

THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND
FAMILY LIFE FOR NEGROES AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN
TUCSON, ARIZONA

by

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ABSTRACT

This comparative study concerns the relative importance of the variables socio-economic status and ethnicity in association with family structure and attitudes. More specifically, Negro family life is analyzed relative to another ethnic group, the Mexican-Americans, to determine if Negro patterns are a function of socio-economic status or are peculiar to the Negro. Results reveal that whether ethnicity or socio-economic status is the more powerful variable associated with family structure and attitudes is dependent upon the particular family variable being considered. Socio-economic status is found to be a significant factor associated with marital status, authority in the family, present-future orientation, and, for the Mexican-American, family size and contact with extended family. Evidence for ethnicity is indicated for the variables contact with extended family, position of men, and, for the low SES group, importance of extended family and present-future orientation. Results indicate the general pattern of Negro family life as being married and expressing patriarchal and equalitarian relationships of authority in the family, a characterization in contrast to the picture of instability and matriarchy often attributed to the Negro family. A symmetric relationship between

family structure and attitudes concerning the family, independent of socio-economic status, was found to exist for the variables woman's role in association with family size, and position of men, authority in the family, and woman's role in association with marital status.

I

INTRODUCTION

Formulation of the Problem

Since the summer of 1968, the author has been involved in an adult education program administered in South Tucson, an economically disadvantaged area of metropolitan Tucson. An informal classroom situation provided contact with members of minority groups, the majority of whom were Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Interest was directed toward family life among these ethnic groups. The author wished to extend her observations and insights gained from the "soft" methods of analysis of a small, selective population to an empirical study of a randomly selected and larger population within the Tucson community.

It was decided to focus an empirical study on the Negro family, in view of the current controversy surrounding the Office of Planning and Research governmental document entitled "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action" (1965), hereafter referred to as the Moynihan Report. This controversy centers on the following points:

1. Whether the Negro family is "crumbling" at a disastrous rate.
2. Whether the amount of breakdown that exists is primarily due to poverty, or to cultural inheritance, or to a cycle of self-perpetuating pathology.

3. Whether the remedy is to be sought primarily through improving the economic, social, or legal status of Negroes or primarily through conducting a remedial campaign aimed directly at the Negro family.

It is hoped that the present study will contribute to an understanding of Negro family life and the issues raised by the Moynihan Report.

A conviction of the author is that data on the Negro should not be viewed as deviance from a white norm. Many statistical studies which compare Negroes and whites fall into the position of characterizing the Negro group as deviant. The complex set of social conditions which shape the family are of a different nature for minority groups than for white families. Social class and social caste are two important aspects of ethnic group experience; simple white-Negro comparisons on almost any set of standardized variables will necessarily produce distortions unless these aspects are considered. The low-income Negro family faces not only the problem of poverty, but also the problems of prejudice and historical subjugation. For these reasons, then, it was decided to focus a study on the Negro family relative to another ethnic group, the Mexican-Americans. Thus, a comparative analysis could be made of the family patterns of two ethnic groups living under somewhat similar social conditions.

Statement of the Problem

The present study consists of a secondary analysis of Negro family life, with Mexican-Americans as a comparison group. Data were available on family patterns for these minority groups through the Population Description Section of the Arizona Center for Early Childhood Education. One of the major theses of this study concerns whether socio-economic status or ethnicity is the more important variable associated with family structure and attitudes. Aspects of family structure to be examined are family size, marital status, and extended family system. Family attitudes include those concerning patriarchy, woman's role, and present-future orientation. More specifically, the purpose is that of determining if the disorganized, matriarchal family so often found in literature on the Negro family is, in fact, a general pattern, and if Negro family patterns are a function of socio-economic status or are peculiar to the Negro. The study also analyzes the effect of family structure on attitudes concerning the family, independent of socio-economic status.

II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Conceptualization of Negro Family Life

The theoretical orientation which was advanced as a framework for viewing the Negro family emphasizes both the interdependence of these families with other levels of society and the variability among Negro families. Two major concepts provide the essential elements of this perspective:

1.. Social System

According to Parsons (1951), a social system is an aggregation of persons or social roles bound together in a pattern of mutual interaction and independence. It has boundaries which enable us to distinguish the internal from the external environment, and it is typically imbedded in a network of social units both larger and smaller than itself. The Negro family as a social system is outlined by Billingsley (1968:5):

The Negro family is imbedded in a network of mutually interdependent relationships with the Negro community and the wider society. The Negro family includes within itself several subsystems: that of the Husband-Wife, and those of Mother-Son, Mother-Daughter, Father-Son, Father-Daughter, Brother-Sister, Brother-Brother, Sister-Sister, and sometimes the Grandmother-Mother-Daughter subsystems, to mention only the most common.

The Negro community includes within itself a number of institutions which may also be viewed as subsystems. Prominent among these are: schools, churches, taverns,

newspapers, neighborhood associations, lodges, fraternities, social clubs, age and sex peer groups, recreation associations, and small businesses, including particularly, barber shops, beauty parlors, restaurants, pool halls, funeral societies, and various organized systems of hustling.

The wider society consists of major institutions which help set the conditions for Negro family life. Chief among these are the subsystems of values, the political, economic, education, health, welfare, and communication subsystems.

Thus, the Negro family is viewed as a social system, deeply imbedded within and highly interdependent with a variety of other systems, both larger and smaller than itself. According to this conceptualization, the Negro family is a creature of the Negro community, which surrounds it, defines it, and gives it its identity and mission. Both the family and the community are creatures of the wider society, which provides or withholds the resources for its creation, survival, and development. The Negro family cannot be understood or appreciated in isolation, but only in relation to its place in the Negro community and the wider society. This perspective takes exception to the students of the family who view the Negro family as an independent unit which serves as the causal nexus for the difficulties Negroes often have in the wider society. While the family and society are interdependent, the focus is on the point that the greater force for defining, enhancing, or obstructing, comes from the wider society to the family.

2. Ethnic Subsociety

The Negro people are often viewed as a group, a category set apart from other people and sharing conditions, attributes, and behavior in common. On the other hand, great variations of conditions, attributes, and behavior are obvious in so large and diverse a people. The concept of ethnic subsociety helps capture the nature of this duality. Milton Gordon (1964) defines an ethnic group as a relatively large configuration of people with a "shared feeling of peoplehood." In our society, these groups are commonly bound by our conceptions of race, religion, national origin, or some combination of these factors.

Common to the ethnic group is:

the social-psychological element of a special sense of both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the group. These are the "people" of my ancestors, therefore, they are my people, and will be the people of my children and their children. With members of other groups I may share political participation, occupational relationships, common civic enterprise, perhaps even an occasional warm friendship, but in a very special way, which history has decreed, I share a sense of indissoluble and intimate identity with this group and not that group within the larger society and the world (Gordon 1964:29).

