differ from working wives in their attitudes toward work and family? (2) Are there social class or racial factors that are related to these attitudes?

Three main comparisons among the women were possible: (1) attitudes of housewives versus working wives; (2) attitudes of wives from high- versus low-stress neighborhoods; and (3) attitudes of black versus white wives. Comparisons between housewives and working wives in each of the four neighborhoods could also be made.

The findings for specific variables can be categorized further in terms of their (1) consistency; (2) the number of variables that were significantly different between groups in a comparison; and (3) the magnitude of differences between groups for any given variable. Consistency, as used by Hauenstein, implied the following: For comparisons of women in the two economic roles, a difference was said to be consistent if it was

found to hold for women in each of the four neighborhoods. For comparisons of women from the two stress levels and of the two races, differences found were said to be consistent if they occurred both among housewives and working wives.

Data analysis indicated that housewife versus working-wife differences tended not to be consistent. That is, they were not shared equally by women in each of the four neighborhoods. Analysis of housewives versus working wives within each of the four neighborhoods yielded patterns that were peculiar to each area. By contrast, stress level and racial differences did tend to be consistent between women in the two economic roles. When the number of differences and their magnitude are considered, comparisons are least striking between women in the two economic roles and most striking between women of the two races.

The order of findings presented in the next section reflects these distinctions. Housewife versus working-wife differences will be examined for each of the four neighborhoods. Stress level and racial differences will be discussed more generally, and the reader will bear in mind that any differences found apply equally to women in the two economic roles.

Working women were asked questions about their attitudes as wage earners toward their jobs, money, security, and advancement. Some of these questions could not be applied to the housewives, who were asked parallel items about their enjoyment of housework, and so on. For example, one question for working wives was, "How often do you really enjoy the work you do on your job?" The analogous item for housewives was, "How often do you really enjoy the work you do in your home?" Besides separate questions for women in one or the other economic role, there were more questions to all women about economic matters; and all the women were asked the same questions about marriage, children, relations with family and friends, and mental health.

Housewives and Working Wives in the Four Neighborhoods

At the time of interview, only about 50 percent of the women in the sample of 508 were working outside the home, but this figure varied by neighborhood. For instance, 73 percent of black low-stress-area and 63 percent of black high-stress-area wives worked. In the white low- and high-stress neighborhoods, these figures were lower, at 29 and 35 percent respectively.

Most of the working wives held full-time jobs, but the type of work they did varied. For instance, over 25 percent of black low-stress-area working wives were classified as occupying professional and technical positions, such as accountants, nurses, librarians, social workers, and teachers. In the other three neighborhoods, very few working wives, black or white, fit into this category. On the average, for the whole sample, 29 percent of the working wives held clerical or office jobs, though this again differed according to neighborhood. For example, 49 percent of white low-stress-area working wives were secretaries or clerks, while only 15 percent of black high-stress-area wives were. Other common types of occupations for the women polled included shopworkers, cashiers, hairdressers, waitresses, cooks, and domestics. The black high-stress neighborhoods had the highest percentage of women engaged in service work, such as industrial and private-home cleaning. Few women held nontraditional occupations, such as plumber or baker, and very few were managers or proprietors of their own shops.

The earning power of black low-stress-area women was the highest in the sample, at around $6,600 a year, while the black high-stress-area women made around $4,700. White women of both stress levels didn't tend to make much more than black high-stress wives, but more of them held part-time jobs.

In discussing her economic-role findings, Hauenstein noted that even though there were some differences between housewives and working wives in the full sample, the differences usually failed to hold up for all the neighborhoods. Few transcended racial or social-class boundaries. [illegible] within neighborhoods, housewives and working wives tend to be more similar than different.

For instance, in the black high-stress area, housewives were different from working wives only on a few variables. They had more children than working wives and more time to spend with them. They had less money and less optimism about meeting next year's bills. They were more likely to have diabetes. However, the black housewives were like their working counterparts in the assumed high-stress neighborhood on all other measures.

[illegible]sewives and working wives in the black low-stress neighbo[illegible]od were also more alike than different. When differences emerged, they tended to favor the lot of the housewife. House-

wives in the black low-stress area were likely to have more children and less likely to hold a college degree than the working wives. But unlike housewives in the other neighborhoods, their family income was almost equal to that of their employed counterparts. Housewives were more satisfied than working wives with how well they did in having enough money and more satisfied with the job they did in running the house. They thought that they were doing a better job at meeting the needs of their families than the working wives, who reported themselves as having less time to spend with their children and less

Table 2—Significant Housewife-Working Wife Differences With the White High-Stress Neighborhood

Variable	Housewife-Working Wife Difference
Child and Family	
Good chance to spend time with children	28.3 %**
Good chance to teach children	21.1 %*
It is important to see to my family's needs	14.7 %*
Economic and Work-Related	
(Mean) yearly family income	-41.8 %***
I have done well at my work	-22.5 %*
It is important to get out of house for relaxation	19.0 %*
Housework is seldom a strain on me	20.0 %*
Husband-Related	
I have a good chance to spend time with my husband	27.3 %*
My husband very often shows appreciation	28.3 %**
It is important to spend time with husband	21.1 %
Good chance to have sexual life I would like	23.1 %*
Seldom disagree about sexual relations	24.8 %*
I have done well handling disagreements	23.7 %*
We seldom disagree about family finances	19.0 %*
It is important to help make th[illegible]g decisions	17.8 %*
't is important that husband sh[illegible]ppreciation	15.7 %*
Ve seldom get on each othe[illegible]ves	20.2 %**
I have done well at being a g[illegible]	25.4 %**

*P < .05
**P < .01
***P < .001

opportunity to teach them how to do things or to increase their children's skills. But on other measures concerned with their attitudes toward their marriages and husbands, the women were identical.

It was in the *white high-stress neighborhood* that differences between housewives and working wives were most pronounced. Eighteen attitudinal differences were found, and of these, 11 were on items having to do with marital satisfaction. These are presented in table 2. More than any of the other groups, white high-stress-area working wives were unhappier about some aspects of their relationships with their spouses than their housewife counterparts.

In the white high-stress neighborhood, working women were more pleased with the job they did at work than were the housewives with the job they did running the home. However, the housewives were less likely to report that their domestic chores were often a strain on them. Like working women in the other neighborhoods, white high-stress-area wage earners were discontented with the insufficient time they had to spend with their children. But the big differences emerged in their self-reports of their marriages. Working wives had worse sex lives than stay-at-home women and were less likely to say that they had been "good wives" to their husbands or had been tactful about settling marital disputes. Working wives placed less importance on spending time with their mates and believed themselves to be relatively unappreciated by them. They had more disagreements about money and sex and, in general, found it more difficult to be around their husbands; they reported getting on each other's nerves.

Even so, white high-stress housewives and working wives did not differ on some other marital attitudes such as "would marry the same man" and "seldom wish had never married."

In the white low-stress neighborhood, housewives were little different from their working counterparts, except that more of them than working women were pleased with how well they had done as wives and mothers, and they reported less strain in their housework than the working wives did in their jobs.

Hauenstein notes that the working wives in all four neighborhoods seemed a bit less pleased with various aspects of their housework and with their family relationships than house-

wives. Surprisingly, their discontent had little effect on their perceived mental health. For the entire analysis of separate neighborhoods, there were only two significant health differences. More black high-stress-area housewives had diabetes, and more black low-stress-area housewives inhaled when they smoked. Generally, though, a woman's economic role had no impact either on the number of symptoms or on the personal-happiness level she reported. The strongest differences between housewives and working wives, regardless of race and hypothesized socioecological stress, were: (1) housewives' family income was smaller; (2) housewives had bigger families; and (3) housewives had a better chance to spend time with their children. Other differences—not so strong but consistently present in every neighborhood—were that more housewives than working wives said that they had a good chance to teach and control their children, and more housewives said that they were seldom bothered by their performance at housekeeping.

Interpretation of Findings

The absence of differences on many items is a puzzling one. Considering that less money was available to them, it is surprising that housewives felt as happy as working wives about their economic situation. On the other hand, although they enjoyed their housework and family life more than working women, housewives did not report fewer stress-related symptoms.

Hauenstein makes two points about the findings: Clearly, there were many more consistent similarities than differences between women in the two economic roles. Most differences that did emerge seemed to stem simply from the fact that housewives had more time at home than working wives. This would imply that there are no basic differences between working wives and housewives as far as their personalities or their general outlook on life are concerned.

On the other hand, some within-neighborhood differences may stem from more subtle sources. The fact that housewives in general had more time at home than working wives does not explain entirely why black low-stress-area homemakers felt more successful at having enough money and at meeting their families' needs. Perhaps, Hauenstein suggests, housewives in that neighborhood were able to practice economies that made

family income go farther. The two groups did have equivalent incomes. That fact and the possibility that the nonemployed status of a wife might permit her to engage in moneysaving activities, such as sewing, canning, home cooking, and comparison shopping, could yield real differences in disposable income.

Hauenstein is even more intrigued by what appears to be going on in the white high-stress neighborhood. There is an indication that working wives there differ more fundamentally from housewives than do women in the other groups. Housewives' greater marital satisfaction compared to working wives was clear, although no good answers as to why it exists are available right now. Perhaps, she speculates, the working wives must combine a physically demanding and unrewarding job with the task of running a larger-than-average household. (White high-stress-area working wives had an average of 3.1 children, 2.4 of whom were living at home. Working wives in other neighborhoods had fewer children.)

Stress-Level Comparisons

The assumption of socioecological stress for different neighborhoods did not—contrary to expectations—translate itself into differences in mental health. Women from the assumed high- and low-stress areas experienced the same degree of general satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with their lives. While more high-stress-area than low-stress-area wives said that they weren't very happy, no more of them complained of anxiety, nervousness, ill health, or a host of other psychosomatic maladies.

When women from high-stress neighborhoods did report problems, their woes tended to stem from a lack of enough money to fulfill all their needs. They didn't find it easy to live on the family income, and few thought that they had a good chance to meet next year's bills. Women in high-stress areas placed more emphasis on getting ahead in life than their low-stress counterparts and were unhappier with their occupation, be it household or outside work. The housewives often reported feeling that they would rather be doing something else, and the working wives wanted to find different jobs. The high-stress-area women were less satisfied than low-stress-area women with the job they did around their homes, and they argued with their husbands more about excessive drinking.

Children occupied a more focal position in the lives of women from the high-stress areas, perhaps because they were a readily available source of reward and recipients of unfulfilled aspirations. Wives living there placed more importance on being appreciated by their offspring, and more felt that they were indeed appreciated by them.

Unlike housewife-working-wife differences, which tended *not* to hold up across neighborhood and race, the stress-level differences were consistently found for women in both economic roles.

Differences Between the Black and White Married Women

The comparison between women of the two races yielded more differences than any of the other analyses and most of the really strong (i.e., greater than 15 percentage points) ones. The race differences were found for women in both economic roles.

Black women, it seems, enjoyed greater mental health as measured by a number of items, than white women.

A cluster of differences that is among the most provocative and stimulating in the survey involves black-white mental health. Black women, it seems, enjoyed greater mental health, as measured by a number of items, than white women. For example, fewer black than white wives said that they suffered from premenstrual tension or insomnia. Fewer had taken medicine or had seen a doctor for nervousness. Black women smoked less than white women, but they had higher mean blood pressures. Hauenstein notes that, in study after study, blacks report fewer symptoms relating to mental illness, but it is not clear why this is so.

The interpretation of these differences in mental health between black and white women is complicated by other findings on economic attitudes and aspirations. While black women consistently reported suffering [illegible] fewer difficulties in coping with their lives, they were seen as more striving. More than

white women they emphasized the importance of personal and financial advancement. They routinely endorsed more strongly the following statements: very important to get ahead in life; very important for husband to get ahead in his work; very important to be promoted at work; very important to have enough money; very important to have a better family income; very important to earn a higher wage. More of the black women had an optimistic view of their future financial situation (good chance for a better family income; good chance to earn a higher wage; there will be more need for people doing my kind of work), except that fewer said that they had a good chance to be able to pay next year's bills.

These findings run counter to some popular notions about mental health. One school of psychology claims that high aspirations toward material success should lead to the development of stress-related complaints. Striving people are thought to suffer more heart attacks, ulcers, and nervous symptoms. But at least in the case of black women in the Detroit sample, this is not so.

Sociologists have often been quick to point out that the degree of difference between what a person aspires to and what he or she actually has achieved is an index of alienation. Low achievement coupled with high expectations can lead to redoubled efforts or to hopelessness. Presumably, small discrepancies are easier for a person to handle and may indeed be good since they increase striving. Large discrepancies tend to frustrate and lead a person to give up. No discrepancy may be personally comfortable, or it may be a bit boring.

In the Detroit survey, there were a series of items asking the married women what they hoped to achieve personally and financially and how well they were actually doing at meeting these aspirations. Hauenstein didn't calculate difference scores for each person; however, as a group, black women of the two stress levels had consistently larger discrepancies between their hopes and their present circumstances than white women on many items concerning economics and marriage.

Differences between aspiration and realization tended to be greatest for black high-stress-area women (as might be expected because of their low-economic level), but the same discrepancy pattern emerged on several items for the black women in the much more comfortable financial circumstances. The married

women of the two races did not differ significantly in what they objectively had achieved, but the black women placed more importance on economic goals. For instance, white high-stress-area women were not too pleased in general with how well they had done in getting ahead. In this, they were no different than black high-stress-area women. But the same percentage of the former group said that they had done well as said that they felt it was very important to do well. In the high-stress neighborhoods, many more blacks than whites said it was important to get ahead. Aspirations and feelings of present achievement matched up better for white than for black women.

Contrary to some expectations, however, higher material aspirations and larger discrepancies between what they wanted and what they had did not have a negative impact on the mental health indices of black women. If anything, their economic dissatisfactions went along with personal contentment.

Perhaps newly awakened black consciousness in 1967 (when the data were collected) might have led blacks to endorse more highly items concerned with social and material success. It might be argued that it was more socially desirable to express concerns with getting ahead. On the other hand, high aspirations also seem understandable in view of the historic position of blacks in the lowest social and economic strata of American society.

In keeping with their other aspirations, black women were also more interested either in getting or in changing jobs than white women. More placed stress in their marriages on having a good sex life, even in a pre-Masters and Johnson era; but marital arguments about money were more common. In their marital relations, black women seemed more critical and independent than white women, which may be understandable in light of their greater share in the family's economic survival. Of the four neighborhoods polled, wives in the black high-stress area seemed in some respects the least pleased with their spouses, but the black women in the low-stress neighborhood seemed to share a slightly less positive view of marriage.

On the other hand, the black women found more satisfaction in the maternal role than white women. More of them said that it was essential to spend time with their children, and more thought that they had done very well at being "good

mothers" and at having their children's respect. A number of factors could account for these findings.

For instance, the black women's emphasis on the maternal role may reflect their view of their children as recipients of satisfactions that had been denied them, or it may reflect historical differences in black family life. Some authorities hold that black women have traditionally tended to be more stable family members than men and so have had a far greater responsibility for childrearing. Indeed, so important is the role of women in black society that sociologists have referred to it as a matriarchy. Among poor black young women today, motherhood still occupies a prime position as a means of achieving self-esteem.

The black family today is often described as retaining the last vestiges of an extended family structure. Relatives live close by, often in the same building or neighborhood, and are readily available to assist a family member in time of need. Black women in Hauenstein's sample tended to give support to the notion that the extended family is still viable in black American life. More so than white women, they said that it was very important for them to get along well with their parents, and less often they said that it was important to get along well with nonfamily members.