This conception of ethnic group seems to capture not only the reality of existence for the Negro people but the new sense of awareness of identity and peoplehood which is becoming increasingly legitimated in black communities throughout the country.

But if Negroes are an ethnic group bound together not only by common definition and treatment on the part of the larger society, but also by a common sense of peoplehood, they are not a uniform group. The concept of ethnic subsociety reflects, also, some of the dimensions of variation within the ethnic group. Gordon (1964) has stressed three social dimensions which help to capture some of the variation within the ethnic groups, namely, social class, rural or urban residence, and region of the country lived in.

For our purposes, then, Negro families are not only Negroes to be compared and contrasted with white families, they may also be upper class, middle class, or lower class, with rural or urban moorings, and with Southern or Northern residence, and, most importantly, they may be meaningfully compared and contrasted with each other.

Today, perhaps social class has come to be the most powerful of the three dimensions which help to define the conditions of life for Negro families. The ability of the Negro family to meet the needs of its members and the functional requirements of society is intimately associated with its position on the socio-economic pyramid.

It must be noted that the importance of social class does not mean that middle class Negro families have more in common with middle class white families than they do with lower class Negro families. The concept of ethnic subsociety

helps to call attention to different types of identity which people share:

Succinctly, then, one may say that the ethnic group is the locus of a sense of historical identification, while the ethclass (the intersection of ethnicity and social class) is the locus of a sense of participational identification. With a person of the same social class but of a different ethnic group, one shares behavioral similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but of a different social class, one shares the sense of peoplehood but not behavioral similarities. The only group which meets both these criteria are people of the same ethnic group and social class (Gordon 1964:53).

Middle class Negro families, then, do share certain similarities with middle class white families. They share some, though not nearly all, the privileges, opportunities, resources, and amenities of their middle class white counterparts. When, rarely, they also share neighborhoods, schools, and other common ground on a basis of sustained interaction and equality, they are also likely to share what Gordon refers to as "participational identification." They are not as likely, however, to share a common sense of peoplehood. They have different histories, different statuses in society, and very different levels of economic security. They do not share the "historical identification" which middle class Negroes share with other Negro families. It is with other middle class Negro families, however, that the two senses of identity are combined and fortified.

It must, of course, be recognized that the reference to "the" Negro family is itself an oversimplification. Different family forms prevail at different socio-economic levels throughout our society. In addition, at any given level a wide variety of families are found, each with its individual characteristics--some of which are and some of which are not class linked. The family and family behavior among Negroes show great range and variability; especially overlooked and underrated is the diversity among low-income Negro families. When these are overlooked for any reason, there is danger that the more dramatic and threatening characteristics of a small segment of the population will be imputed to an entire population. However, the author finds it almost impossible to avoid falling into the form of reference to "the" Negro family that constantly risks simplistic thinking. Such a reference here is made purely for the sake of convenience, with caution to be used in its interpretation.

Historical Perspective

The impact of slavery and its crippling effects on the establishment, maintenance, and growth of patterns of family life is discussed throughout the literature on the Negro family (Frazier 1939, the Billingsleys 1965, Moynihan 1965, Pettigrew 1964). A frequent generalization is that the present characteristics of low-income Negro families are influenced more by the legacy of slavery than by postslavery

discrimination and deprivations. Other authors (Lewis 1965, Herzog 1966, Rainwater 1966, Geismar and Gerhart 1968) reject or place little emphasis on slavery as an explanation of present Negro family forms as compared with current conditions. It has been suggested that:

not enough is known about present family forms and functions and about the behavior patterns which are distinctly urban products with a dynamic and history of their own. The forms, as in the case of the family headed by the female, may be the same but the context in which they fit and function has probably changed in important details (Lewis 1960:126).

In one sense, this disagreement appears largely academic. The Negro is dealing with the problems and potentials of today, as they are manifested today. He is not grappling with a social system under which he lived over one hundred years ago, but with a social system under which he lives today. Perhaps the importance of the controversy lies in the fact that it colors opinions about the nature and extent of differences and similarities between Negro and white families at very low income levels. Those who emphasize the historical influence point to differences; those who emphasize postslavery influences point to similarities between the two.

It must be recognized, however, that historical influences may affect kind and degree of potential for growth. Therefore, knowledge of background and of tradition, which is itself changing, is probably necessary, but not sufficient in explaining and understanding the Negro family today.

Equally important are the postslavery factors of discrimination and deprivation which have affected every facet of life for the Negro: occupation, education, income, housing, nutrition, health and mortality, social status, and self-respect.

Thus, Negro family life in the United States today is still circumscribed by powerful social forces which prevent it from making its maximum contribution to its members, to the Negro community as a whole, and to the wider society. These factors are in part a legacy of slavery and in part a characteristic of the complex social, economic, political, and technological society in which we live.

III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Until recently, Frazier's (1939) classical study of the Negro family has remained alone in devoting itself exclusively to Negro families. Billingsley comments on the paucity of studies regarding the Negro family: "For a number of reasons, Negro family life has been virtually ignored by the four major areas of American scholarship which have legitimate claim to this aspect of American life-- the field of American family studies, the field of ethnic assimilation studies, the field of American Negro studies, and the field of social welfare (1968:214)."

In the available professional and popular literature today, the concept of "Negro family" is often regarded as synonymous with "problem family". This selective focus on the negative aspects of Negro family life has placed the Negro in a distorted perspective. Attention has been directed to only that "half" of Negro families in the lower class, or that "third" of Negro families below the poverty line, or that "quarter" of Negro families headed by women, or that "tenth" of Negro families with illegitimate children. The interest does not appear to be on the Negro family as an institution for its own sake. Rather, studies focusing on Negro family life in the lower class, problem-ridden sectors

seem not concerned with Negro family life, but with poverty, family breakdown, and illegitimacy; somehow these phenomena are tied to the Negro experience. The following observations have been made regarding the current literature on the Negro family:

For it must be said with all candor that the social scientists who have recently discovered the Negro family have not yet produced a study of that seventy-five per cent of Negro families who have stable marriages, or that half of Negro families who have to pull themselves into the middle class, or that ninety per cent of all Negro families who are self-supporting, or that even greater proportion who manage to keep out of trouble, often despite the grossest kinds of discrimination and provocation. It would be very instructive indeed to know how two thirds of all Negro families with less than \$2,000 annual income in 1966 could manage to hold themselves together and meet the American test of family stability. For surely this is the statistic that needs explaining, rather than the minority of poor families where the man disappears in order to let the family survive economically. In addition, some understanding of how this majority of Negro families manages can help provide clues for the rehabilitation of other families, and at the same time can enlighten the society about the problems these Negro families still face (Billingsley 1968:206).

Perhaps the greatest symbol of the negative emphasis and resulting distortion of the Negro family is the widely read Moynihan Report.

Summary of the Moynihan Report

"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action", (1965), better known as the Moynihan Report, precipitated one of the most bitter controversies yet among government and private individuals all presumably dedicated to the

realization of Negro rights. It reflected Moynihan's belief that policy making in the government should make greater use of the social sciences for problem diagnosis and description. The Moynihan Report presents the following argument:

1. "At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of weakness of the Negro community at the present time." This deterioration is demonstrated by these facts: (a) nearly a quarter of urban Negro marriages are dissolved, (b) nearly one quarter of Negro births are now illegitimate, (c) as a consequence, almost one-fourth of Negro families are headed by females, and (d) this breakdown of the Negro family has led to a startling increase in welfare dependency.

2. Moynihan found the "roots of the problem" in slavery, in the effects of reconstruction on the family, and, particularly, on the position of the Negro man, in urbanization, in unemployment, in poverty, and in the wage system that does not provide a family wage. He noted that the dimension of all these problems is growing because of the high fertility of Negroes.

3. Having demonstrated that the socio-economic system, past and present, produces an unstable family system for Negroes, he went on to discuss "the tangle of pathology" in the Negro community. This tangle of pathology

involves the matriarchy of the Negro family, the failure of youth, higher rates of delinquency and crime among Negroes, the fact that Negroes disproportionately fail the Armed Forces qualification test, and the alienation of Negro men which results in their withdrawal from stable family-oriented society, in higher rates of drug addiction, in despair of achieving a stable life. "There is no one Negro community. There is no one Negro problem. There is no one solution. Nonetheless, at the center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family structure. Once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or antisocial behavior that did not establish, but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation."

4. Moynihan felt, then, that the present tangle of pathology was capable of perpetuating itself without assistance from the white world, and, thus, "a national effort toward the problems of Negro America must be directed toward the question of family structure." The Report concluded with what Moynihan felt was its most immediate policy implications: "The policy of the United States is to bring the Negro American to full and equal sharing in the responsibilities and rewards of citizenship. To this end, the program of the Federal government bearing on this objective shall be

designed to have the effect, directly or indirectly, of enhancing the stability and resources of the Negro American family."

Public reactions to the Moynihan Report included such diverse interpretations as: the report meant self-improvement for the Negro; massive federal programs were needed; emphasis of the Report was on preferential treatment for the Negro; Moynihan's statements were even used to support the old racist ideology. Rainwater and Yancey (1967) in their diagnosis of the political controversy caused by the Report emphasize that the Moynihan Report is not basically a research report or a technical document; it is a polemic which makes use of social science techniques and findings to convince others. Its purpose was to persuade top Administrative officials of the need for action, and thus, it was prepared as an internal governmental document, intended for a very small audience. Perhaps the major contribution of the Moynihan Report is that it brought to the attention of scholars, of planners, as well as of the general public, the fact that Negro families are an important part of the national life. It has stimulated many new studies in this important area. However, it is necessary to emphasize the serious shortcomings of the Report that a careful analysis reveals.

Critique of the Moynihan Report

A major distortion made by Moynihan was his singling out instability in the Negro family as the causal factor for the difficulties Negroes face in the white society.

"It is quite the other way around. But coming just at the time the nation was trying to find a single cause of the Watts riots, Moynihan's thesis struck a responsive chord in the collective American breast" (Billingsley 1968:199).

The theoretical perspective of this paper points to the reasoning from the wider society to the family, as opposed to Moynihan's conception of the family as not only a product of social causes, but as itself a significant and dynamic element in the creation of culture, social character, and social structure. Herzog finds no rapid acceleration of family breakdown is evident:

If there has been no substantial change in family structure during the past two decades, then there are no grounds for claiming that a new "tangle of pathology" has set up a degenerative process from within, over and above response to the long continued impact of social and economic forces from without (1966:352).

There are a number of methodological and substantive problems with the Moynihan Report (Rainwater and Yancey 1967). The concern here is with Moynihan's comparison of Negroes with whites on standardized objective measures and by his failure to take into account two very important aspects of the Negro experience: social class and social caste.

Although Moynihan mentioned at two points in his report that the Negro community contained two broad groupings--an increasingly successful middle class and an increasingly disorganized lower class, the data were presented in tabular form without a consideration of social class, as a comparison between Negro and white. Simple Negro-white comparisons on any set of standardized variables will necessarily produce distortions, for they ignore the dimension of social class. The habit of analyzing data by color rather than by indices of socio-economic status encourages the tendency to attribute to race-related factors differences which may be due to level of socio-economic status. Equally important to the Negro experience in America are the caste-like barriers which exclude Negro families from many of the resources of society. Therefore, even when white and Negro families are matched with exactly the same income, education, and occupation, they would still not be comparable. The Negro group reflects its experience with the caste barrier as well as its distinctive history, both of which set the conditions for growing up black in white America.

The Government's response to the Moynihan Report included a paper by Lewis which presents data on the Negro family, controlled for income. A considerably more optimistic picture of the plight of Negro families is revealed:

Over-all, two-thirds of Negro families include two parents. The increase in the proportion of female-headed households has been less than five percentage

points in fifteen years, with no rise in the last five years. The evidence is that Negro-white differences in family structure diminish when controlled for income and that differences by income are more striking than differences by color; that factors attributable to the effects of inequities in housing, employment, health, and education account for a large amount of the difference between the figures for Negroes and whites (1965:315).

The Current Emphasis

There is emerging a small but growing literature on Negro families which treats them in their own right and does not take them essentially as deviants from a white norm. Outstanding among the new literature is the work of Billingsley (1968), Bernard (1966), Liebow (1966), Rainwater (1966), Lewis (1965), and Geismar and Gerhart (1968). Where emphasis had been on writing about the stability of the Negro family, it is now pointed toward the interrelationship of family and societal variables. The focus is on an understanding of the Negro family as an institution interdependent with society and on the variability among Negro families.

Much of the new literature does not support many of the characteristic pictures presented about Negro family life. As opposed to the disorganized pattern so often found as a description of Negro families, Bernard (1966) found stability to be the most common pattern among Negro families, and the general type of family is one in which both husband and wife are living together in their first marriage. Bernard found a strong emphasis on family stability and conventional moral

behavior at all income levels, even the lowest. This led to her conceptualization of the presence of "two cultures" within the Negro community, one acculturated and the other externally adapted to the norms of white society. The focus, then, is on the diversity of patterns and attitudes among Negro families.