SUMMARY THOUGHTS

What emerges from Hauenstein's study is the finding that race yields the largest differences among married women and also the strongest differences of all the factors considered. The most outstanding black-white differences had to do with women's attitudes toward personal and financial advancement and occupational mobility. There were also many strong differences in general mental health and some large differences in attitudes toward marriage and children. Even so, black and white women did not differ significantly on many other measures, such as their general physical health, and attitudes toward housekeeping, family needs, and enjoyment of work.

There were fewer consistent differences between women from the assumed high- and low-stress neighborhoods, and far fewer of these were strong ones. As with the racial comparison, the main stress-level differences concerned economic attitudes.

There were few consistent differences between high- and low-stress-area women in mental or physical health, attitudes toward housework, enjoyment of work, or attitudes toward relatives and friends.

The housewife-working-wife comparison yielded by far the smallest number of consistent differences, and only one of these was more than 15 percentage points. There were two marginal differences in mental health, one difference about housework, and three about children.

Many of the differences that do emerge seem to have plausible explanations. Black and high-stress-area people may be more concerned about material advancement because they have been or still are in the lower socioeconomic strata. Working wives are more bothered by housework and have less time to spend with children, probably because they must spend more time out of the home.

Other aspects of the study raise questions that are more difficult to explain in terms of economics. Why do black women, given their historically low-status position in American society and given their high striving for success, report the best mental health? Why do striking contrasts in socioecological conditions not yield large differences in mental health? Have we been led astray in believing that adverse socioecological conditions are directly translated into higher rates of mental illness? Other sociological studies have related swings in general economic conditions to increases in mental illness. But in Hauenstein's study, there is relatively little suggestion that large differences on the socioecological dimension play such a role. Residents of the high-stress tracts were similar to low-stress-tract residents on measures of mental health.

This finding is especially perplexing since Kasl and Harburg (1975) have reported elsewhere that the residents of the high-stress areas studied by Hauenstein perceived significantly more stress in their environments than did residents of low-stress tracts. Despite this, the researchers found no relationship between perception of neighborhood and mental health or well-being. Blood pressure levels were also unrelated to the environmental perceptions. Kasl and Harburg qualify the results by pointing out that: (1) They are confined to married people rather than all residents of urban environments, and (2) the mental health measures included are relatively limited.

However, it is possible that the married women in high-stress tracts were in some way buffered against the potentially deleterious effects of their environment. They were living in more or less stable nuclear family arrangements which may indicate and/or contribute to greater perceived mental health and personal happiness. Also, the stress areas chosen were not as extreme as they could have been because there were very few married couples in the highest stress tracts to be found in Detroit. Therefore, while the comparison in the study was between married women residing in strikingly different physical and social surroundings, it may not have been one between people actually experiencing the most extreme contrasts possible in socioecological conditions.

Women are more similar than dissimilar regardless of their neighborhoods of residence, race, or economic roles.

is intriguing to speculate why maternal employment apparently plays such a small part in wives' attitudes toward themselves and their lives. Outside work for the average woman emerges neither as a personal panacea, an automatic source of self-esteem and personal contentment, nor as a great strain on personal resources. However, working wives do report themselves as less satisfied with the quantity and quality of time they spend with their children. This finding seems incongruent with the popularly espoused notion that it is *quality* of time alone which will influence the nature of the mother-child relationship. Working wives also felt that they had less control over their children and less opportunity to instill in them the values they consider important. One wonders whether the working women may not be reflecting guilt relayed to them through the media and other sources which insinuate that outside work dilutes the mothering role.

Hauenstein allows that more economic-role differences may actually exist than were discovered in her study. She would like to compare women who work 40 or more hours a week with women who have part-time jobs, or who are housewives,

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and also to compare women who have young children with those whose children are in grade and high school. Finally she thinks it would be worthwhile to compare women who work in personally rewarding jobs with those who work in more mundane endeavors.

In spite of the differences that emerged, the biggest finding in the study is that of no differences on many measures. Women are more similar than dissimilar, regardless of their neighborhoods of residence, race, or economic roles. Moreover, the importance of such differentiating factors may be losing out to the influence of television, which brings into American homes nightly images of "typical" Americans which many people strive to model. The big city melting pot may have disappeared only to be supplanted by the media. Whatever the reasons, American women from different subcultures have in common many fundamental beliefs and attitudes. They share the same aspirations and problems. And that finding in a world where so many people erect barriers between themselves and others is worth the pondering.

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MARRIED MEN: WORK AND FAMILY

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INTRODUCTION

That women have moved massively into work roles is a well-noted social phenomenon of our time. The corresponding question of what men may be doing in their family roles has received far less attention and research. As women have moved into the work force, are men expanding their role in the family as husbands and fathers? As more women become breadwinners, are their spouses more threatened or more relieved? Are men turning more from work to family as a source of satisfaction? Are there ways to measure degrees and kinds of men's performance, psychological involvement, and satisfaction in these two roles? What might be the consequences for the future of these large-scale social changes taking place?

These are some of the questions that over the last decade have absorbed Joseph Pleck, now at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. His work as a pioneer in male-role research has been both analytic and empirical. That is, some of it has been devoted to analyzing existing findings, isolating and defining entities to be investigated, developing theoretical constructs for their interpretation and the hypotheses that pinpoint what needs to be known, and relating all this to a surrounding body of research. In a contrasting mode, his empirical studies have been devoted to applying this analytical work to developing research designs and instruments,

using national survey data and the formidable and arcane statistical techniques now developed for analyzing these huge amounts of computer-processed information. Research findings from such studies are likely to be treated with great interest because of their enormous social significance and, hence, relevance to social policy. For the same reason they should also be treated with circumspection.

Surprisingly, for most categories of men, family is a greater source of both involvement and satisfaction for many more of them than is work.

Some of Pleck's work investigates the relative degrees of psychological involvement and satisfaction men derive from their two primary roles of work and family and explores the nature of this satisfaction. Surprisingly, for most categories of men, family is a greater source of both involvement and satisfaction for many more of them than is work. This finding does not appear to be a recent change or product of either the coming of the age of aquarius or women into the work force, even though it counters the traditional stereotype of men as work-oriented, women as family-oriented.

If the finding is so, a question provoked is why men's performance, the actual time they spend in the family role, is so minimal. Pleck has been one of the researchers contributing to the methodology for measuring this performance and in one of his most recent empirical studies has found that, contrary to previous time budget studies, men with working wives are beginning to show significantly more time spent in the family role than men with nonworking wives.

If this finding holds, it may auger an important redistribution of men's actual performance time between work and family, matching their longstanding psychological involvement and satisfaction with it. It would be the complement of the increasing time women are now giving to work and, in this respect, might herald a fundamental change in our cultural norms, replacing or adding to the older stereotype of men/

work, women/family with one which accords to each person the two roles of work and family.

Pleck speculates about *why* men should feel the family breadwinner role so involving and satisfying. Various hypotheses have been that the family provides an arena for men's power drive and need to dominate, or that the descending order of husband, wife, children satisfies a common need for hierarchy and social order. Pleck hypothesizes that a crucial source for this feeling, provided by our tradition, social structures, and expectations, is the pride and sense of identity men derive from being a breadwinner and good provider, over decades of a lifetime and over sometimes overwhelming odds and disappointments and dissatisfactions with work. This responsibility and capacity, and the sense that it is expected of them, gives weight and dignity to their family role. This speculation would be consistent with the apparent anomaly of high psychological involvement and very low actual time spent with the family.

If this hypothesis is valid, then we must wonder what will happen as wives begin to meet or exceed the husbands' capacity to be primary breadwinner in their work, what the reactions may be, what modifications may be required of men in their role, sense of identity, and feelings of self-worth. We must wonder whether and how they will experience, as many women are already, the sometimes chaotic and bewildering feelings, abrading demands, and aggravations that social psychologists categorize as signs of role conflict. Pleck has now turned to explore these conflicts in both men and women.

To see how these conclusions have come about and to gain a sense of their validity and significance, let us look at the setting where they occurred, at recent developments in the psychology of sex roles, and at the development of Pleck's thought and research over the past 10 years; then from this context, at his specific studies of men's family role; then, for those who are concerned, at some interesting methodological issues raised by the research; and finally, at what the next steps appear to be for research, policy, and our own lives.

A special and express note should be made of a convenient but misleading use of terminology. Throughout, "work role" refers to a paid job or outside employment by man or woman, while "family role" refers to house chores and child care or

attention by husband, wife, or single parent. That the latter role is work, too, is apparent and every parent will verify.

THE CONTEXT

People's behavior and the arguments given to defend or castigate examples of it are often drawn from psychologists' theories and assumptions. Thus, these theories and assumptions have often without people's awareness shaped their ideas of definitions and limits of sex roles. In this way, psychologists have sometimes influenced the course of social history. Because of this influence, it is important to notice how psychologists' views of sex roles have changed. In an early paper Pleck mapped a traditional view of the psychology of sex roles that until recently dominated American psychology, reviewed some new research that has, in his view, established a new psychology of sex roles, and traced the implications for change in women's and men's social roles and relationships (1977).

Here, the term "sex roles" does not refer to the specifically sexual behavior of men and women but to the *personality traits* and *adult social responsibilities* ascribed to them. Thus, for example, personality traits of the male role conventionally, until recently, prescribed that men be active, aggressive, and competitive; of the female role that women be nurturant, warm, and altruistic. Adult social responsibilities of the male role prescribed breadwinning and sexually distinct types of home chores; of the female role, childcare and housework at home and low-pay, low-prestige jobs at work.

Pleck identified five propositions assumed by the traditional psychology of sex roles:

- Women and men differ substantially on a wide variety of personality traits, attitudes, and interests.
- These differences, to a large degree, are biologically based.
- A major part of these psychological differences between the sexes results from an hypothesized psychological process called "sex identity development," differently defined by several competing theories, that goes beyond the given biological base.

- Developing sex identity is risky, particularly for males, and failure to develop through the appropriate steps of an hypothesized developmental process can result in profound difficulties in personality and life adjustment, including homosexuality.
- Psychological differences between the sexes, and the need for a normal sex identity simultaneously account for and justify the traditional division by sex of work and family responsibilities.

To the traditional psychologist, the premise that sex roles are partly learned does not mean that society is free to change what it teaches or that people have latitude in adopting their sex roles. That social learning is required for full, normal, sexual identity only puts each of us at greater risk for developing the *right* sex-role traits, because so much more can go wrong through mislearning. In this view, changes in sex roles are undesirable because women and men psychologically *need* to be different, and sex-role alterations will not only fail but lead to social disaster.

According to one analysis of scientific development, a given field is often dominated by a reigning model or "paradigm" which can successfully account for and interpret generated research. But gradually new research accumulates results which the model cannot account for, and a radically new paradigm emerges (Kuhn 1962).

Such unassimilable results have begun to accumulate (Pleck 1977). At the same time, three bodies of research are forming the nucleus of a new psychology of sex roles. First, Pleck cites the extensive research review of Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin (1974), finding *no* average differences between the sexes, despite commonly held beliefs that women are less analytical, have lower motivation to achieve and lower self-esteem, and are more suggestible, socially oriented, and nurturant. Average differences by sex *were* confirmed by men's greater physical aggression and by women's greater verbal ability but less ability at visual-spatial and mathematical tasks. These average differences by sex, and the larger context of much greater psychological similarity, are not sufficient to account for the vast difference in sex roles. Second, the research of John Money (Money and Ehrhardt 1972) on gender identity indicates that, except for a fractional minority, gender identity

is irreversibly established very much earlier in life, around the age of 3, than the hypothesized risky developmental process of the traditional view allows. Lastly, research of Sandra Bem and her colleagues (1974, 1975) supports the view that having only traits considered masculine or feminine has more psychologically negative effects than having an androgynous mix. For example, males and females classified as androgynous did well at tasks requiring resisting group pressure (masculine) and also at tasks requiring nurturance and emotional sensitivity (feminine). Males classified as masculine did well on the first but not the second tests. Females classified as feminine did not do well on the first and with some variation did not do well on the second either. Perhaps, Bem suggested, these results came about because the tasks required taking initiative in ambiguous circumstances, which "feminine" dependence does not encourage. Thus, the traditional sex stereotypes may be psychologically handicapping for both sexes. Such findings undercut the social justification for, and bring into question the profound differences and inequities in, the social roles that women and men play in paid employment and the family. But these social roles are held in place by the prescriptive power of the social structures and expectations that mold us all, by fear of the unknown or of the stresses and conflicts of social change.

Growing uneasiness with the reigning psychology of sex-role paradigm, or at least the diminished power of its sanction, may have been a factor in the Second Coming of the women's movement during the late sixties and early seventies that triggered widespread militancy, consciousness raising, and political activism. One result of this ferment was the kindling in Joseph Pleck—with a fresh *magna cum laude* from Harvard in social relations, earned during those incited years and, subsequently, doctorate in clinical psychology—of an interest in the nature and significance of the male sex role. The feminist movement and speculation about the limits of women's sex roles opened the way to ask whether men, too, might not be imprisoned in *their* traditional sex roles. Speculation through the late sixties and early seventies continued until by fall 1974, four major books had emerged (Farrell 1975; Fasteau 1974; Kaye 1974; Pleck and Sawyer 1974). These precipitated growing interest, activism, conferences, research, publications, and, recently,

journal attention of an entire issue on the topic (Pleck and Brannon 1978).

Over these years of immersion, Pleck's attention in male research became less psychologically or personality oriented as his sense of the importance of social roles in determining behavior increased. The main social roles determined by people's sex are in work and the family. While "sex roles" can be conceived in different ways—to refer, for example, to adolescent dating relationships or, often, to refer to personality traits more typical of one sex or the other—for Pleck the term denotes the two social sets of behaviors, responsibilities, and expectations concerning work and family, for women and men. These assumed social roles, very much part of people's psychology, evidence themselves in social interactions of, for example, the male's traditional family role: the Breadwinner, who is responsible for working at a job, who is expected to use earnings from it to support the family, and whose behavior, hence, involves little time spent at home.

There are at least three commonly used explanations, not mutually exclusive, for why men in adult life have the sex roles that they do. One of them is that men are "naturally" disposed to be the ones who go out into the world to hunt or forage and bring home the food, either through some still undetermined genetic endowment or the cumulative acculturation of several million years in the primate channel. A second explanation, currently receiving emphasis, is that men from early childhood are socialized to fill these adult roles through reinforcement and social learning of those personality traits that enable them as adults to fulfill their sex roles of work and family. A third explanation accounts for sex roles in terms of the structural factors of adult life—such as institutions and embedded social habits. But Pleck no longer believes the second explanation adequate to account for the simple and comparatively invariant stability of sex roles when contrasted with the wide variation in men's personality traits. He believes the third explanation accounts much more strongly for our sex-role behavior than the other explanations and that probably the most significant structural factor is economic. Work for pay provides economic independence, from which other discretional choices flow; not working for pay provides economic dependence.

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In one sense, this third explanation appears as a variant of the Marxist doctrine that the manner of *economic* exchange is the basic explanatory principle and that society is the superstructure derived from this base. But if so Pleck's analysis is in another sense post-Marxist or beyond Marx in two significant respects. First, it identifies the *family* and not the individual as the basic economic unit of analysis and, second, it explains the disproportion and inequities of male and female social role as primarily attributable to men's sex role as economic breadwinner. But the other side of the same coin is Pleck's proposal that it is as breadwinner for the family that men have traditionally fulfilled their sex role, regardless of whether they enjoyed either work or family. That is, they have accepted as a criterion of their manhood the requirement to support a family economically by working. In this view, the male's customary dominance in the traditional family is not explained primarily by genetic, psychological, or socialization factors, though all may contribute, but most centrally by his breadwinning role. The family is controlled not by the male but by his job. From the man's view, his obligation is to the family contract. In that contract, the husband supports the family through his paid work, in return for which the wife takes care of him and their children. In so doing, he proves to himself, his family, and the world that he is a man. In this analysis, a man is a more beleaguered fellow than the strutting peacock, restless hunter, chinashop bull, king in his castle, insatiable powermonger, or roving Don Juan projected by other analyses. He may be one or several of these but is also well aware of *what is expected of him that he ought to be* and that is holding up his end of an economic bargain. That is mainly why most men mostly still do. Pleck believes we need to analyze these existing attitudes to predict what the impact of current changes will be.