A common stereotype suggests that the Negro family tends to be matriarchal because of the important economic role of the wife and family instability, traditional since slavery times (Frazier 1939, Moynihan 1965, Blood and Wolfe 1960). On the contrary, Middleton and Putney (1960) find no differences in the relative dominance of husband and wife for Negro and white professors and skilled workers. Babchuck (1969) finds Negro men, regardless of class, dominant in primary relations, and concludes that the male is an important force in the structure of the family. Cahill's study of child rearing practices in lower socio-economic ethnic groups found that a common stereotype that was not supported "is the belief that lower class men, particularly Negroes, are ineffectual in family life. On the contrary, when present, they assume an active role, take responsibility and assume authority (1967:287)." She raises the question: Is the Negro male ineffectual only when absent?

The discrepancies in the literature on the Negro family point to the need for empirical studies on Negro

family life. Perhaps there will be studies focused not only on lower class Negroes from broken families, but on middle class and even upper class Negro families who have other kinds of problems and achievements. The present study on the Negro family is conducted in the context of the social forces affecting family life and with an explicitly stated theoretical framework. It is hoped that it will contribute to the growing fund of knowledge concerning Negro family life.

IV

DESCRIPTION OF PRESENT STUDY

The present study consists of a comparative analysis of the association between socio-economic status and family patterns for two ethnic groups in Tucson, Arizona. Emphasis is placed on an examination of Negro patterns of family structure and attitudes concerning the family, with Mexican-Americans as a comparison group. Six aspects of family life are analyzed: family size, marital status, extended family system, and attitudes concerning patriarchy, woman's role, and present-future orientation. Each of these aspects are examined controlling for ethnicity, then using socio-economic status as a control variable. Interest is focused on whether socio-economic status or ethnicity is the more important variable associated with family patterns. The effect of family structure on attitudes concerning the family, controlling for socio-economic status, is also examined.

Hypotheses

It is expected that: (a) more similarities in family life than differences will be found between Negroes and Mexican-Americans within each socio-economic group, and (b) within each ethnic group, more differences than similarities will be found regarding family life between the socio-economic status groups. Thus, socio-economic status is

hypothesized as exerting more influence than ethnicity on family structure and attitudes concerning the family. A second hypothesis is concerned with characterization of the Negro family. It is expected that, regardless of socio-economic status, the pattern of marriage and of patriarchal or equalitarian relationships are the rule, not the exception, for Negroes. And, finally, the author believes that any effect of family structure on attitudes concerning the family can be explained in terms of socio-economic status. Thus, with socio-economic status controlled, little or no effect is expected.

The null hypotheses of the present study are stated as follow:

Hypothesis 1: A. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among Negroes and Mexican-Americans within each socio-economic status group.

B. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among socio-economic status groups within each of the Negro and Mexican-American groups.

Hypothesis 2: Negroes within each socio-economic group are not married and express matriarchal attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: There is no effect of family structure on attitudes concerning the family, independent of socio-economic status.

Characteristics of the Sample

Data for the present study were obtained from the Population Description Section of the Arizona Center for Early Childhood Education. A random sample of 408 parents who live in Tucson's southern and western areas were interviewed during the summer of 1967. The parents, all of whom had children enrolled in the Hughes experimental early education program, included members of several ethnic groups. Briefly, the essence of the Hughes program is the development of cognitive skills that are assumed to be needed in establishing an efficient intellectual base for further school performance and successful functioning in the larger society. The program has operated in 68 classrooms, grades one through three, in eight public schools of Tucson. The sample for the present study consists of 47 Negro and 251 Mexican-American parents.

The Mexican-Americans in Tucson reside in and around the barrios, which are ethnic neighborhoods recognized by most of their residents as social and geographic units independent of officially recognized boundaries (Spence and Winheld 1969). "Unique among ethnic groups, middle class Negroes are to an overwhelming extent forced to remain in the

slum long after their income will support housing in better neighborhoods. In no major city in the U. S. do Negroes live in neighborhoods on the basis of their income (Crow 1968:17)." As of late 1965, Tucson was a heavily segregated city; 49.3% of the city's Negroes live within Tucson's three heavily Negro tracts. The proportion of residentially segregated Negroes in Tucson is 75% (Crow 1968:18).

Crow (1968) characterizes the Negro in Arizona as discontented and very much on the bottom socially, economically, and even politically. This is partially explained by the fact that relatively few Negroes live in the state. According to the 1960 United States Census, Negroes accounted for only 3.3% of the state's population. The figures for Tucson in 1960 exhibit a similar pattern. Tucson contained 3.1% Negro or a population of 7,369 Negroes for that year. Although he focuses on the Arizona Negro, Crow (1968) notes that the Negroes are not the only group subject to being trapped in a cycle of discrimination and poverty. "There is substantial evidence to indicate that roughly the same process operates within Arizona as regards the Mexican-American and American Indian (1968:4)."

Pinkney (1963) in his study of Mexican-Americans and Negro Americans in a western city found both ethnic groups relegated to the lowest possible status in the community. However, the white adult respondents approved of

greater integration of Mexican-Americans than of Negroes into the life of the community. Members of the dominant group, then, were willing to accord greater rights to Mexican-Americans than to Negro Americans. An analysis of the present sample will help to determine if the "same process" of discrimination and poverty affecting the Negro is operating as regards the Mexican-American in Tucson, Arizona.

Spence and Winheld (1969) analyzed available data on income and occupational categories for several ethnic groups in the Population Description Section study. Their comparative profiles of income and occupation for Negroes and Mexican-Americans are reproduced in Figures 1 and 2. Differences between the Negro and Mexican-American groups are evident in reviewing the profiles. A further analysis of socio-economic data on the sample was made to determine if a significant association existed between ethnicity and socio-economic status. Utilizing a measure of socio-economic status based on income, occupation, and housing, a dichotomy of socio-economic status divided the groups into: low SES and middle SES. (The construction of the SES measure is outlined in Section IV.) Chi-square and Yule's Q were computed and the results are summarized in Table 1.