This analysis suggests we look to the consequences of various social changes on this traditional contract. For the basic unit of economic transaction, the family, has been changing. From a number of data, these are indicative: in families that have both a husband and wife, only 31 percent have only a husband breadwinner; 47 percent have two breadwinners, both husband and wife (Hagghe 1977). If men's two traditional sex roles of work and family are related in a fundamental way by an implicit contract of economic exchange of work done to show

ability to support a family, what happens to men if and when performance and wages or salary in these roles is equalled or exceeded by their wives and women colleagues at work? We do not know how widespread the condition might become or how profound the consequences may be. Neither do we know the consequences of the newer dictum: Let both sexes fill both roles in terms of role conflict, strain, overload, psychological change, or cultural dislocation. We do know remarkably large changes are taking place.

The social scientist's task in this welter of change is to tease from it features of social organization there to be captured. To do so requires a process of developing useful new concepts and ways to operationalize or quantify them. These provide a handle or way to shape phenomena and trace what effects they have. In the research literature of work and family life, as well as in the growing literature on the effects of unemployment, the phenomena of men's family and work sex roles, of their relation to each other, possible conflict, and relation of both to female roles, have gone almost unremarked, though change is under way (Nye 1976). Pleck believes they can be central concepts for understanding the changes taking place. For example, he has analysed into parts and devised measures for three concepts that are aspects of family and work roles. The first is amount of *performance*, how much time is actually spent in the role; the second is level of *psychological involvement* in the role; the third is the degree of *adjustment* or *satisfaction* found in the role. In effect, the idea of sex roles provides us with a new cognitive category for understanding a piece of social reality; the three concepts and measures provide ways to isolate and test it, to see if it fits the phenomena and helps explain them. Let us look at Pleck's research on men's sex roles.

THE WORK-FAMILY ROLE SYSTEM

The study of work and the study of family have until recently been separate subdisciplines in sociology, whereas they ought to be considered jointly to show how the function of each role affects the other. Similarly, traditional sex-role norms prescribed work and family responsibilities by sex, but new options for each sex to integrate roles in both work and family are emerging. Thus, a simple conceptual rubric lays out the links

between male work role and female work role in both the work place and in marriage, the links between male work role and male family role, between female work role and female family role, and the links between male family role and female family role, and thus helps organize research about the relations among these roles. Pleck (1977) calls this rubric *the work-family role system*. The system can be used at the level of individual families or in the aggregate. Let us look at the male family role links in this system: the female and male family role link and the male family and work role link. Two interesting features of the link between female and male family roles are, first, that family tasks are segregated by sex (Blood and Wolfe 1960; Duncan et al. 1974) and that wives' support for the traditional division of labor by sex remains strong (Robinson et al. 1976). Second, although, as we shall see, method differences introduce discrepancies in data, it appears that, at least until recently, men's family role time was not much more if their wives worked than if they didn't. That is, husbands contributed about the same time to family tasks (about 1.6 hours per day) whether their wives worked (with an average 4.8 hours of family work per day) or not (with an average 8.0 hours of family work per day) according to one study (Walker 1970) and corroborated by others.

Interesting features of the link between male family and work roles are first that, although men's family time goes down as work time goes up and vice versa, men's family time baseline (about 1.6 hours per day) is very low: one-third that of working wives. The ceiling is imposed not by work-role demands, since these demands are roughly the same for working wives and for husbands, but by the traditional division of family labor by sex. Second, if this is so, then, as long as wives' and husbands' support for this traditional division by sex remains strong, decreased work-role demands for men are not likely to increase their family role time so much as increase what they give to overtime, two jobs, or leisure. Third, an advantage of using the work-family system is that it shows up defects of comparability in data due to our own culture-blindness. For example, Pleck cites economic literature in which wives are asked how they allocate their time among paid market work, housework and childcare, and leisure; but husbands are asked only how they allocate their time between paid

market work and leisure. So men's actual participation in family role is analytically invisible. The lesson that can be generalized from this finding is that men's family-role research questions are not yet correctly and sharply focused enough to provide the answers we need.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: PERFORMANCE

Pleck analyzes men's family role in terms of three concepts: performance, or actual time spent in the role, level of psychological involvement, and degree of satisfaction in or adjustment to the role. These three are not the only concepts to reflect aspects of men's family role, and among other concepts that have had research attention are husbands' decisionmaking power, husbands' companionship or emotional roles, and fatherhood and the father-child relationship. But focusing on the first of these, performance, is a good way to become aware of the spadework that goes into breaking new ground, in analyzing a concept and developing measures for it.

Regarding performance, Pleck (1976) asks three deceptively simple questions: first, what is the extent of men's family-role performance? Second, why is it so limited? Third, what are the consequences of this currently limited role? Until recently, the extent of men's family-role performance was measured by a variety of family division-of-labor questions that yielded comparative scores of each family member's contribution to a task but which were hard to translate into units of work that were additive, easily understood, and that had concrete meaning in absolute terms. "Time budget" methodology has made possible a simpler approach that asks respondents to record an itemized day's activity in "diaries" that are then coded, weighted, and averaged in an easily understood unit of measurement, time. From several large-scale studies of time use, Pleck's focus is one that draws on a national sample of 1,244 adults in 44 metropolitan areas and 788 residents of Jackson, Michigan, in 1965-66 (Robinson 1977).

In this study, men's total family work averages 96 minutes per day or 11.2 hours per week. For comparison, the total family work of housewives is 53.2 hours per week, and for working women, 28.1 hours per week. With the exception of marketing, men's work tends to be concentrated in irregularly

performed housework and travel related to shopping and child care. Men's direct child care, for those who have children, is small, about 12 minutes a day, and its largest component is playing with children. Men spend more time in child contact (any activity where their children are present, including watching TV), ranging from two to four hours a day. It is not known how much of this time frees the wife to be out of the house. There is lack of consensus about variations in men's family work by class, race, age, and family life-cycle stage, and the general averages may mask differences for each of these factors. But for a fifth factor, whether the wife works or not, these time-budget data show men spend about the same amount of family time, a finding contrary to earlier analyses based on comparative division-of-labor measures indicating more family time spent by men with wives who worked (Blood and Wolfe 1960). For those interested, the difficulty with these measures is discussed later in a section on methodology. Until recently, the finding was also corroborated by other large-scale time-budget studies that did not use comparative or proportional measures (Walker and Woods 1976; Meissner et al. 1975).

However, in a recent study of Pleck and Lang's using 1977 data (1978), there is a small but significant *increase* in family time by men with working wives, perhaps signalling the beginning of a change. In this study based on data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, husbands of working wives spend more time in the family role than husbands of nonworking wives—about 1.8 more hours per week in housework and 2.7 more hours per week in child care (Pleck and Lang 1978a). Though these increments are small, they should not be dismissed. They may indicate that husbands in the late 1970's are beginning to compensate for their wives' outside work by increasing their (the husbands') own family work.

Why is Men's Family Role so Limited?

Ninety-six minutes a day, or about 11.2 hours per week, is not a great deal of time for men to spend in their family role, along with an assumed 40 hours in their work role, particularly contrasted with working women's 28.1 hours per week, along with an assumed 40 hours in the work role, and housewives' 53.2 hours per week. Three kinds of explanations that have been offered are that males' *biological heritage* or "*program-*

ming" does not dispose them to child care, that their *work roles* interfere, or that *sex-role ideology* limits them.

Pleck reviews several kinds of data in studies relevant to the biological-incapacity hypothesis: evidence of fathering in other animal species, the role of sex hormones in nurturance towards the young, and human fathers' response to newborns. He concludes that there is considerable diversity within the primates in the role of males in child-rearing, that parental behavior does develop in males simply with exposure to newborns, and that in controlled situations human fathers feel and act towards their infants in ways hard to distinguish from the ways of mothers. Thus, in general, it is more plausible to say that men's low child care occurs *despite* men's innate capacity to nurture infants and not because of some biological incapacity.

A second explanation, that men's work role limits men's family time, has been tested in several different formulations. One is that, by fulfilling his work role, a husband believes his breadwinning responsibility is carried out and he is thus relieved of any other family role. This formulation does not explain the data showing that the husband with a working wife does not apply the same belief to her. A second formulation is that the demands of men's work role limit the family time they should or would like to give. The kinds of evidence for these demands reviewed by Pleck are varied, and although they do reduce men's family work, Pleck then reviews the studies that suggest reasons why these demands don't adequately account for men's limited family role. These studies suggest that, when work demands are reduced, men do not increase family time very much, as contrasted with leisure time. Often when opportunities to reduce the work role are offered, men do not take advantage of them. Working women do find the time to spend with family. When men have lower hours in paid work, their family work does not increase proportionately. From this review, Pleck concludes that men's low baseline and low elasticity of family performance time must be accounted for by other, ideological factors.

Pleck's review of recent national and other large-scale survey data on men's family work provides somewhat surprising and anomalous conclusions (e.g. Mason and Bumpass 1975; Yankelovich 1974; Harris 1971). Only a minority, 10 to 35 percent, depending on the exact comparison made, of the population

believe that, in general, men should do more housework and child care than they are now doing. Only 35 percent of wives reporting *no* help from their husbands want more help. Only half of a recent male sample supported equal housework and child care if the wife worked. There is no consensus that men should increase their family work. Second, these attitudes seem to be changing very slowly. Comparisons between 1965 and 1973 show only marginal change (Robinson 1976). Third, national survey data suggest women are either equal to or more reluctant than men to have men's family-role time increase. Why is not clear and needs research. Perhaps women have a psychological investment in a monopoly on the family role. Perhaps this parallels an analysis of attitudes that support a limited breadwinner role for women (Mason and Bumpass 1970). Among aspects that need investigation, Pleck suggests:

> For example, many may believe that children are psychologically harmed if there is not a clear parental division of labor, specifically, if they see their fathers do housework; that it is psychologically harmful for children to experience too close a relationship with their fathers, because it will compete with their relationship with their mothers; that men are more fulfilled in, or psychologically suited for work than family roles; that it is demeaning or psychologically harmful to men to expect them to perform traditionally female family work, or that men's interest in such work is indicative of psychological maladjustment. There are many other attitudes which potentially support men's presently limited family role which can be explored as well. Future research will have to examine this cluster of attitudes, their interrelationships, and their sources and consequences. (p.58 Pleck 1976)

Consequences of Men's Limited Family Role

Evidence that men's limited family role has good or ill effects on children is considerable but unclear. Much of the literature takes the point of view that fathers' low involvement with their children may cause them, especially sons, psychological problems. Pleck suggests that this assumption should not be made, that more time and higher involvement might increase the problems—for example, if it led to more traditional sex-typing in children just as the desirability of this sex-typing is being brought into question by recent research such as Bem's, cited

earlier. Further, support for higher involvement is often based on research into effects of father *absence*, particularly regarding sex-role identity, school performance, and delinquency. But ill effects of absence do not logically entail good effects from presence; in addition, well-controlled empirical studies have had weak results, perhaps because even when fathers are technically present they may be functionally absent in the American family. Pleck suspects that variation in fathers' family work may have fewer consequences than we might expect, just as other research suggests maternal employment of itself does not appear to affect children negatively (Hoffman 1974). In each case, factors related to the quality of parental attention would more likely be decisive.

Evidence that men's limited family role has good or ill effects on wives is sparce and still less clear. Pleck cites several recent studies with anomalous findings. One analysis suggests that contemporary marriage appears to have negative effects on women but positive effects on men (Bernard 1971). Yet Radloff found that, although working wives total more work hours than husbands, they have lower rates of depression than nonworking wives (1975); and among employed wives there was no relationship between depression and housework. Further research is needed before anything can be said with confidence about the effect on wives of men's limited family role. Finally, virtually no research exists on the effect of this limited role on men themselves.

We have seen that men's family-role contribution in time is small compared both to their work role and to working women's. However, Pleck and Lang's recent study of 1977 data shows what may be a modest increase in time by husbands of working wives, compared with those with nonworking wives, which may auger a long-term larger increase (1978a). Still, men's actual performance time in their family role is only part of the story and an insufficient measure of the significance of this role for them.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: PSYCHOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT

A popular and durable belief about men's family role has been that, while women may be devoted to their families, men's primary psychological involvement is with their work. In the

recent study by Pleck and a colleague, Linda Lang, of the University of Massachusetts, this hoary belief is challenged (1978). The empirical part of their study is based on data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, using a sample of 757 husbands and 270 wives, over 16, currently living with their spouses and working over 20 hours per week. It indicates that men's psychological involvement with marriage and family is greater than with their work. Moreover, an accompanying review of the literature indicates that not only does this circumstance prevail in the latter 70s but also that it has been the case for as long as statistical surveys have gathered data on the topic.

Pleck and Lang examine three aspects of men's family role: performance, level of psychological involvement, and degree of adjustment. *Psychological involvement* measures how important or significant participation in the family role is for a person. *Adjustment* refers to the degree of overall satisfaction and happiness a person reports deriving from the role. In addition, Pleck and Lang use Campbell's index of *well-being*, which refers to individuals' overall evaluations of the quality of their lives (1976). Then they measure the relative impact of performance, involvement, and adjustment on overall well-being, comparing men's family and work roles, and these two to women's family and work roles. Men report family experience makes a greater contribution than work experience to their overall well-being. Let us now look at this study in more detail.

The study cites a number of investigations and among them both Rosenberg's (1957) and Adamek and Goudy's (1966) findings from college samples that, although less so for males than females, *many more males expected their greatest life satisfaction to come from family relationships than from work* (62 percent vs. 25 percent in Rosenberg, 1957; 70 percent vs. 22 percent in Adamek and Goudy, 1966). Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) report that the proportions rating a happy marriage, a good family life, and an interesting job as "extremely important" were, respectively, 74, 67, and 38 percent in the 1971 Quality of Life Survey.

In Pleck and Lang's own survey sample, psychological involvement was measured by response to four questions: (1) How often they thought about spouse and children while doing other things: 65 percent said "often," compared with 32 percent

who said "often" of their work. (2) Ninety-four percent said the most important things that happened to them were in their marriage and family life, compared with 55 percent who made the equivalent statement about their jobs. (3) Fifty-one percent said that, with fewer work hours, they would spend the extra time with family or equally between family and leisure. (4) A near majority would not redistribute work and family time; of those who would, many more would spend more time with family than work, even with loss of income.

These findings collectively indicate that men's family role is far more psychologically significant to them than their work role and by a margin only somewhat less significant than it is for women. The suggestion that men's family-preference response may be merely conventional rhetoric obscuring a limited involvement shown in small performance time does not appear warranted. Men's high psychological involvement with family is buttressed not only by a number of studies dating from Rosenberg's in 1957 but independently by the last part of Pleck and Lang's study, which measures the relative contribution of these roles to overall well-being. But this conclusion is not well-known or even accepted. The popular stereotype of the work-oriented man is more universally assumed. Some men do fit this stereotype, but they appear to be only a small minority of highly educated, probably professional males.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment refers to the degree of satisfaction and happiness individuals report they derive from their family role. Unlike psychological involvement, the adjustment measure reflects men's feeling about their actual living in the family role. Here again, the findings reinforce men's high psychological involvement in their family role. Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) found that both sexes rated marriage and the family more satisfying than work. In a sample of female British university graduates ten years later, 59 percent of husbands listed family relationships as giving the most life satisfaction, compared with 28 percent listing career or occupation (Bailyn 1970). In a follow-up study of gifted students, men rated family satisfaction higher than five other areas inquired about, job satisfaction third (Sears 1977).

These findings were corroborated in the empirical part of Pleck and Lang's study. Using three measures for adjustment, Pleck and Lang asked respondents to report the degree of their marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and family-life satisfaction, and the latter two were compared to work satisfaction. About 3 percent reported marriage less satisfying than work, 52 percent marriage and work equal, and 45 percent marriage more satisfying than work. About 4 percent reported family less satisfying than work, 53 percent family and work equal, and 43 percent family more satisfying than work. Thus, again contrary to popular stereotype, far more men find more satisfaction in marriage and family than in work, though a majority report equal satisfaction in both roles.

MEN'S FAMILY ROLE: IMPACT ON OVERALL WELL-BEING

Finally, when Pleck and Lang reviewed the literature on the relative contribution of marriage, family, and work to an overall sense of well-being, family and marriage turned out to be highly and nearly equally significant, while work was somewhat less so (Andrews and Withey 1976; Campbell et al. 1976). But one other study which contradicts these results analyzes the relative contribution of family and work to life happiness (well-being) by *life cycle stage* (Harry 1976). In three of the five life cycle groups of husbands in this study (preschool children, school age children, adult children), work satisfaction had the stronger association to life happiness.

In the empirical or survey part of the study, Pleck and Lang used the Campbell well-being index as questionnaire items about overall life happiness and satisfaction. Controlling for education, family life-cycle stage, and spouse employment status, they concluded that family variables have stronger impact than work on well-being and account for about 23 percent of the variance in well-being for all husbands. In relative terms, for men the effect for family is about 1.5 times greater than work.

Cumulatively, the evidence is quite strong that most men on all these measures invest far more in their family role than has been credited. This investment appears of long standing and not attributable to, for example, the "new morality" of the 60s or accounted for as fallout from the women's liberation move-

ment. On the contrary, evidence suggests that men of the educated middle income class, where the activist movements of the 60s had their largest flowering, are a group likelier than others to be more work-oriented. Instead, as we have seen, family role involvement, adjustment, and contribution to well-being is a deeply embedded male preference across the range of men.

METHODOLOGY

Research progress and the quality of findings often wait on the development of methods or instruments sufficiently focused and precise to capture data that are otherwise vague or elusive. Sometimes improvements in method show that older methods structured data in misleading ways, a reminder that methods inevitably condition findings. Often research design calls for sophistication in selecting among methods for different trade-offs, depending on the research purpose. Occasionally the challenge is to develop from scratch a method to capture a phenomenon heretofore unnoticed. Pleck's work can be used to illustrate each of these situations.

One methodology to note is that developed by Pleck in response to the need for finding ways to measure aspects of men's family role, itself until recently an undeveloped concept. An existing body of marriage research had already studied marital adjustment, power and decisionmaking, and division of labor, but Pleck has specified three aspects he believes significantly define family role: performance, psychological involvement, and adjustment (or satisfaction)—aspects also applicable to both men and women in work roles as well. He has developed operational ways to isolate and test for them. Thus, the three aspects can be studied across these categories and, though the aspects are themselves invisible, their effects can be measured. It is not too farfetched to think of these aspects as analogous to bioassays that must be invented in order to locate and measure within the body levels of a chemical substance hypothesized to exist there. So do these aspects, made operational, seek to capture statistical traces in our social behavior of psychosocial entities revealed through responses to survey questionnaires.

Determining men's actual performance in the family role calls for methods that define and quantify that performance. Two generic methods have been used that provide a second

example of methodology for determining family performance. One is proportional or relative and asks the respondent to record the comparative division of family labor for specified tasks, thus providing a basis for comparing subgroups of husbands with each other. But the results cannot be translated in absolute terms into units of work to show time spent in each task and totals, which could then be compared across studies. Further, a seriously misleading defect of this proportional method is that a spurious increase in husbands' family time will appear as an artifact if wives' family time decreases, as it does for working wives. Thus, a number of studies based on this method produced a finding of increased husband family time when wives went to work, whereas husband's time was actually staying the same; their *relative* share of family work was simply increasing by definition.

To overcome this defect, there have been developed in recent years "time budget" methods where respondents record in "diaries" everything they have done through a particular day. This approach yields an absolute measure in units of time that can more easily be aggregated by components, coded, and compared across studies. It was on several large-scale studies of time use, using this method, that Pleck based the conclusion that husbands of working wives did *not* until recently contribute more family time than men with nonworking wives. And it was using a variant of this method that Pleck and Lang in their study of 1977 Quality of Employment data concluded that there was now, at last, a small but significant increase in family time of husbands with working wives.

Time-budget methods for family-role research have only recently seen widespread use and development, stimulated by an appreciation of their value in economics. Time-and-motion studies of work during the 20's gave rise briefly to similar studies in the home, but these studies were in the research area of home economics, a research ghetto of low prestige and interest peopled mostly by women until recently.

Time-budget studies present their own drawbacks and choices. Any meticulous recording in minutes of the previous day's activities inevitably has in it a considerable amount of "noise," time spent unique to that day and not indicative of typical or average time in each activity. Diaries that take ac-

count of this peculiarity and ask for many days' records, which can then be averaged, become prohibitively expensive.

An alternative developed by Pleck is a summary time-estimate measure, quick, easy, cheap, whereby the respondent simply estimates average time for different activities. Its cheapness and simplicity make it widely usable, but it is vulnerable to inflated self-estimates. On the other hand, if the research purpose is not establishing time incidence so much as *correlations*—for example, between work and family time, men and women, housewives and working women, and the like—time estimates might still be the more accurate method, since self-estimates will be similarly inflated.

A third methodology worth mention is the cluster of techniques that has grown around analyses of massive amounts of data derived from national and other large-scale surveys. Availability of such huge data sets, the computer hardware to record and manipulate them, and the theory and mathematical techniques to design for such quantity are changing the nature of much psychosocial research. The N, or total universe of respondents, for a typical study design of two decades ago on this topic might be 20 college sophomores randomly sampled from the registrar's list; the N today might be 2,000 from a national survey. However, the tradeoffs should be examined carefully: High Ns may make subcategories more usable and conclusions more generalizable, but 20 college sophomores can still provide enlightening, rich, and fertile detail. Often high Ns and high detail can be complementary strategies.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Most recently Pleck in another empirical study has gone one step further to investigate the kinds and degrees of role conflict or interference between work and family life that occur among men, working wives, and single parents who work (1978b). This step is into uncharted territory, so much so that there does not yet exist in our language a generic term for the fundamental unit of his analysis: the marital or parent-child units that include at least one paid worker. Pleck calls this unit the "worker family"; within each of these will be at least one person with the two roles of work and family. It is a self-sustaining unit. It may be all male, all female, or mixed. It is a

unit in terms of which social analysis about work-family relationship may be undertaken and social policy projected, particularly as more and more people undertake both roles. For example, what kinds of role conflict occur—excessive work time, incompatible scheduling, physical or psychological spillover from work—determine whether less overtime, flexitime or reduced work strain become objectives.

The specific costs and benefits of a deliberate two-role life are not yet all that clear. Politically, the women's liberation movement has generally regarded work, at equal pay for equal merit, as a source of independence and selfrealization for women. There may be negative consequences from double-role demands that would put qualifications to this belief. Increased stress, already a putative factor in shortening men's lives, may be a high cost of double-role living. The alleged alienating and dehumanizing effect of industrial and post-industrial work may be another. It may turn out that, whereas the old psychology of sex assumed women for the children's and husband's sake should not work, new research may suggest they should not for their own sakes. On the other hand, both men and women may over time find two-role living a way to provide continuity, balance, and variety in their lives.

Pleck identifies three issues that social changes taking place may bring to a head. One finding has been that the attitudes of both women and men are still traditional in *not* wanting men to take a greater family role. If this attitude should change, then the crucial constraints on men's increasing their low performance in the family role would be demands of the work role. Expanding the male family role without accomodating changes in the work role will lead to role strains similar to those now faced by working wives. Currently, husbands wanting to share household and childcare responsibilities face penalities in the competition for job advancement, and there are few practices that legitimize such a shift in emphasis.

If women begin to equal or exceed men in income and advancement in the work role, then major adjustments may be required in men's self-conceptions as primary family breadwinners and in the norms governing male-female interaction on the job. (Conversely, for women, high-status jobs may require priority over family akin to the priority men set.) On the other hand, the change in self-conception may not be traumatic, espe-

cially if a wife's increased income makes goods and services available, makes life less stressful than when the burden of primary breadwinner is carried by the man alone.

Lastly, if the sex segregation of both family and work role is reduced, then a basic change in the work-role model may be necessary for both men and women. The male work-role model in our society calls for full-time, continuous work from graduation to retirement, subordination of other roles to work, and actualization of one's potential through it. To a large extent, men could give work this emphasis because women supported the male work role, subordinated their own work role, and carried out most of the family role. In the past, with some stress, one breadwinner in the family could follow the male work model. In the present, with more stress, one breadwinner could emphasize work and another breadwinner play an ancillary, less-demanding work role. But it is doubtful whether large numbers of families can function with both partners following the male work model. For both spouses to adopt the male work model, families would have to stop having children, or else household and childcare services would have to be provided on a scale hitherto unprecedented. Without one or the other, two-role living by both men and women will require a new work-role model and for men an expanded family role.

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THE NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILY: THE URBAN WAY

Principal Investigator: Dorothy L. Miller, D.S.W.

Author: Charlotte Dickinson Moore, NIMH

Maria quietly left the crowded, one-bedroom apartment with its dinner smells still hovering in the hot still air. She crept down two narrow flights of littered stairs, hearing the early evening sounds, pans clattering, a baby fretting, a strain of acid rock. Out on the stoop, she looked up expectantly. On the reservation, a look at the constant stars had marked the predictable end of a busy day helping her mother, playing with the cousins, or, a special delight, tending the sheep. Often, evening was the time for talking with her parents or for hearing stories about her people and the great sky above them all.

The sky over Oakland seemed lower than the sky over the reservation, lower, with a reddish glow and a heaviness and no trace of the opalescence of a country sunset. A penned-up dog yipped impatiently and a siren began its persistent whine nearby, the sound diminishing as the ambulance sped away toward an emergency room somewhere. Maria remembered the sirens. She once had gone to a hospital emergency room when her mother had cut her hand badly. The child still recalled sitting scared and alone in a corner and watching other frightened people waiting, waiting, waiting, and staring dully as new victims of fights or accidents came through.

Maria's mother came noiselessly to stand by her daughter. She put her hand on the child's shoulder and so they stood side by side for some time, staring upward. Maria wanted to tell her mother what she remembered of a blue sky, with stars and a

moon. She sensed, though, that her mother understood. Together they watched her older brother come home from his cleaning job in the big office building a few blocks away. He was carrying a bag which, Maria knew, held a small treat for her and the little brother, since it was payday. Now, if only her father would come, walking straight and proud as he used to. Often, lately, he came with his shoulders sagging and his head bowed. Sometimes, more and more often, his steps were uncertain and uneven from too much drink. On those nights he never spoke the tales of his people, Maria's favorite bedtime stories, but only of his despair, if he spoke at all.

Two years ago, the family had come to Oakland by bus with two battered cardboard suitcases and a few boxes. This was another bad memory for Maria. All of them had been excited when her mother and father had finally decided to leave the dusty reservation and to go where her father could have a job every day. Maria had expected to have a few new dresses and a good pair of shoes to wear to a big school where she would have lots of new friends. But at the bus terminal on the very first day in Oakland, with the family standing around their belongings, her mother holding the new little brother and her father undecided what they should do, Maria had been afraid.

The Traveler's Aid lady had advised them to call the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Her mother had said no, because they had come to the city on their own and the BIA wouldn't help them. They had been lucky, though. Another Indian who was sweeping up cigarette butts and crumbs from the floor of the terminal had spoken to them and asked the name of their tribe. He had met a man from their reservation at a powwow the previous Saturday and offered to find him where he worked in a warehouse a few blocks away. Maria and her family had sat down gratefully to wait until their new friend had time to leave and seek the man out. The little girl still remembered the prickles in her dangling feet, and wishing she had a quarter to put in the television box in front of her chair.

THE INDIAN COMES TO THE CITY: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDIES

The story of Maria and her family is a composite of the stories of many urban Indian parents and children. As de-

pressed peoples have for centuries migrated to urban areas in search of employment and a better life, Native Americans have ventured off their reservations and into the cities, often encouraged by various governmental agencies. Some have remained, many have returned, homesick, to the support of their extended family networks and to the known, no matter how poor.

A larger movement of American Indians to the cities accompanied the radical social changes of World War II and its aftermath. In 1952, to ease widespread unemployment and formidable social problems on the semi-isolated reservations, the

Most people, when they talk about the Native American in the city, talk about the alcoholism, the poverty . . . that doesn't tell the whole story . . .

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began a program of vocational training for young Indian adults, including subsistence for six months, in cities where jobs appeared to be more abundant. A number of the families who relocated to benefit from the program stayed in the cities; many not in the program joined them. Now, though the program has been discontinued, nearly half of all Native Americans live away from their reservations and Indian communities.

Most Americans are familiar with the bitter history of the First Americans. Histories, novels, and movies have presented it from many perspectives. Within the last quarter-century, Indians have joined other ethnic American groups in rising consciousness and growing pride and awareness. Like the recently prideful terms "Chicano" and "black," more extensive use of "Native American" denotes pride in self and heritage (as well as an attempt to correct Columbus' "mistake").

Relocation and Sociocultural Dislocation

Anthropology and ethnology are receiving more attention generally, and more Indians themselves are studying and writing in those disciplines. Many are entering the helping professions the better to aid their people. A report on research done

in the San Francisco Bay area by the Native American Research Group of the Institute for Scientific Analysis observed (Miller, 1975): "We now talk with young Native Americans who have never seen their reservations, never spoken their native tongue, nor listened to their 'old ones.' . . . The planned and massive movement of Native Americans, by the BIA, from the reservation to the city is the most significant crisis to face us since our conquest by the white man. It presents us with a terrific problem: how can we retain our Indian identity under the pressures of separation, assimilation, and urbanization? How can our families socialize young Indians in both the traditional ways and the non-Indian ways? Will the city environment accomplish what 400 years of 'civilizing the savage' failed to accomplish—the elimination of Native Americans as a distinct people?"

Relocation seems to be a concomitant of the mobility endemic to a highly industrialized society. Many accept it as the price of upward mobility or, often, merely the opportunity to work. Leaving behind old networks of extended kin, friends, the neighborhood, the church is hard for any group, in any society. Weaving new networks is hard, too, but easier for people who share the same ways and speak the same tongue as their neighbors, whether in ghetto or suburb. The same report refers to relocation as "a process of struggle, of loss, of hope, of longing to return and determination to stay."

The sociocultural disorganization which has been seen by many sociologists as the natural sequel of movement from rural to urban area has occurred to reservation-bred Indians with even more force than to other groups. For them, the cultural shock has been on two readily perceived levels, country-city and Indian-Other. There is yet a third level for these Native Americans, one of which many other Americans are unaware. Indians are not all one, one language, one way of life, one religion, over three centuries of governmental effort at uniformity to the contrary. With 280 tribal groups and with more different tribal tongues in Oklahoma and California alone than in all the languages in Europe, how could they be? It is no wonder that Murray Wax, longtime scholar and observer of the Indian way, wrote (1971): "Thus the city becomes not only the frontier where Indian and white meet, but also where Cherokee and Sioux, Navajo, Chippewa and many others are meeting,

adjusting to each other, and helping to shape the identity of the American Indian."