JOB CATEGORIES

Professional

Skilled

Semi-Skilled

Unskilled

Social Security-Pension

Welfare-ADC

NEGRO

12

8

15

38

0

27

100%

MEXICAN-AMERICAN

4

24

29

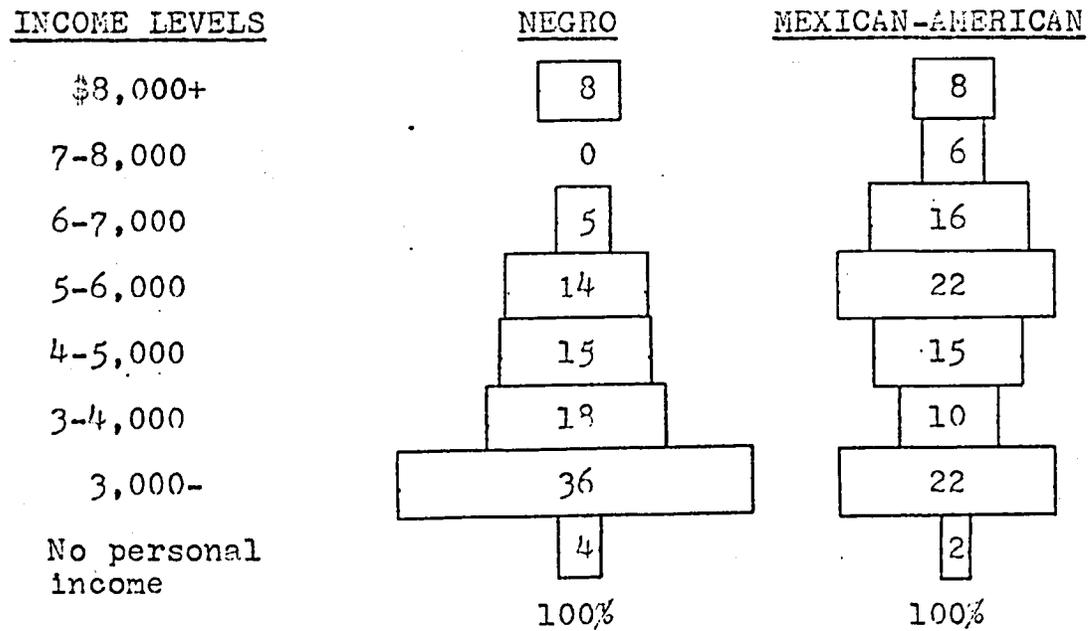
25

4

14

100%

Figure 1. Comparative Profile of Job Categories



Note: Due to the unstable nature of the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled jobs in Tucson, especially during the winter months, these income ratings for Negro and Mexican-Americans may be high.

Figure 2. Comparative Profile of Income

Table 1. Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status

SES	Mexican-American	Negro
Low	37.5% (94)	61.7% (29)
Middle	62.5% (157)	38.3% (18)

$$\chi^2 = 18.24, p < .001, Q = -.4581$$

The findings indicate a significant association at the .001 level between ethnicity and socio-economic status; the strength of the relationship is expressed by a Q of -.4581. The majority of Mexican-Americans, then, are found in the middle SES category, while the majority of the Negro sample are found in the low SES level. It is concluded that the Negro sample is in a significantly lower socio-economic position than the Mexican-American. Perhaps, as Pinkney (1963) suggests, the factors of prejudice and discrimination are intensified for the Negro and relegate him to a lower position economically than the Mexican-American.

Operationalization of Variables

1. Family Variables

Questions on family patterns included in the Population Description Interview Schedule were used to operationalize the six aspects of family life considered in the present study. Due to the small sample size for the Negro group

(N = 47) and the need to control for ethnicity and socio-economic status, categories of responses to the questions were collapsed into the smallest possible number for the analysis. The interview questions and the collapsed categories of responses for each family life variable are present in Tables 2 and 3.

2. Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status

The variable of ethnicity is defined in terms of the two responses of Negro and Mexican-American. Factor analysis was used as a criterion for the construction of a measure of socio-economic status. A factor analysis performed by the Population Description Section staff (Yoshino 1969) and rotated by Varimax Rotation produced factor loadings as follow:

Family Income	.519
Grade of Housing	.504
Occupation	.479

Since each of these indices more or less involve economic status, the factor was conceptualized as socio-economic status. For construction, then, of a measure of socio-economic status, income, housing, and occupation were dichotomized into low and middle categories, as shown in Table 4.

Through the use of a Fortran program, the socio-economic status measure was computed as follows: for an individual, scores of 0 and 1 corresponding to the low and

Table 2. Operationalization of Family Size, Marital Status,
and Extended Family System Variables

<u>Family Variable</u>	<u>Interview Schedule</u>	<u>Categories of Response</u>
Family Size	a. Would you mind telling us how many people live in your home?	a. Small (Includes 1-5) Large (Includes 6+)
	b. Are all of these people part of your immediate family or are some of them relatives or unrelated persons?	b. 1. Relatives None Some 2. Non-Relatives None Some
Marital Status	a. Are you currently married?	Married (Includes Married and Common Law) Not Married (Includes not Married, Widowed, Divorced, Separated)
Extended Family System	a. About how often does your child get together with relatives?	a. Frequent (Includes monthly or more) Infrequent (Includes several times a year or less)
	b. How important or unimportant do you think it is to get together with relatives?	b. Important Depends Unimportant

Table 3. Operationalization of Patriarchy, Woman's Role,
and Present-Future Orientation Variables

<u>Family Variable</u>	<u>Interview Schedule</u>	<u>Categories of Response</u>
Patriarchy	a. Which of the following statements do you think is generally the case among people you know?	a. Dominant (Includes still dominant)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Men are losing their dominant positions as masters of the home. 2. Men are still masters of their homes. 3. Men never were masters of their homes. 4. Don't know. 	Not Dominant (Includes losing, never were, and don't know)
	b. Who has the most authority in your family?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> b. Father Mother Both
Woman's Role	Do you think that:	Only home
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Marriage, children, and the home are the only proper vocations for a woman, or b. That it is all right for a married woman to have a job? 	Job
Present-Future Orientation	Do you agree or disagree that people should live for the present and let the future take care of itself?	Agree (Includes strongly agree or mildly agree) Disagree (Includes mildly disagree and strongly disagree)

Table 4. Construction of a Measure of
Socio-Economic Status

<u>SES</u>	<u>Family Income</u>	<u>Grade of Housing</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Low	Under \$4,000	Fair, Poor, Very Poor	Unskilled, Social Security- Pension, Welfare-ADC
Middle	\$4,000+	Average, Good, Very Good, Excellent	Semi-Skilled, Skilled, Professional

middle categories respectively were assigned for each of the three indices of income, housing, and occupation. These scores were then added together and a total score for each individual was obtained. A total of 0-1 was labeled low SES; a total score for an individual of 2-3 was placed in the middle category of SES.

An analysis was made to determine the equivalency between the socio-economic measure and the three indices of income, housing, and occupation. Statistics analyzing the association between the family variable of extended family system and ethnicity were computed, controlling for socio-economic status. The same analysis was then performed controlling for each of the indices of socio-economic status, one at a time. The results were in agreement whether controlling for the measure of socio-economic status or controlling for the indices, one at a time. These results are presented in the Appendix, Tables 31-34.

Statistical Tests

For the most part, the data in this study constitute a nominal scale of measurement and require nonparametric statistics. The hypotheses of the study are restated below as working hypotheses, and a discussion of the appropriate statistical test follows each hypothesis.