Biculturation

The Native American Research Group hypothesized that a true biculturation, an internalization of the norms and values of two worlds, and subsequently a sense of identity with two cultural modes, might occur in second generation migrants to the city. No one else has explored this biculturation process among urban Indian children, faced with competing pressures to conform to city life, white or black, and to parental and tribal values which may be vastly different from those of their peers. Determined to find out what happens to those Indian children whose parents have moved from reservations to the city, the Research Group decided to investigate such areas as:

- The identity of the Indian family with traditional Indian modes.
- The degree of urbanization undergone by the family.
- The socialization process undergone by the child.
- The sense of identity which the child is developing.
- The degree of the child's adjustment to the urban setting.
- The need for relevant Indian-oriented, Indian-run programs in health, education, welfare, and economic development.

The Native American Researchers

The principal investigator, Dorothy L. Miller, D.S.W., is part Indian, a mother, a grandmother, and a Phi Beta Kappa. She worked in the Midwest in factories for almost 20 years before going to college, obtained her AA from a community college, a BA "with honor" from the State University of Iowa in 1955, and her MA in social work there two years later. Miller began doctoral studies in sociology there while working as a psychiatric social worker, but in 1961 went to California and earned the Doctor of Social Welfare degree at the University of California in Berkeley.

Many of Dr. Miller's papers reflect her broad research interests—deinstitutionalization of mental patients and recidivism, suicidal behavior, and alcoholism in many of its aspects. Her approach to the study of the American Indians' socialization to

urban life reflects, as well, her preliminary studies in sociology and a scholar's objectivity blended with concern for her people. For some time, she has been President of the Institute for Scientific Analysis, a nonprofit social policy research organization in San Francisco. She established within that Institute a Native American Research Group to train and employ Native American reseachers. The study, "Native American Families in the City," is their product and the Native American Research Group's work continues under the direction of Jenny Joe, Ph.D., a Navajo.

Of her philosophy, this woman with the deep, contagious laugh says: "My major theoretical interest through the years has been in the big field of deinstitutionalization. I look on research as one of the ways of bringing about change for the betterment of the human condition and I'm very interested in social institutions and how they change and what harm or good they do to people. I'm hoping that I can work myself out of the Indian research business. That's not a bad thing to say, but a good thing. The young Indian scholars will address these issues." Dr. Miller is pleased to have a hand in seeing more and more young Indians receive scholarships and grants for further studies and research.

In April 1978, the Native American Group went to Merida, Yucatan, in Mexico, to present a panel at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, the first time an annual meeting of that organization has sponsored an all-Indian panel. The topic, "When Indians Serve Indians," presented material on how Indians do research and how they can use social research as a resource for their own purposes.

Many social science researchers consider studies of a particular group conducted by individuals connected by blood and tradition to the group under study to be lacking in objectivity. Despite this thinking, Miller chose Native Americans as her researchers. In-cultural methodology, she believes, has provided more accuracy and more reliable descriptions of urban Indian family life than could have been gained otherwise. Through her own rigorous training and her scholarly interest in other "non-Indian" problems, she has learned an objectivity in data collection and survey methodology that she has inculcated in the staff. These young people have thereby received a large, additional benefit—effective on-the-job training.

There were other considerations at the outset. Given the distrust of most Indian people for BIA agents, anthropologists, or census takers (and an inclination to tell the questioners what the Indians think they want to know), it was necessary that the interviewers be acceptable to the respondents. The staff was able to work helpfully and knowledgeably with the families; findings were constantly fed back to the various programs and activities of the urban Indian community. Research and community work became almost synonymous to the staff, one of whom remarked that he felt he had gained many new friends.

Because of tribal feeling, great care was given to the selection and assignments of the interviewers. A Sioux was selected to interview the Sioux, a Navajo, the Navajos. For the third group to be studied, the collection of "California" tribes, the person chosen had to belong to one of those tribes and have a good understanding of most of the others. For this, a Shoshone Paiute was selected. The fourth group of families, classified as "Other," was so random in composition that the only choice could be an interviewer not belonging to any of the other three. Therefore, the rest of the staff members were chosen from tribes in the "Other" category, knowledgeable about the other tribes, and able to develop good rapport with the families.

As Associate Principal Investigator and Project Director, Anthony Garcia was important to all three urban Indian studies. Miller laughed when she related how this compassionate young man has been kidded by other staff members because he is a "warlike" Apache. Others who contributed during the first, and largest, of the projects were Beulah Bowman, Walter Carlin, Chris Maybee, and Peggy Sierras. They have since completed their education or have returned to their reservations to carry on helping projects among their own tribes, in a place and culture where the "caregiver" traditionally receives great honor.

Present when Miller was interviewed about the studies were Al Richmond, editor for the Institute for Scientific Analysis, who contributed helpfully from his perspective as a non-Indian well-acquainted with the Native American researchers, and Ron Lickers, a likeable, open young Rhode Islander of Narragansett and Seneca parentage who joined the staff in 1977, and

whose enthusiasm for the project and tales of tracing families for the recent, longitudinal work, were lively and infectious.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STUDY

An estimated 30,000 American Indians, representing more than one hundred tribal groups, live in the San Francisco Bay Area of California, which includes the city itself, Oakland, and San Jose, a situation repeated in the Los Angeles area and in Denver, Chicago, and other cities across the land. The Bay Area seemed a natural laboratory for researching answers to the Native American Research Group's questions about the problems faced by young Native American families seeking a living and trying to raise their families in the city, and for testing the Group's biculturation hypothesis.

From 1972-1975, The Native American Research Group conducted a 3-year field study of 120 families living primarily in Oakland and the surrounding area. The 120 families were chosen by use of a "snowball sample," that is, referral by each of the families interviewed to other families with children whom they knew. The Group made use of BIA records of families who came to the Bay Area from 1954 to 1971 under either the Employment Assistance or Adult Vocational Training Programs and of records available at Indian centers. A survey of services available to the Indian community and a longitudinal, followup study came soon after.

Tribal Background and Distribution of the Study

The word *Indian* means little to an Indian. As Miller explains, "The first thing you ask another Indian is, 'What tribe are you?' And you think of yourself as Blackfeet, or Sioux, and so on . . . . The continuity of Indian life is largely symbolic, but very strong. Indian people feel they belong first to their tribe. Very few white people have come to understand what that means. It's not belonging to a country, or a sorority, or a church. It's all of that and more, a difficult concept to grasp."

Agreeing, Ron Lickers added, "I think it's nationality that people are talking about—all of it combined with nationality."

Author, activist, and attorney, Standing Rock Sioux Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote of this phenomenon (1971): "Tribal society is of such a nature that one must experience it from the inside. It

is holistic, and logical analysis will only return you to your starting premise none the wiser for the trip. Being inside a tribal universe is so comfortable and reasonable that it acts like a narcotic. When you are forced outside the tribal context you become alienated, irritable, and lonely. In desperation you long to return to the tribe if only to preserve your sanity. While a majority of Indian people today live in the cities, a substantial number make long weekend trips back to their reservations to spend precious hours in their own land with their people."

The Native American respondents of these studies exemplify Deloria's claim; these migrants to the city have arrived at different survival techniques for themselves and their families, according to their different tribal values and customs.

Of the 120 families selected, 30 were Sioux and 30 Navajo, since these had the largest representations in the area and the most intact cultures. For the other half of the sample, there were 30 California tribes and 30 from other selected tribes—three Chippewa, three Choctaw, two Apache, two Cherokee, two Hopi, two Laguna, two Papago, and one each of Arapaho, Blackfeet, Comanche, Creek, Eskimo, Kickapoo, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Kiowa Arapaho, Santa Domingo, Stallo, Taos, Thompson (Canada), and Tuscarora. Parenthetically, Miller cautions that many of these tribal names are "white man's words," and are used to delineate the affiliations of the Indians in the study "to keep our story clear for the non-Indian."

In the case of the first three sample choices, the selection provided an extra dimension to the study. Navajos are considered "matrilocal" and the Sioux "patrilocal" family types. Assessment of the potential impact of these culturally determined patterns of family life was thus built into the research. In addition, they are mainly "reservation" Indians, unlike the 30 families from the California tribes who are not only closer to home but, in most cases, have lived previously in a small town near a reservation or on a rancheria, much smaller than the typical reservation and not granted most of the assistance which the BIA gives to recognized tribal reservations. These Indian families form an important group for comparison with the first two, because their ways of life and work reflect contacts with the white man's jobs and schools and they have easy, frequent contacts with their own clans and tribes.

The 30 families from non-California tribes provided a balance against which the Sioux and Navajo influences could be compared. Further, although many of the tribes from which these families came had been as decimated as the California tribes, they furnished the diversity reflective of the aggregate of Native Americans.

The Navajos

The largest and most unitary of the tribes, the Navajos, more than most others, see themselves as a distinct people, without a strong self-identification as "Indian." Their number has been estimated to be as high as 100,000. Many have migrated from their reservation to other areas of the Southwest, but until recently many have been relatively isolated in the deserts and mountains, largely in Arizona, with portions of the reservation in Utah and New Mexico (Wax 1971). Now there is a constant movement by young couples into the cities because of the money to be earned there but back to the reservation when the routine and loneliness become too great. Most of them still speak their own language and listen to their own language broadcasts in Albuquerque and Gallup, New Mexico. Culture retention is greater than for most tribes and, with their consolidated land base, supports their designation of themselves as "Dine," The People.

Miller's comment on the Navajo women underscores the matrilocal aspect of their culture. "They are so strong," she said, "and so able, for the most part. They really do carry themselves as though they were 'the bearers of the tribe.' And they do it all so well," she added to Ron's comment that most of the Navajo women he had known were able to carry tremendous loads—family problems, school and working problems and emotional problems as well.

The Sioux

The mighty Sioux nation of a century ago has been scattered over nine reservations in the Dakotas, northern Nebraska, and parts of Minnesota. The language is spoken by only a part of their people—small wonder, divided as they are by time and space, lack of transportation, and the severe summers and driving blizzards in their part of the country. Now, there are

only about 50,000 descendants of this formerly powerful tribe, on reservations ranging in size from small town to small city. There are large numbers, as well, in the cities and towns of the Northern Plains, in addition to those who have been relocated in recent years.

Many factors have militated against preservation of Siouan culture and language. They were not blessed with the continuous land base and more salubrious climate of the Navajo reservation, so that social and family structures could be nourished. More importantly, perhaps, because of their cultural base on the patrilocal family style and a warrior society, the last bitter battles of the nineteenth century not only decimated their warriors but began the disintegration of social and family structures. The male Sioux, faced with unemployment and inability to provide for himself and his family, may face a more serious diminution of self-concept than his counterpart from a tribe not so bound by a patrilocal culture.

The single-mate family style mandated by the white man's missionaries and agents to conform to his way seems unable to support itself in the miserable cabins of the reservations and neighboring small communities. Plural marriages were banned and consanguine families split to separately allotted land parcels so that traditional support systems particularly adapted to the Siouan way of life were less available. There is an abnormal rate of divorce and broken homes, with grandmothers fulfilling their old role as keepers of the children. Descendants of the Great Plains buffalo hunters, as Fuchs and Havighurst comment, have suffered the effect of cultural disaster, suppression, and forced change (1972).

The California Tribes

These are the remnants of tribes most decimated by their conquerors, first by the Spanish, whose missions used Native Californians as virtual slaves, and then by the Anglo settlers, ranchers, and miners. The loss in population from sickness, depression, and conquest was staggering; Miller's report cites a loss of some 18,000 California-Great Basin region Indians—an 80 percent decline—during the fifties, sixties, and seventies of the past century.

These tribes differ from most of the others in both advantages and disadvantages. Their decimation has weakened their

cultural traditions. They lack the BIA schools and hospitals on which, for better or worse, many tribes rely. They have, however, learned more about getting along in the white man's world and are less dependent on the Federal Government.

Like most Native Americans who have lived in or near "white" towns, they still feel like outsiders. Many have low expectations of themselves, mirroring the prevailing opinion of the neighbors. Most know that education is the path their children must follow, but they are loathe that these children forget or forsake their own way. Many lack confidence in a possible middle way.

The "Other" Tribes

The 21 tribes represented by these families came from many locales, some from hunting and some from farming traditions. The researchers felt that these "Others" furnished an opportunity to study the differences between tribal influences, particularly in child-rearing and cultural adaptation.

Other Research Resources

Researchers went to the Pine Ridge, Fort Belknap, and Navajo reservations to interview 15 families who had returned to the reservation after relocation. They also worked during the three years with groups of Native American children in Oakland, both in and out of school, learning about their views of life in the city. They held interviews and conversations with people involved with the Native American community in the Bay Area: Native American teachers; BIA, welfare, court, and other Government officials; and medicine men, singers, and community workers. They talked with sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators, and religious persons who had some knowledge of the Indian in the city.

THE FIRST STUDY: AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIALIZATION TO URBAN LIFE (1972 - 1975)

The Native Americans who came to the city brought with them the problems of their poverty and their inheritance, problems they share with their fellow tribesmen back home. Assimilation is difficult because of their darker skin; the predominating society is often ambivalent toward Indian values and

culture. Further, unlike the languages of other minority groups in this country, the Indian languages are considered of little value by non-Indians.

Realization of these factors led the Native American Research Group to point out a characteristic of all peoples whose way of life is under attack. They report (Miller 1975): "... when one's values are openly questioned and continuously challenged, those values become explicit and cherished, are held even more tightly and kept preciously from the onslaughts of outsiders. That defense of a now-noticed-and-cherished set of values makes explicit the reasons for the preference and strengths, and becomes the personal and social underpinning of our once-taken-for-granted world." For many Native Americans these values are a bulwark; for others, they are dissonant with the negative evaluations learned more recently. Then what about the children, reared away from the land, kin, and tribe, using English as a first language in schools where their contacts are with city children of other cultures and colors? Can they find and maintain their sense of self as Indian, as valued members of a tribal life style? Can accommodation make a viable life for them as persons and members of a new cultural style as well?

Areas of Analysis

To focus on family life and childrearing and socialization practices of urban Indian families, four areas of study were selected:

- The nature of the family's commitment to traditional Indian behavior and attitudes.
- The adjustment of Native American families to the city, and an examination of the acculturation process as it affects the family.
- Methods of socialization, as illustrated by the family's childrearing practices.
- The correlation of the degree of Indian identity of the mother, the childrearing practices and child experiences in the city, and the degree of urbanization of these families.

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Methodology

This investigation is truly "in-cultural," designed and conducted as it was by Indians themselves, who worked closely with members of the urban Indian community. Information gathering and presentation, while objective, fulfilled the triple purpose of collecting data, furnishing immediate help and counseling to the families, and providing constant feedback to the various programs and activities in the Indian community. The researchers had been apprehensive that the Indians being interviewed might not fully understand the goals of the project and that the academic community might feel that objectivity had been lost.

Participation by the Community

There were discussions with Indian mothers to define and agree on the most critical issues for the study. What problems did their children face in the urban environment? How were their children faring in the city? What issues were most related to survival in the city?

After this important first step, many community members were assembled to talk about the community and its needs. The mothers' group also assisted in developing an interview schedule, considered vital because it was desirable for the families to understand what was being asked and to want to participate in knowledge sharing about Native American urbanization.