- Hypothesis 1: A. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among Negroes and Mexican-Americans within the low and middle SES groups.
- B. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among the low and middle SES groups for Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

Each family variable is to be analyzed in its relationship with socio-economic status, controlling for ethnicity, and in its relationship with ethnicity, controlling for socio-economic status. When the data of research consist of frequencies in discrete categories, the chi-square test may be used to determine the significance of differences between two independent groups (Siegel 1956). The chi-square test of independence and Yule's Q as a measure of association were computed to test Hypothesis 1. Chi-square probabilities are reported for a chi-square that is less than or equal to the .10 level of significance. Yule's Q is a special case for the general gamma and applies to the 2 x 2 table. Q disappears when the variables are independent, and attains its limits of ± 1.0 whenever any one of its cells is zero. It was not possible to compute gamma for tables other than for the 2 x 2 tables in the

present analysis, since directed ordering is of interest in computing gamma and a nominal scale was characteristic of the data. The relationship between chi-square and gamma is explained by Goodman and Kruskal (1963): when chi-square is significant, gamma is significant. If chi-square is not significant, it is possible that gamma is still significantly greater than zero, but this is indeterminate. Thus, for the purpose of this study, Yule's Q indicating strength of relationship is of interest only when chi-square is significant.

Hypothesis 2: For both the low SES and middle SES groups, the general pattern for Negroes is that of being in the married category of marital status, and in the male still dominant category, and father or both responses regarding authority in the family.

Each table in the analysis of family variables is expressed in terms of percentages. This descriptive statistic will be used to test the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3: There is no effect of family structure, including family size and marital status, on attitudes concerning the family, including woman's role, position of men,

authority in the family, and present-future orientation, independent of SES.

Two aspects of family structure, family size and marital status, are analyzed as to their influence on attitudes concerning the family. Since a causal relationship is hypothesized, an asymmetric statistical test, tau b, was chosen. Tau b, which involves a probabilistic interpretation, gives the proportion of error which can be eliminated by taking account of the knowledge of the classification of individuals based on the independent variable (Blalock 1960). Chi-square and Yule's Q were also computed as a test for this hypothesis, in the event that the theoretical causal hypothesis was not supported. A symmetrical measure would also, then, be available.

The Tables 3 Program, an adaption of the Revised Yale Tables Program for the CDC.6400 at The University of Arizona, was utilized for the statistical analysis of the data. Since the program requires data used in generating frequency tables to be in the form of consecutive integers beginning with zero, a Fortran program was first written to transform the variables of the analysis into the proper form. The Tables 3 Program generates basic frequency distribution tables and various optional tables and statistics for each frequency table. For the present study, cell

percentages, chi-square, and degrees of freedom, Yule's Q, and Kruskal's tau b were the statistics computed by the program.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Results of the analysis of family life variables are expressed in tabular form. Each cell in a table contains a percentage figure; beside this percentage, included in parentheses, is the frequency distribution. The appropriate statistical tests are computed and presented below each table. A discussion of the results includes interpretation of the findings in the light of the theoretical perspective and hypotheses of this study.

Family Variables

1. Family Size

Table 5 indicates that no significant association exists between ethnicity and family size. Percentage figures demonstrate that the majority of both ethnic groups have large families. The association between ethnicity and family size, controlling for socio-economic status, is also not found to be significant, as shown in Table 6. Results of the association between socio-economic status and family size with ethnicity as a control variable are outlined in Table 7. For the Mexican-American, a significant association at the .10 level is found between socio-economic status and family size. A $Q = -.1990$ indicates a negative direction to the

Table 5. Family Size and Ethnicity

Family Size	Mex-Amer	Negro
Small	22.3% (56)	27.7% (13)
Large	77.7% (198)	72.3% (34)

$$x^2 = 1.008, Q = -.1421$$

Table 6. Family Size and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Fam. Size	Low SES		Fam. Size	Middle SES	
	Mex-Amer	Negro		Mex-Amer	Negro
Small	18.1% (17)	24.1% (7)	Small	24.8% (39)	33.3% (6)
Large	81.9% (77)	75.9% (22)	Large	75.2% (118)	66.7% (12)

$$x^2 = .7204, Q = -.1807$$

$$x^2 = .8559, Q = -.2041$$

Table 7. Family Size and Socio-Economic Status,
Ethnicity Controlled

Fam. Size	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		Fam. Size	<u>Negro</u>	
	Low SES	Middle SES		Low SES	Middle SES
Small	18.1% (17)	24.8% (39)	Small	24.1% (7)	33.3% (6)
Large	81.9% (77)	75.2% (118)	Large	75.9% (22)	66.7% (12)
$X^2 = 2.731, p < .10, Q = -.1990$			$X^2 = .5916, Q = -.2222$		

relationship: the low socio-economic status group have larger families than the middle SES category. For the Negro, no significant association is indicated between the two variables, although percentage results show a similar pattern of relationship, in the same direction, as for the Mexican-American. Since it is more difficult to obtain significance with small samples, the difference in the results of the analysis of family size and socio-economic status between Mexican-Americans and Negroes is due, in large part, to the differences in sample size. It is expected that significance would be obtained if the Negro sample were expanded. Thus, more similarities than differences are evident between the two ethnic groups concerning family size, and more differences than similarities are indicated between the SES groups in association with family size for the Mexican-American.

For the family size variable, the great majority of all people living in the home are members of the nuclear family. For both Negroes and Mexican-Americans, as shown in Tables 8 and 9, there are very few relatives and/or non-relatives living in the home. A further analysis of these variables relating to family size is included in the Appendix, Tables 35-38. The results indicate neither socio-economic status nor ethnicity is a factor associated with relatives and/or non-relatives living in the home.

Table 8. Relatives in the Home and Ethnicity

Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro
None	86.1% (216)	83.0% (39)
Some	13.9% (35)	17.0% (8)

$$\chi^2 = .4091, Q = .1174$$

Table 9. Non-Relatives in the Home and Ethnicity

Non-Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro
None	96.8% (243)	97.9% (46)
Some	3.2% (8)	2.1% (1)

$$\chi^2 = .1573, Q = -.2046$$

2. Marital Status

The results of Table 10 indicate a significant association at the .01 level between ethnicity and marital status. A greater percentage of Mexican-Americans than Negroes are in the married group, and conversely, more Negroes than Mexican-Americans are not married. This same relationship is examined in Table 11, controlling for socio-economic status. When socio-economic status is considered, the relationship disappears, and no significant association between marital status and ethnicity is found. Table 12 contains an analysis of marital status and socio-economic status, with ethnicity controlled. A significant association at the .001 level is indicated between socio-economic status and marital status for the Negro and Mexican-American groups. For both ethnic groups, the relationship is a positive one, with $Q = .8342$ for the Mexican-Americans and $Q = .8462$ for the Negroes. Those in the middle SES group, then, were more often in the married category than the low SES group. Conclusions explain any association between ethnicity and marital status as a function of socio-economic status. The significant association indicated between socio-economic status and marital status leads to the conclusion that socio-economic status is the more powerful variable associated with marital status.

It is to be noted in the analysis of marital status that the majority of Negroes, regardless of socio-economic

Table 10. Marital Status and Ethnicity

Marital Status	Mex-Amer	Negro
Not-Married	15.5% (39)	27.7% (13)
Married	84.5% (212)	72.3% (34)

$\chi^2 = 7.279, p < .01, Q = -.3503$

Table 11. Marital Status and Ethnicity,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Marital S.	Mex-Amer	Negro	Marital S.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Not-Married	34.0% (32)	41.4% (12)	Not-Married	4.5% (7)	5.6% (1)
Married	66.0% (62)	58.6% (17)	Married	95.5% (150)	94.4% (17)

$\chi^2 = .7682, Q = -.1553$ $\chi^2 = .1925, Q = -.1152$

Table 12. Marital Status and Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity Controlled

Marital S.	Mex-Amer		Marital S.	Negro	
	Low SES	Middle SES		Low SES	Middle SES
Not-Married	34.0% (32)	4.5% (7)	Not-Married	41.4% (12)	5.6% (1)
Married	66.0% (62)	95.5% (150)	Married	58.6% (17)	94.4% (17)
$\chi^2 = 76.201, p < .001, Q = .8342$			$\chi^2 = 12.569, p < .001, Q = .8462$		

Table 13. Contact with Extended Family and Ethnicity

Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	22.3% (56)	61.7% (29)
Frequent	77.7% (195)	38.3% (18)
$\chi^2 = 58.36, p < .001, Q = -.6974$		

status, are in the married group. For the low SES group, 58.6% of Negroes are married. A comparable figure for the middle SES group is 94.4% married. Without a consideration of socio-economic status, 72.3% of the total Negro sample are married.

3. Extended Family System

Table 13 presents results of the analysis between contact with extended family and ethnicity. A significant association at the .001 level was found between these variables, with $Q = -.6974$. More Mexican-Americans are found to have frequent contact with extended family than Negroes. For the majority of Negroes, contact is infrequent with extended family members. Table 14 shows that ethnic differences persist when controlled for socio-economic status. A significant association at the .001 level exists for both low and middle SES groups. $Q = -.6374$ for the low SES group and $Q = -.7293$ for the middle SES group. Table 15 presents slightly different results between the ethnic groups concerning socio-economic status and extended family contact. For the Mexican-American, an association at the .10 level occurs for these variables, with $Q = .1912$. Thus, the association is not a strong one, though it is significant as measured by chi-square. The relationship is in a negative direction: more Mexican-Americans in the middle SES group have frequent contact than

Table 14. Contact with Extended Family and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

	<u>Low SES</u>		<u>Middle SES</u>		
Contact	Mex-Amer	Negro	Contact	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	26.6% (25)	62.1% (18)	Infrequent	19.7% (31)	61.1% (11)
Frequent	73.4% (69)	37.9% (11)	Frequent	80.3% (126)	38.9% (7)
$X^2 = 23.02, p < .001, Q = -.6374$			$X^2 = 28.12, p < .001, Q = -.7293$		

Table 15. Contact with Extended Family and Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity Controlled

	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		<u>Negro</u>		
Contact	Low SES	Middle SES	Contact	Low SES	Middle SES
Infrequent	26.6% (25)	19.7% (31)	Infrequent	62.1% (18)	61.1% (11)
Frequent	73.4% (69)	80.3% (126)	Frequent	37.9% (11)	38.9% (7)
$X^2 = 2.813, p < .10, Q = .1912$			$X^2 = .0630, Q = .0202$		

those in the low SES group. This association is not found for the Negro. For both socio-economic status groups, the majority of Negroes have infrequent contact with extended family.

Ethnicity, then, is the more important factor in relating to contact with extended family. For the Mexican-American, an association between socio-economic status and contact is found, although the relationship is not a strong one. Extended family system defined in terms of contact appears more important for the Mexican-American, especially those in the middle SES group.

Extended family system defined in terms of attitudes concerning importance of extended family and its association with ethnicity is examined in Table 16. A significant association between ethnicity and importance of extended family is indicated at the .02 level. It is noted, however, that both ethnic groups have a majority in the important category. This pattern is in contrast to the frequency of contact with extended family, discussed previously, in which the majority of the Mexican-Americans, but not the Negroes, had frequent contact with extended family members. Thus, although the majority of Negroes express an attitude of importance of the extended family, this pattern is not carried out in practice, i.e. in contact with extended family. Table 17 examines the association between ethnicity and importance of extended

Table 16. Importance of Extended Family and Ethnicity

Extended Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Important	84.9% (213)	76.6% (36)
Depends	4.0% (10)	14.9% (7)
Unimportant	11.2% (28)	8.5% (4)

$$\chi^2 = 8.841, p < .02$$

Table 17. Importance of Extended Family & Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Ext. Fam.	Low SES		Middle SES		
	Mex-Amer	Negro	Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Important	87.2% (82)	75.9% (22)	Important	83.4% (131)	77.8% (14)
Depends	2.1% (2)	13.8% (4)	Depends	5.1% (8)	16.7% (3)
Unimportant	10.6% (10)	10.3% (3)	Unimportant	11.5% (18)	5.6% (1)

$$\chi^2 = 6.523, p < .05$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.022$$

family, controlling for socio-economic status. Ethnic differences persist for the low SES group: the association is found to be a significant one at the .05 level. More Mexican-Americans than Negroes in this group feel the extended family is important. However, no significant association between ethnicity and importance of extended family is found for the middle SES group. In Table 18, association between socio-economic status and importance of extended family is examined for Mexican-Americans and Negroes. No significant association is indicated for either ethnic group. Of note, however, is the fact that approximately 4% more Mexican-Americans in the low SES group appear in the important category than middle SES Mexican-Americans. This percentage difference, though a small one, indicates a pattern in contrast to the association found between socio-economic status and frequency of contact for the Mexican-American. This association, though not a strong one, was one in which the middle SES group had more contact with extended family than did the Mexican-Americans in the low SES group. An explanation of these differences focuses on the point that for the Mexican-American the extended family represents a system of economic and emotional security. The low SES group must depend on the extended family, particularly for economic security, and, thus, recognizes and expresses the importance of the extended family. A contingency factor, however, is also operating; when lower

Table 18. Importance of Extended Family and Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity Controlled

Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer		Ext. Fam.	Negro	
	Low SES	Middle SES		Low SES	Middle SES
Important	87.2% (82)	83.4% (131)	Important	75.9% (22)	77.8% (14)
Depends	2.1% (2)	5.1% (8)	Depends	13.8% (4)	16.7% (3)
Unimportant	10.6% (10)	11.5% (18)	Unimportant	10.3% (3)	5.6% (1)
$\chi^2 = 1.436$			$\chi^2 = .3662$		

Table 19. Position of Men and Ethnicity

Pos. of Men	Mex-Amer	Negro
Not Dominant	36.7% (92)	68.1% (32)
Dominant	63.3% (159)	31.9% (15)
$\chi^2 = 30.927, p < .001, Q = -.5733$		

class groups must focus their concern and energies on the necessities of life for their families, contact with others is certainly limited. Thus, more low SES Mexican-Americans express the importance of the extended family, yet contact is less frequent than in the middle SES group.