The Interview Schedules

After the first interview was developed, the staff memorized it. They had hoped to put their respondents at ease in this way, knowing the innate distrust most Indians feel for people who ask them questions. They were asked, though, why they didn't have a questionnaire, and realized that the families to whom they talked felt that putting the information down on paper meant that it would not be forgotten. Happily, these respondents had already concluded that their answers would be channeled into help for their community.

The second interview schedule, a combination of closed and open-ended questions, was divided into four parts. There was the ID sheet, the only personal identifying item, used to keep track of the family until the interviewer had an appointment

and removed for confidentiality when the interview was over. The second, or face sheet, provided a general family history and helped maintain a balanced sample of male and female focal children. Each family had been asked to select this "focal child," one under 18. After the selection was made, all questions were asked in relation to that child's life, unless otherwise noted, a technique designed to assure that the study focused on childrearing practices by mothers who had moved to the area on relocation.

The third part contained four sections detailing: more family history, mobility patterns, family interaction and socialization; interaction with the community, use of social agencies, and urban survival; mother/father experience on the reservation or in an Indian community prior to relocation; and education and socialization of the focal child.

The fourth part of the second interview schedule was taken from material used by Dorothy Miller and David Kallen for an earlier study, "Foster Care in America." It dealt with the mothers' views on discipline and the extent of self-care by the children, such as the ages when they could dress and perform other skills independently.

Social and Demographic Features of These Urban Indian Families

In talking with those in the 120-family sample, the researchers "made a lot of friends" and covered many issues. They wanted to know the difference in coping skills between relocatees who had come directly from reservation life and those who had lived off the reservation prior to their big city experience. Tables 1-A through 1-C show where these people lived earlier and the circumstances of their coming to the Bay Area.

According to Table 1-A, greater prior experience of the California Indians in town or in other cities has caused them to feel the stigma of "second class" citizenship, of being outside longer. Many, therefore, reported that the negative attitudes of rural Californians, especially as experienced by the children in the smalltown or rural schools, had prompted them to move to a larger place. The researchers quote a Pomo mother's comment that many California Indians were so ashamed of their heritage or afraid of prejudice that they took Mexican names or tried to marry into Mexican families. This mother feels,

Table 1—Selected Sociodemographic Characteristics of 120 American Indian Families In the San Francisco Bay Area.

	Sioux	Navajo	California	Other	Total
A. RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RELOCATION	30	30	30	30	120
Reservation or Indian Community	77%	77%	57%	67%	69%
Small Town	3%	0%	12%	10%	7%
Urban	20%	23%	30%	23%	23%
B. RELOCATION BEFORE AND AFTER 1960	28	29	26	30	113
Before 1960	14%	31%	23%	17%	21%
After 1960	86%	69%	77%	83%	79%
C. TYPE OF RELOCATION TO BAY AREA	29	30	29	29	117
Self-Relocated	48%	20%	28%	41%	34%
BIA-Relocated	52%	80%	72%	59%	66%
D. FIRST CONTACT IN BAY AREA	30	30	29	29	118
Relatives	50%	17%	52%	17%	34%
Other Indians	47%	63%	31%	68%	52%
Non-Indians	3%	20%	17%	13%	13%
E. MOTHER'S MARITAL STATUS	30	30	30	30	120
Single	47%	13%	40%	33%	33%
Married, Same Tribe	33%	67%	10%	17%	32%
Married, Other Tribe	3%	17%	40%	43%	26%
Married, Non-Indian	17%	3%	10%	7%	9%
F. LOCATION OF HEALTH SERVICE	29	30	30	30	119
Hospital/Clinic	61%	87%	50%	80%	69%
Urban Indian Clinic	14%	10%	17%	10%	13%
Private Doctor	25%	3%	33%	10%	18%
G. RESIDENCE PREFERENCE	30	30	29	28	117
All right here	32%	30%	31%	14%	27%
Better Area	60%	53%	55%	79%	61%
Back Home (reservation)	8%	17%	14%	7%	12%

though, that the attitude is changing and that young California Indians now are "growing up proud."

Tables 1-B and 1-C indicate the length of time since the families of the study cohort relocated and under what circumstances they came looking for jobs, education, adventure, and a more equal chance. The BIA intensified its relocation programs after 1960 and helped most of the Navajo familes who came. The Sioux, more scattered and less in touch with Federally sponsored programs, depended more on friends and relatives who had already come to the city.

The Stronghold

Relatives "help without being asked. It's just our way, I guess," replied one mother to the question presented to the sample about each family's first contact upon arrival in the city. The replies of 118 of the mothers, in Table 1-D, show the important first contacts in the city. The mothers indicate that relatives and other Indians—of the same or even different tribes, once the barriers have been broken in the new setting—are necessary to render city life viable for these newcomers. Sharing one's life with extended family members is integral to an Indian's cultural heritage. In fact, the importance of relatives to urban adjustment, by tribe, is reported in percentages as: Sioux, 77%; Navajo, 97%; California, 87%; and Other, 83%.

Thus do tribal groups value the psychological supports of the family, with warm conversations about old experiences shared and remembered and new experiences faced better by sharing survival skills and financial assistance in emergencies. Statistically, within the group studied, relatives give assistance in emergencies, such as illness or financial distress, as follows: Sioux, 75%; Navajo, 86%; California, 86%; and Other, 77%.

Such dependence, and such responsiveness to dependence, are nearly impassable barriers between Indians and whites unacquainted with each other's "ways." For instance, the cultural value of sharing makes accumulation of goods and money difficult for an individual Indian family. Further, employers rarely accept an Indian employee's irregular attendance on the frequent excuse that he has to help relatives in trouble.

Urban Indian families, especially when they are new to the city, are torn between their view of "white ways" as cold and selfish and their cultural norms, considered "dysfunctional" by

the larger society (or "shiftless," in the parlance of irate employers). "Out of such a psychologically destructive situation, many defense mechanisms can emerge . . . apathy (not doing anything), getting drunk (not facing problems), flight (leaving the scene), getting depressed (turning against oneself), going into a rage (getting angry at the world), doing and undoing (giving and getting) . . . in short, all types of tension-release activity may occur. Children reared in such a conflictual cultural structure form the nucleus for this study." Thus the Research Group reported (Miller 1975).

Urban Indian Family Patterns

Even for the tribes who had faced such disruptions before, adjustment from the complexity and interdependency of extended family life on or near the reservation to the constriction of an isolated nuclear, or conjugal, family life in a city is possibly the most difficult adjustment the recently urbanized Native American must make. As in families of other cultures whose extended family patterns are broken, there is nobody to turn to in an emergency or to babysit for a few hours. In addition, for the Indians especially, there are neighbors whose customs are unfamiliar and reactions unpredictable, or there are faceless agencies, whose questionnaires are frightening and delays tedious.

In the sample of 120 respondents, Table 1-E shows one-third of the families to be headed by single females. The contrast between the Sioux mothers, 47 percent single heads-of-household, as opposed to 13 percent of Navajo mothers, reflects the tribes' different cultural values regarding the conjugal family and the stronger supports received by Navajo women, who are nearer their extended families and reservation. These figures, along with the responses concerning the importance of relatives to urban adjustment and the reliance on family life in emergencies, suggest the decreased family dependence of the Sioux, compared to the other tribal groups studied.

For the Native Americans as a whole, as tribal life has eroded and husbands and fathers have fallen in battle, or have died of accidents, suicides, tuberculosis or alcoholism, Indian mothers and grandmothers have assumed the major family-care role. For all Plains Indians, traditional family life was adversely affected by the destruction of patrilocalism. Long ago,

the Sioux family may have contained more than one wife, but always the father's role was central to both tribal and family life. Conversely, the matrilocal nature of Navajo culture, with the mothers the holders of status and wealth, has left a legacy of women who are better able to hold their families together.

Assimilation, in this case referring to any outmarriage, intertribal or interracial, has occurred less frequently among Navajo mothers than the others, particularly the Sioux, as shown in Table 1-E. Outmarriage is hard on the offspring of these unions, since many tribes base tribal membership on the "blood quantum" level, and BIA registration, or tribal roll number, distinguishes between "full-blood," "half-breed," and so on.

Fifteen percent of these urban Indian families having a male head of household, whether married or not, were headed by stepfathers, the largest percentage of these being the California families (22 percent). Many households have acquired family "extensions," all under one crowded roof, by the formation of "subfamilies," defined as a conjugal unit living with a related head of household or a single parent and children living with relatives. Fourteen percent of the families in this sample had relatives living with them, with the California group having more, probably because they live nearer to their homes of origin. Six percent of the families had nonrelatives living with them, one-third of whom were employed, and who, like the relatives, were students or jobseekers. Mother-headed families, especially, seem to have welcomed these extensions to their households as hedges against loneliness.

Other Supports

There is hardship for Indian families whether urbanized or reservation-bound. For those newly off the reservations there is the unaccustomed necessity to pay for rent, babysitting care, and transportation, to say nothing of the doctor and dentist. The added responsibility, with so few economic resources, is hard personally and maritally, and many return to the reservation for this reason.

Health care on the reservation is free; it may be inadequate and hard to get to, but many Indians considered it their right and find that medical care in the city is also hard to get to and expensive as well. The red tape of medical insurance or of Medi-Cal for those on public welfare is confusing for many.

Adequate medical care, then, is too difficult in the city: 41 percent of the mothers say their money is insufficient; nearly one-half have no medical or hospital insurance; 28 percent claim that their medical insurance rates are too high; and 10 percent complain about inadequate transportation. For many, making arrangements and using the telephone, assuming that they have one, can be overwhelming.

These families were asked where they turned for medical services when necessary. Their answers appear in Table 1-F. It should be noted that the Urban Indian Health Clinic is in San Francisco, 15 miles from Oakland and 45 from San Jose, the cities where a large percentage of the respondents live.

Aside from economic and logistic difficulties, there are other problems, particularly for these women—waiting, filling out forms, being referred here and there, and just being sick and poor in the city. Also, there is modesty and pride about appearing brave despite fright and pain.

Employment

Not many of the relocatees completed their BIA-sponsored training or received job placement because of it. Fourteen percent of the fathers in the families under study were unemployed, and 12 percent were in training of some sort. Of those in the labor market, almost one-half were in blue-collar, low-skill jobs, many on a part-time or a temporary basis. The model of the Indian father, as of the black father in many cases, is difficult for the children to follow.

Overall, according to the U.S. Census, Indians have the lowest rate of male labor force participation of any group in the country, which could be particularly denigrating for the patrilocal Sioux. In terms of fathers working, the Navajo family was more intact than the Sioux, followed to a lesser degree by the California Indian families.

Half of all these mothers work full or part-time outside their homes to supplement their men's meager earnings or as sole breadwinners. Two-thirds had not completed job training, 7 percent had been trained as beauticians, 8 percent as medical assistants, and 18 percent as clerical workers. More California tribal women were employed or in training, probably because of their earlier, more frequent contacts with the white world.

The statistics about these families are harsh. One-half of the families interviewed were not earning a living in the labor market. Indeed, one-third reported that there had been no income from wages or salaries during the year preceding the first Research Group study. Others earned minimal amounts; 27 percent of those interviewed were on some kind of public welfare, and 10 percent were receiving unemployment insurance. Only 9 percent of these families were getting financial assistance from BIA programs of any sort, and most of that was a training stipend or relocation aid.

There is another aspect in the Indian employment picture, probably less formidable now than when these people were newcomers to the urban employment scene, but a problem, nonetheless. It is the attitude described by Dr. Miller: "The word 'work' is a difficult concept for a lot of tribal people. They are very rural, and the idea of exchanging labor for money on a regular basis is not something they've been brought up to do. Materialism and individualism are not part of the culture. It's very selfish to set yourself up as better than other people. You might see women working enough to buy children their school clothes and then just not going back to work anymore. They worked to get what they needed and they quit when they didn't need anymore."

There are some Indian families in the area, however, who are becoming upwardly mobile. Among those families which have remained intact and have regularly employed heads of household, there are some who have accumulated enough to buy homes and other signs of affluence—a truck or van, or a vacation back home (without giving up a job). Even these families, though, live with the knowledge that illness, job layoffs, or family problems can wipe out their small savings and that the affluence they dreamed of on the reservation is only that so far—a dream.

Residential and Social Patterns and Preferences

The most impoverished areas are home to many urban Indians, one-half of whom still live in apartments. Their preferences are shown in Table 1-G. Translated, the table means that, if they could afford it, 61 percent would like to live on the edge of the city, with a view of the hills or the sunrise, or at least on a "tract with a tree."

Upon relocation, the BIA placed many families in available slum housing throughout the inner city of Oakland. Many extended family units were broken up, a practice which drew Dr. Miller's comment, "That's part of the folklore in the BIA; if you're going to make it, you're going to be mainstream. You have to tear the people's roots from tribal soil."

Indians who came "on their own" naturally looked for housing near other Indians but found that they had to compete for the lowest cost housing with all other minority people of the urban area. So, from a quieter, less crowded, more reserved way of life many of these families were thrown into ghettos not their own where they were frightened and repelled by loud music, free and colorful language, and open expressions of violence. For example, some Indians had never seen blacks before and were afraid. Now, some Indian mothers and especially their children report strong bonds with their neighbors. Others hold themselves aloof: Of the 72 percent of mothers who reported knowing their neighbors, about one-half state that they have no close relationships with them.

According to Miller, housing patterns are coalescing, with small groups of families moving closer to each other. It is possible that, within the lifetime of the children in this study, there will be an Indian enclave somewhat like Chinatown and Japantown in San Francisco, with school children attending regular schools for math and English and other courses necessary in their new world and receiving native language instruction at their own schools.

When they are new, immigrants of ethnic or racial groups can find comfort in being with their own kind. This is more difficult for Indians because of the vast tribal differences in language and living habits. These differences are lessening, though, as Indians find that members of other ethnic or racial groups regard them as strange and that socializing with other Indians, no matter how different, is easier and more comfortable. The mingling of members of different tribes is happening more and more often, as Indians seek out and meet other Indians at Indian centers and churches, Indian bars, and, above all, at the powwows. This current intermingling occurs at southern California powwows, the scene of mostly Plains Indian dancing, which has caught the imagination of other Indians and of whites as well, Dorothy Miller observed.

She said of the powwow, "It's become our social institution, in the same way that, for blacks, it's the church. It's where you go to find out who's in town, or where there might be a job, or who might have a place to stay, or whatever. For distribution of knowledge or wealth, or exchange of ideas . . . . And the gossip."

The relief from tedious ghetto life afforded by the powwow and the psychic security of moving nearer their own kind have helped these new city dwellers. As noted in table 1-G, although dissatisfied with their present residence, most would prefer to remain in the urban area where jobs are more likely and schools are better. Almost one-fifth of the Navajos and California Indians stated, however, that they would like to return "home" if they could make a living there. Most maintain close ties with their reservations and make frequent and tiring trips back, even as they try to come to terms with city life.

Ron Lickers, with family ties in both Rhode Island and Canada, explains the ambivalence poignantly: "Our home is in a place that people who live in urban areas would not remotely consider. We go back to a reservation that is really impoverished, but we call it home and we understand it . . . . You go away and get a job and you think you're going to make life a little better for yourself, but you always have it in the back of your head that you're going home . . . . We belong where our families have survived for thousands of years, and many Indians see urban areas as places where you 'break families up' or where 'grown children go.'"

"The city is the only place for a job, though. You get used to the money, you want a car, you want a flush toilet—these are valuable things," observed Dorothy Miller. "And then you go home, and you can't have those things. They want to begin economic development on the reservation. . . ."

The Children in the City

In the beginning of the study, each mother was asked to select one of her children as the "focal child," the child the mother felt was most representative of her family's experiences in the city; 56 percent of these focal children were born in the city and had lived there all their lives. They ranged from one to 17 years of age, the average being 9.2. Some 53 percent were boys, about 47 percent girls. As a way of learning more about

child care, schooling, and adapting to urban life, the researchers subdivided these 120 children into four age groups: The Little Ones, under school age (22 percent); The Young Ones, aged 6-11 (44 percent); The Little-Big Ones, 12 through 14 (21 percent); and The Big Ones, 15-18 (13 percent). Although the number in each group is small, each was felt by the researchers to be representative of the socialization process faced by newly urbanizing Indians in any area.

The Little Ones

According to the statistics for this sample, one-fourth are "breeds," who therefore face greater identity problems than their mothers. All of them must learn English soon, to communicate with their caregivers and the neighborhood; one-fourth of the mothers speak their native language at home—a long-term good, but hard now for the very young. Over three-fourths of these live in apartments, with no yards, so they cannot run about as they should. Twenty-nine percent have only a mother; one-third of the fathers who are at home are unemployed or are often absent, drinking, visiting, or looking for work or help; and one-fourth of the families are on public welfare.

Over one-half of the mothers of these little ones are employed, so babysitters or other daycare arrangements must be found. Among the extended families of the reservations, child care has always been taken for granted, a custom which may make newcomers to the city appear child-abusive. There have been occasions in the city when police have been called and Indian parents summoned to court because they have left their children alone.

"In the Indian way," said Miller, "The children are really the property of the tribe and of the clan, so whether the biological parents were present or absent, neglectful or not, really didn't matter much, because there were plenty of parenting experiences for any child.

"The little kids on the reservation don't worry about where they are going to sleep that night. They just go visiting and stay wherever they want to stay, and nobody worries." Lickers told of going elsewhere on the reservation for several weeks to visit when there were guests and his home seemed crowded.

Ordinarily, Indian families are accustomed to going everywhere together, and separate classes, day care, and so on, are

looked upon as practices that divide the family. When they can, most mothers take their children with them or stay at home. At powwows, children are always present, listening respectfully and learning from their elders and dancing with them as if there were no age separation. Often, parents do not see their own children from beginning to end of a powwow, so accustomed are they all to sharing.

A group of young Indian mothers reported to Dr. Miller that they are attempting to create an "extended family" for their children and forget the old tribal barriers by living together, taking care of each other's children, or taking in another sister from home. And Ron Lickers says that many of the Indian families who are students at the University of California at Berkeley live in a housing complex where they depend on each other for support. Child care ranges from sharing while parents are working or in class to having one person or nuclear family responsible for all of them for a day and night or two.

The Young Ones

These early-school-age children are trying to make their way into the multiracial world which began opening up to them in nursery school, Head Start, or day care. In a few cases, their socialization has been almost entirely the powwow, their language, almost entirely a native Indian tongue. They have learned to do many things for themselves at an earlier age than their white or black counterparts. Their training and discipline, if done in the old way, has been mostly nonverbal; scolding has been done by a stern look and correction often achieved by "teasing" rather than physical punishment. As the Final Report (1975) states, "Relationships are intense and deep. When a parent is attending to a little one, that time is one of complete attention, and of total psychological power. But little ones soon learn that they must share the attention of others, that they must not make demands without cause, and that they are expected to take responsibility for themselves and contribute to the total ambience of the group."

Often the mothers of these children are confused; when they teach the "old ways," they are aware that their young ones may not be prepared to "compete" in school. If they were still living among their tribes, these young ones would be receiving their primary training and socialization from grandparents and

Table 2—Mothers' Educational Levels and Attitudes and Native Language Retention in 120 American Indian Families in the San Francisco Bay Area.

	Sioux	Navajo	California	Other	Total
A. EDUCATION	30	30	30	30	120
Less than 8th Grade	6%	23%	0%	0%	8%
8th-12th Grade	80%	67%	80%	90%	79%
Some College	13%	10%	20%	10%	13%
B. SECONDARY SCHOOL	30	30	30	30	120
BIA Boarding School	40%	67%	3%	37%	36%
Public School	27%	20%	90%	50%	47%
Private (Mission) School	33%	13%	7%	13%	17%
C. ATTITUDE AND KNOWLEDGE OF SCHOOL					
Grades Important	12%	33%	27%	17%	
Knows Child's Subjects	73%	78%	87%	83%	
Attendance Important	39%	38%	57%	27%	
Child Has Problems	13%	4%	7%	28%	
D. WHY CHILD LIKES SCHOOL					
Interest in Subjects	68%	74%	56%	53%	
Interest in Peers	23%	26%	22%	32%	
Interest in Sports	9%	0%	22%	16%	
E. SCHOOL BEHAVIOR					
Likes School	79%	92%	93%	78%	
Does Homework	40%	57%	63%	50%	
Comes Directly Home	60%	73%	90%	77%	
F. PARENT/CHILD USE OF TRIBAL LANGUAGE	30	30	30	30	Total 120
Both Use and Know	8(27%)	9(30%)	0 0	6(29%)	23(19%)
Mother Only Uses	10(33%)	12(40%)	6(20%)	11(37%)	39(33%)
Neither Use Nor Know/Unknown	12(40%)	9(30%)	24(80%)	13(43%)	58(48%)

other relatives. They would be learning skills, crafts, rituals, dancing and chanting, horseback riding, nature lore, and the history of their people.

The children in this sample attend many different schools, with few other Indian children, and obtain that socialization at powwows or the Indian Center. They are learning too early to be street-wise, have little financial security, and often come from broken conjugal families. Many will "make it," some will not.

Tables 2-A and 2-B indicate the extent of education of the 120 mothers and where they received their education, both factors in their perception of their children's school experiences. Many feel that parenthood is hard for them because they were taken away at an early age to mission or BIA boarding schools where an appearance of apathy might be advantageous; some report being punished there for using their native tongue.

Most of these mothers feel that attending school in the city is important for their children. A few say they will send the children back to the reservation at high school age. All are concerned about the kind of schooling their children are receiving. Tables 2-C, -D, and -E indicate the interest these mothers show throughout their children's school career.

The Little-Big Ones

These are the children who are beginning to lose interest in school, despite their mothers' urging to get an education. School is boring, compared to meeting with other youth to drink beer, flirt, fight, and enjoy their maturing bodies and growing independence. They have learned to "take" (not "steal") some of the things they see that other children have.

Almost one-third of these are without a father and miss the guidance they might receive from that source. In addition, many are caught in a strange role-reversal, like their siblings both older and younger. Most of their parents and nearly all of their grandparents were raised to listen to and accept the wisdom of the Old Ones, the "bearers of the knowledge." Now, as Miller puts it, "Parents frequently use their children as arbiters of city life—they depend on the children to tell them the right way. The kid says, 'I don't want to come home right after school. I want to go play with so-and-so; everybody else does it.' The mother says, 'Well, if that's the way it is.'

"And the child knows where things are, how to use the pay phone. So they're teaching the parents about the city. The mother may decide to wait until Johnny comes home to go to the store. Parents must ask the children, 'Where is the bus depot?' 'How do you work the dishwasher?' And then the little girl has to go to the kitchen to show her mother. Parents are accepting the norms children are manufacturing for themselves."

Most Indian parents find the school system distant and bureaucratic and have no idea how to express their concern for their children's education. Few of them attend PTA, but over half of the children interviewed about homework report that their mothers or older siblings help them when they need it.

During the research, an Indian parent group was formed to examine the school problems of their children. These parents helped develop a "Drop-in Center" for their young people who were dropping out of school. Further, they have consulted with Native American teachers and established a preschool program in which the parents are heavily involved. There are burgeoning ideas for a Native American alternative school for their children based on their own culture and heritage.

The Big Ones

There were 16 of these 15- to 18-year-olds, many with dreams of what they would like to do—warrior and adventure roles for the young men, as in the armed services, police, or airlines, and caretaking or artistic roles for the women, as either nurses, secretaries, or artists. The investigators, though, were of the impression that only two of these appeared likely to graduate, despite the concern and worry of their mothers. Already one has borne a child, some have dropped out, and some have been in jail.

One-third of these families are on public welfare, 38 percent of the fathers are employed, 44 percent of the mothers work outside the home. Many of the youth in the sample have part-time jobs to make money for cars and clothes, many to help their families and care for their younger brothers and sisters. Their mothers help them in every way they can, standing behind them in times of trouble and often sending them back to the reservation, to their own families, trying to strengthen the tribal bonds. Most of these youths realize the psychological

supports available in their families and for many their homes become a social center where they bring their Indian friends. Their lives are anomalous, a blend of the good and the bad from both cultures.

Like their siblings, these Big Ones have been raised in a style which other cultures would call "permissive." From birth, each child is a separate being, his own self. Discipline, in style and degree, depends on tribal custom and, more and more, on the degree of control and the impingement of the larger world on the individual family. It is these factors, "Old Ways" versus the new, and the degree of native language retention in the home, which influence the self-concept of these Indians—individuals or families.

Indian Identity and Urbanization: Who's Going to "Make It"?

Feedback of preliminary study findings resulted in development of a number of programs for Native Americans in the Bay Area. Further, the researchers developed criteria for Indian identity, using three empirical measures. First, the types of families were categorized based on language retention: Traditional, with both mother and child speaking the native tongue; Transitional, in which only the mother retains the tribal language; and Marginal, in which neither generation uses the native language.

Table 2-F indicates the acceleration of loss of tribal languages under the impact of city life; like some of the other tables, it suggests tribal differences and reservation ties as well. Table 3 shows language retention identity types by tribe of 94 of the subjects.

Table 3—Language Retention Identity Types by TRIBE (Percentage; N=94)

150	Traditional	Transitional	Marginal
Sioux	34%	44%	22%
Navajo	43%	51%	1%
California	0	21%	79%
Other	27%	50%	23%
Total	24%	41%	34%

The second empirical measure was based on the extent of home teaching of tribal ways and values, of the cultural norms of their people. Parents who are proud to be Indian, glory in their tribal customs, and adhere to their people's values give their children firm roots. The assumption is that they are the ones whose children know who they are.

The third measure was of the mother's stated preference for her child's marriage partner, the hypothesis being that if her own identity was important to her, she would want her child to marry an Indian.

The investigators examined the degree of traditionalism versus acculturation among the urban Indians, using these three indicators of Indian identity, as shown in table 4. Navajo mothers ranked highest on all Indian-identity indicators, the mothers of the California tribes the lowest, and the Sioux and Others somewhere in the middle. This ranking seems to substantiate other data that Navajos have the greatest degree of tribal and traditional identity and, possibly, the best chance at survival in the city.

Table 4—Respondents' View Of Three Indicators Of Indian Identity, by Tribe (Percentage)

	Know Language	*Teach Indian Ways*	*Prefer Indian Marriage for Child*
Sioux	47%	73%	42%
Navajo	93%	77%	81%
California	0	47%	70%
Other	45%	54%	72%
Total	46%	63%	67%

Some of the families had been in the Bay Area for a long time; some had come and gone and come again. In the course of the study a few had gone to the reservation, some to stay, others to recoup and try again later. According to the Research Group's hypothesis, those with strong traditional background, with ties to family and friends both in the city and on the reservation, and with sturdy belief in their culture would show the greatest social and psychological adaptability in the city. The Traditional, the Transitional, those moving away from Indian ways but still familiar with them, and the Marginal

families, those at home in neither world, were compared with each other on a number of variables—Significant Others, Adequate Income, High School Education or Higher, Urban Childrearing Practices, and Child's School Adjustment.

The findings are interesting but are not considered conclusive, of course, because the sample was small. Indication of validity of the bicultural adaptation model however, formed one hypothesis on which the subsequent longitudinal study was based. That is, families who maintain a sense of Indian identity *and* are able to adopt some strategies of urban living seem to make the best adaptation to life in the city.

And even before completion of the later studies, many Native American Study Groups in various colleges had started using this study as a text, complete with the tribal symbols of each Research Group member on the staff-designed cover.

THE SECOND STUDY: NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: THE URBAN WAY (1974-76)

Researching and interviewing the 120 families of the first study had led to other questions. How were public institutions responding to the needs of Indian families off the reservations? How much do health and welfare workers and administrators in public agencies know about urban Indian families and their needs or, for that matter, what to do about those needs? How much input has the Indian community into the policies and practices of the agencies mandated to serve them?

The Rationale

After careful preliminary work and pilot studies, Native American researchers conducted participant-observation of agencies in operation and survey interviews with agency personnel. The 109 agency personnel interviewed in a random sample ranged from top administrators, through public relations or community affairs workers and middle-range supervisors, to line workers.

It was a new approach to learn about consumer-based evaluation of educational and social services matched against agency workers' evaluation of their services to those clients. Primarily, the investigation was planned to analyze data systematically around questions specifically directed at children's problems:

1. How are Indian children perceived by various city agencies, i.e., social change agencies such as public schools and churches; the social support agencies, those involved in welfare, housing, employment, and health; and the social control agencies, among them the courts, law enforcement agencies, and youth services? An example is the school's perception of the urban Indian child as apathetic, psychologically damaged, and in need of psychiatric treatment, or stupid and hardly worth the effort of a teacher in an already crowded classroom. The same child may be viewed by welfare workers as needing special schooling because of frequent changes of residence or the different quality of schools attended. Other agencies may see the child and his family as a problem for the truant officer. Each perception may be partially right for some children some of the time, yet miss the mark. The apathy may stem from a child's sense of loss and mourning over leaving family members or the hogan of the grandmother or from a failure to understand and appreciate a competitive, self-oriented value system. The appearance of stupidity may indeed be due to differences in school systems, language, and culture (and standardized tests). The resulting alienation may, eventually, lead to problems with the juvenile authorities.
2. How are Indian children served by these agencies? There was concern that no special services had been designed for this subgroup, chiefly because many Indian children have been erroneously classified as Spanish—American, Asian, or Samoan.
3. How do the various social institutions (Federal, state, and local, both public and private, i.e., agencies, foundations, and churches) set policy and carry out their work with Indian children? Since it was known that foundations had shown concern for minority group needs, the question was whether they had any particular policy regarding Indian children. The researchers wanted to learn, also, whether public schools knew of and used Johnson-O'Malley funds allotted to meet the special needs of Indian children. In addition, they wanted to know how the social institutions could use the completed survey results.

4. What recourse is possible for Indian children who have not been adequately served? To the uninitiated, the confusion in policy and responsibility is staggering. In some cases, there are special rights and programs, legislatively mandated, which should be available to Indian children; a study by the NAACP found, however, that available special school funds had been denied to Indian children in many ways. Further, although Indians are specifically excluded by Treaty and Federal laws from the school "desegregation" Supreme Court decision in order to carry on the Indian boarding school system, an Indian cultural-based day care program was denied funding because it would appear to discriminate against other racial groups. The Native American Research Group investigation hoped to outline potential reform for such problems.
5. What are the hiring policies regarding Indian staff to serve Indian children? The Research Group was curious to know the affirmative action policies of the agencies involved, Federal, State, and local. They were especially interested in using Indian workers in organizations with relatively large Indian client populations. Such an analysis, they hoped, could lead to more extensive recruitment and training programs of Native Americans and of in-service training programs of non-Indians who serve Indian children.
6. What mental health services are available, how are they used, and how effective are they for the Indian child in the urban area? The two-culture tug within an urban Indian child pulls him in opposite directions. He may yearn for the old ways but see advantages to himself in adopting the new. The "generation gap" in the white world is dwarfed by the gap between the reservation-bred parents and the street-wise peers of young urban Indians. Alcohol, drugs, glue-sniffing become common crutches for many of these frightened kids, most of whom are not seen by community mental health agencies or psychiatrists until they are referred by a social control agency, usually the juvenile court.

The Interviews: Agency Staff

The researchers presented three vignettes depicting typical problems of the young Indian in the city and asked how each

agency individual interviewed would handle them. One vignette went like this:

A 12-year-old Indian girl is five months pregnant, walks into your office and tells you she needs your help. She tells you she has not had any food in three days. She hasn't seen her parents in a long time and is afraid to tell them she is pregnant. She tells you her parents have disowned her and really don't care what she does. She's been living with her boyfriend, but now he's left her and she doesn't have a place to stay.

What can you do for her?

When presented with this or one of the other hypothetical cases, about three-fourths of those interviewed wanted to refer the Indian case elsewhere, almost half to a police or law enforcement agency. Most of them talked about the "Indian problem" and seemed convinced that either the BIA or the police were the proper referrals. Replies ranging from ultra-bureaucratic to warm and personal were coded by content analysis. Results revealed that 40 percent would deliver service of some sort and take the basic responsibility.

Title XX of the Social Security Act mandates that the Public Welfare Department assume responsiblity for this kind of case. Yet 78 percent of the respondents from a public welfare agency indicated that they would refer the pregnant girl to another agency and 44 percent of those said they would call in the juvenile court authorities. According to the researchers, this pattern of responses was typical; Indian clients were often referred elsewhere even when they came to the proper agency. About 35 percent of the personnel in agencies which would properly deal with Indian clients indicated their belief that the BIA covers all types of social services and benefits for American Indians, a serious misconception but perhaps a partial explanation for their reluctance to give, and thus "duplicate," services.

The Interviews: The Urban Indians

The Native American researchers are aware of problems faced by agency employees and social workers in dealing with their Indian clients. Miller's account reveals this aspect that could be comic were it not for the wasteful, damaging mutual frustrations: "It's just amazing, the kinds of misunderstanding that arise between social workers and their Indian clients.

Simple things, like you don't look people in the eye. The social worker says, 'I can't communicate with that person. Why he won't even look at me.' Well, Indians don't look at other people. It's a different style. If you're with an Indian group, you don't look people in the eye. We think it's very impolite—it's almost like an insult, as if to say, 'What's the matter, don't you trust me? Why are you staring?'"

Ron amplified this: "In a lot of cases, the Indians are not used to the questions that are being asked, even though they are not real personal—maybe 'Where do you live? Are other people living in your house?' Sometimes they go to these agencies to be taken care of, then just sit there without talking about it. It takes somebody with expertise to sit down in a quiet way and say, 'Is there something we can do for you?' and not worry if there is no response or if the clients get up and walk away, then come back and wait. I've seen people who aren't aware of these subtleties start squirming around and really getting nervous while the other person is just sitting there waiting. The worker will just ask more questions, become more frantic, if he's not familiar with the culture."

To which Dorothy Miller, laughing, added, "Can you imagine what that does to our interviewing style? One doesn't walk in and just say, 'Good morning, would you please answer the following ten questions?'"

An empathic interview approach, more easily accomplished by same-culture interviewers, would do much to eliminate the difficulties—some subtle, some obvious—that prevent effective service by agencies mandated and funded to help. Plainly, mutual understanding and tolerance are needed by both provider and consumer.

The Questions

The Family Interview, a form sheet filled out by the researchers for each family, listed tribe and ID number for matching with previous interviews. The first question was designed to renew the interest and confidence built during the first study: "We talked with you nearly two years ago, and since that time a lot has happened. What are some of the good things that have happened to you and your family since then?" was followed by "And what sorts of things have happened that have been trouble for you and your family?"

Next came inquiries about residence, unemployment, disability and Social Security insurance, AFDC, Medi-Cal, and so on. The Indian respondents could indicate problems in getting public assistance—transportation, paperwork, refusal, or other, and where and with whom there were special difficulties. In regard to health treatments, there was a note reminding each interviewer to add: "Did you know that the Urban Indian Health Board Clinic in San Francisco can provide transportation to and from the clinic, etc." After this came questions about legal problems. Interviewers also offered to make job inquiries on behalf of the respondents.

Questions about the children of these families followed: "Who do you prefer to take care of your children now?" "What kind of day care center do you prefer?" "Looking back, can you see the difference between the school you attended and the school your child goes to? What are some of those differences?" "How is your child doing in school these days?" How does he get there, is it far from home, does he come right home from school, and so on the questions continued, into such problem areas as subjects studied, authority figures, and need for a tutorial program.

The researchers found pluses and minuses. As Dr. Miller said later, "Our children are having such a tough time. I think our longitudinal studies are going to be very important for us to look at what's happening as they enter the school system. We're having a hard time getting the children through high school. The drop-out rate is very high. We're having a lot ot teenage pregnancies and the high cost of deterioration is phenomenal." (In averaging out responses to their hypothetical cases, it should be added, the researchers found school personnel somewhat more prone to offer direct aid than were personnel in other agencies.)

Findings, Feedback, and the Future

The Native American researchers reported finding no Indian workers in their random sampling of agency workers in the Bay Area cities, although preliminary inquiries had revealed that over 200 agencies in at least 20 different fields of urban service are concerned with Native American populations in the Bay Area.

The Final Report suggests that a necessary first step is to develop training and recruitment programs to bring Native Americans and social services together. To cope with the unique problems of urban Indians, Title XX funds should be spent for staff training.

Countering the boredom, hostility, or "institutional racism" perceived in the reception and replies given by some agency people, 60 percent of those interviewed asked the Native American researchers to advise them in an on-the-site training session after the interview. Over one-fourth of the respondents asked the Native American researcher to return to speak to the agency staff about urban Indian situations. Finally, two-thirds of the subjects interviewed asked the Native American research staff to provide the names and functions of Indian organizations which could be of benefit to the American Indian client.

As a result of the "feedback loop," as they called it, the researchers were able to give immediate assistance and consultation to both "sides," agency and Indian. Some of the neighborhood Indian people are becoming involved in helping to set up programs or youth drop-in centers, and a few are seeking paraprofessional training and status.

During their first study, the team realized that many children were being placed "outside" in the community. Impetus from this research led the California Indian Nurses Association to develop an Indian social agency in Oakland. This Child Resource Center, the first of its kind, provides child care, child placement, and other support services for Indian families to keep them from being broken up.

The Native American Research Group has been called in to help set up training programs and advise in a variety of settings—in health clinics in San Francisco, in nurses aide programs, or at the OEO-established Friendship House in Oakland. Midway during this second study, the team developed subsidiary surveys as particular aspects of a problem were revealed: among them, a study of the welfare program's intake procedure to help Indian families through a process they view as cumbersome and insensitive; a survey of attendance and school problems experienced by Indian students in the Oakland School District; a study of the Indian Drop-In Center, determining additional program needs which might encourage young Indi-

ans to remain in or return to school; an evaluation study of the Indian pre-school; and background research on projects sponsored by the California Coalition of Indian Controlled Education and the Native American Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council.

They are pleased to have been asked to aid in research-related work for the Tribal Leaders, who have called the staff for help in setting up evaluation studies. And as with the first study, young Native American researchers have benefited both as scholars and as helpers, the highest calling of their people.

THE THIRD STUDY: URBAN INDIAN CHILDREN: FIVE YEARS LATER (1972-1977)

Much of the cultural life is still there, there in the way that the water is there for the fish.

The purpose of this study was to follow the 120 families, wherever they might be, using the original baseline data and obtaining new data on their continuing survival strategies and mode of adaptation. The Native American Research Group was especially interested to find out how well their biculturation adaptation hypothesis was holding up. They believe that a longitudinal study of this magnitude will provide useful information for policymakers and program planners and, even more important, will add to knowledge about the socialization and adaptation processes of the Indian families in transition.

The Modes of Adaptation

Walter Carlin, the Sioux member of the original Native American research team, drew up a model of the kinds of individual adaptation to social situations that are possible for Native Americans in the predominantly white society. His model, taken from social theorist Robert Merton's "Modes of Adaptation Based on Acceptance or Rejection of a Culture's Means and Ends," differs from Merton's largely because Carlin added the bicultural perspective. In both models, "ends" refers

to culture's goals and "means" to the institutionalized ways available to attain those goals. Carlin's "Partial Bicultural Model of Modes of Adaptation Possible for Native Americans" contains two conflicting sets of cultural means and ends, the Indian and the white, from which to choose in adapting to or rejecting the dominant culture.

Many modes of adaptation—including traditional, bicultural, transitional, opportunist, assimilated, anomic, marginal, reclusive, innovative, rebellious, and mentally ill—were considered in relation to each set of means and ends. The modes of adaptation were then classified into four major groups: Traditional, in which the person clings to Indian values and behaviors; Transitional, where the individual adapts to white means and ends and leaves traditional values and behavior behind; Bicultural, in which the person is able to hold onto Indian values and means and is also able to adapt to white ends without considering them the primary value structure; and Marginal, whose individuals are anomic in both worlds, with ends and means neither Indian nor white.

Assignment of the Families

From information gathered in the first study, the research team developed an empirical classification for each of the 120 families and focal children, scoring each informant as to the presence or absence of the adaptation indicators—white ends, white means, Indian ends, Indian means. Next, they computerized the scores and formed a total scale score. Each family was then empirically assigned to one of the major bicultural types: Bicultural, 28; Traditional, 26; Transitional, 47; and Marginal, 19.

The Bicultural Family

Almost one-fourth of the families in the study can be considered Bicultural. They have a sense of "harmony," having retained the use of their native language and the practice of many of their beliefs while "making it" in the city. Their children have been reared to respect others and understand the ways of their people. They value education, have at least a high school diploma, earn their living, and have a decent standard of living. The children know something of both their worlds, since

they attend public school but are sent back to the reservation for the summer.

The investigators hypothesized that, over the five-year period, this group would make the best social and psychological adjustment to the city.

The Traditional Family

The Traditional, 22 percent of those in this study, know and use their native tongue, practice "Indian ways," and have close relationships with other Indian families who also live much as they did on the reservation. In three-quarters of these families, the mothers are at home and unemployed, 92 percent are married to Indians, over two-thirds were educated in BIA or mission boarding schools, and 20 percent would prefer to send their children "back home" to school. Some 40 percent of the children do not report liking school, possibly because education is important to only one-third of these mothers. Most of the children spend their summers on the reservation. Most of the husbands are in job training or employed in a blue-collar job. The families appear to share a close, supportive family life although many are impoverished financially.

The hypothesis for this Traditional family group is that they will make only a marginal adjustment to the city but that the psychological damage to the children will be minimal. The researchers feel, also, that some of these families will "go home" if life in the city gets tougher and that some of their children will soon be making the choice between their families' value structure and that of their peer group. Some of the families will veer toward the Bicultural and some toward the Transitional in the next few years.

The Transitional Family

Forty-seven families, over one-third of the 120, are judged to be Transitional, to be moving toward the adoption of white means and ends, letting their Indian language and values, means and ends, slip away. The mothers neither speak their native tongue nor try to teach "Indian ways" to their children; only one-third send their children "home" in the summer; two-thirds of the mothers are employed outside their homes as clerks, domestics, or secretaries. Over half of the homes have

no father; one-fourth of the fathers are non-Indian; all fathers are employed in factories or trades or with the school system or government. About 60 percent, in fact, came to the city "on their own," with no assistance from the BIA.

According to the hypothesis, these families are most likely to become assimilated in the city, to move into the white lower class, and to attempt to "become white." The families may earn adequate livings, but, according to the assumptions of the investigators, the children will face identity crises and lowered self-esteem and will probably adopt neurotic defenses over time.

The Marginal Family

Sixteen percent of the families are Marginal; they have lost their native language and show no evidence of having known "Indian ways," or "white ways" either, seeming to be maladapted in both. Nearly one-half are on public welfare and one-third have no father at home. This is the highest school dropout group—one-fourth of the children no longer attend school, only 11 percent of the mothers having felt that the children's education was important. Only one-fourth send their children to the reservations to renew family and tribal ties.

For this group, the hypothesis is that they will have the greatest amount of social and psychological difficulty over the next few years and will suffer most from the impact of urbanization.

The Next Step

The original assignment as to type of adaptation becomes the independent variable for purposes of testing the validity of the hypotheses. The assumption is that many will change, veering either toward or away from their central value orientation. The intervening variables are the experiences of these families over the 5-year period—what good things and what bad things have happened to them? The dependent variable, or outcome, is derived from the use of a series of scales, measurements, and indicators of the social and psychological situation of each child with relation to those of his family.

According to their hypotheses, expectations were that Bicultural families would score high on the Social Adjustment Scale

and low on Psychiatric and Alcoholism Scales; Traditional, low on both Scales; Transitional, high on Social Adjustment and even higher on the Psychiatric and Alcoholism Scales; and Marginal, low on the first and high on the second.

Some Interim Results

By August 1977, the researchers had located and reinterviewed 82 of the original 120 families in the Bay Area. They found out that 19 had moved back to the reservation, 6 had moved to another urban area, 2 were unavailable because their parents were ill, 6 could not be located, and 5 refused to be interviewed at that time.

When the families were asked about the "good things" that had happened, their answers were: nothing good, 23; better location, 4; social activities, 9; improved education, 14; improved marital, family ties, 16; and financial improvement, 16. After four years, then, these urban Indian families are still making only marginally successful adaptation.

As to the "bad things," 16 reported "no particular bad things," and other replies were: job disability, 2; divorce, separation, 9; poor health, 9; death, accident, 10; marital, family problems, 12; and financial problems, most of them long-standing, 24.

The people are still interested, still convinced of the importance of what the researchers are finding, and still cleaning up their homes and their children and dressing in their best as a mark of respect to these Native Americans who are finding out about them, their needs, and their aspirations.

By early 1979, most of the families had been traced. About 40 percent of the families have returned to the reservation. Of these, approximately one-third may be considered Marginal. About one-third might be called "Residuals," who went back because they just don't like the city—as Dorothy Miller put it, "They returned in neither triumph nor disaster." It is possible that some of their children will go back to the city and adjust happily there.

The Study Group is especially proud to report on the last third of those who returned. They have gone back better educated, more sophisticated, and ready to take their place in leadership and skilled roles in the tribal program. They have made such a complete bicultural adaptation that they can

move in and out of either setting, either world. One couple, for instance, is composed of a wife who teaches in the tribal school and a husband who is using his CPA to aid the tribe.

From their preliminary findings, the Native American Research Group is assured of the validity of the Bicultural hypothesis. For one thing, the Transitional and Traditional families seem to be merging largely into the Bicultural group. And those who were deemed Marginal are still transient to both worlds, the city and the reservation.

There is some thought of changing the unit of analysis from family and "focal child" to that of the children themselves, who, incidentally, are doing better in school adjustment than they appeared to be several years ago. Both the focal children and their siblings will be of interest. What choices will they make? Will their choices differ from their parents'? Miller thinks generational swings will be visible as some of these children begin their own families in the near future, just as major swings from generation to generation have usually occurred among immigrant groups to the United States.

"Tragic in the Abstract, Happy in the Concrete"

When asked what she meant by referring to the people of the studies in this way, Miller tried to explain: "The whole relocation program, it seems to me, is a powerful social change phenomenon, tragic because it provides such a cultural gulf between the Indian people in the city and on the reservation. I think we can foresee some of the consequences of this mass emigration to the city, but I think we are faced with a lot of unintended consequences that we hadn't expected—to that extent there are tragic overtones.

"And yet these people are emotionally sturdy. I'm always amazed at how they can survive all kinds of things. Most people, when they look at the Native American in the city, talk about the alcoholism, the poverty, and so on. That's one perspective, but that doesn't tell the story, which is re much more—how the family maintain themselves, keeping psychological richness that you just feel when you're with the people in their homes. So much of the cultural life is still there, there in the way that the water is there for the fish. It's part of them and it *is* their life."

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