In summary, some contradictory findings occur between the two indices of extended family system, frequency of contact and importance of extended family. These findings may be explained as the difference between expressed attitude and actual practice. The traditional Mexican-American extended family system is expressed here, with both frequent contact and important extended family attitudes the pattern. Yet the middle SES Mexican-American group have more frequent contact with extended family, while the low SES Mexican-American expresses importance of the extended family more often than the middle SES group. Traditionally, the Negro family system has included an extended family system based on the female. Sociological studies of the Negro family have demonstrated the existence of an extended kinship system of mothers, aunts, grandmothers, and other female relatives (Gans 1965, Frazier 1939). Such an extended kinship is not found to exist in practice with the present Negro sample, though attitudes concerning the importance of the extended family are expressed.

In conclusion, ethnicity is found to be an important factor associated with extended family contact and with importance of extended family for the low SES group. Socio-economic status is associated significantly with contact with extended family for the Mexican-American group. No socio-economic status factor is indicated relating to importance of extended family.

4. Patriarchy

The first aspect of patriarchy examined consists of attitudes concerning the position of men as masters of their home. In Table 19, an association at the .001 level is found between position of men and ethnicity, with $Q = -.5733$. This relationship is unaffected by the control variable of socio-economic status, as shown in Table 20. For both the low and middle SES groups, an association between ethnicity and position of men is indicated at the .001 level. $Q = -.5075$ and $-.6485$ for the low and middle SES groups respectively. Regardless of socio-economic status, then, the majority of Negroes express the attitude that men are not dominant in the home, whereas the Mexican-Americans feel that men are dominant in the home. No association was found in Table 21 between position of men and socio-economic status for the two ethnic groups. Thus, the ethnicity factor is of significant import in its relation to position of men in the home.

Table 20. Position of Men and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Pos. of Men	Mex-Amer	Negro	Pos. of Men	Mex-Amer	Negro
Not Dominant	38.3% (36)	65.5% (19)	Not Dominant	35.7% (56)	72.2% (13)
Dominant	61.7% (58)	34.5% (10)	Dominant	64.3% (101)	27.8% (5)
$\chi^2 = 12.229, p < .001, Q = -.5075$			$\chi^2 = 16.604, p < .001, Q = -.6485$		

Table 21. Position of Men and Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity Controlled

<u>Mex-Amer</u>			<u>Negro</u>		
Pos. of Men	Low SES	Middle SES	Pos. of Men	Low SES	Middle SES
Not Dominant	38.3% (36)	35.7% (56)	Not Dominant	65.5% (19)	72.2% (13)
Dominant	61.7% (58)	64.3% (101)	Dominant	34.5% (10)	27.8% (5)
$\chi^2 = .2552, Q = .0564$			$\chi^2 = .2546, Q = -.1556$		

Authority in the family and its association with ethnicity is examined in Table 22. Patriarchal, matriarchal, and equalitarian relationships corresponding to father, mother, or equal responses are considered in the tables. No association is found between the variables of ethnicity and authority, though the Negro group shows a greater percentage of both fathers and mothers in authority than the Mexican-American group. Table 23 also indicates no association between authority and ethnicity, when socio-economic status is controlled. In Table 24, results show an association between socio-economic status and authority in the family for both Mexican-Americans and Negroes. The association is significant at the .001 level for the Mexican-American group and the .01 level for Negroes. The pattern of the relationship indicates that fewer father and fewer equalitarian responses occur in the low SES group, with more mothers in authority in this group. For the Negroes in the low SES group, 60.7% report patriarchal or equalitarian relationships of authority. The middle SES group Negroes report 100% patriarchal or equalitarian responses. Comparable figures for the Mexican-American are 68.8% and 90.5% father and equalitarian choices for the low and middle SES groups. Thus, the pattern for both ethnic groups, regardless of socio-economic status, is one of patriarchal and equalitarian relationships concerning authority in the family,

Table 22. Authority in the Family and Ethnicity

Authority	Mex-Amer	Negro
Father	45.2% (113)	52.2% (24)
Mother	17.6% (44)	23.9% (11)
Both	37.2% (93)	23.9% (11)

$\chi^2 = 3.194$

Table 23. Authority in the Family and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Authority	Mex-Amer	Negro	Authority	Mex-Amer	Negro
Father	34.4% (32)	39.3% (11)	Father	51.6% (81)	72.2% (13)
Mother	31.2% (29)	39.3% (11)	Mother	9.6% (15)	0.0% (0)
Both	34.4% (32)	21.4% (6)	Both	38.9% (61)	27.8% (5)

$\chi^2 = 1.726$ $\chi^2 = 3.524$

Table 24. Authority in the Family and Socio-Economic Status,
Ethnicity Controlled

Authority	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		Authority	<u>Negro</u>	
	Low SES	Middle SES		Low SES	Middle SES
Father	34.4% (32)	51.6% (81)	Father	39.3% (11)	72.2% (13)
Mother	31.2% (29)	9.6% (15)	Mother	39.3% (11)	0.0% (0)
Both	34.4% (32)	38.9% (61)	Both	21.4% (6)	27.8% (5)

$\chi^2 = 19.649, p < .001$

$\chi^2 = 9.534, p < .01$

Table 25. Woman's Role and Ethnicity

Woman's Role	Mex-Amer	Negro
Only Home	39.2% (98)	39.1% (18)
Job	60.8% (152)	60.9% (28)

$\chi^2 = .0242, Q = .0015$

though socio-economic status is associated significantly with authority for both ethnic groups.

As with the extended family variables, the difference in results between the two indices of patriarchy may be seen as the difference between expressed attitude and practice. In the interview question regarding position of men, respondents were asked if dominance was "generally the case among people you know." In contrast, the question regarding authority asked who actually had the most authority in the family. For the position of men attitude, the evidence for ethnicity is overwhelming. Yet socio-economic status, not ethnicity, is the more important variable associated with authority in the family. In expressed attitudes, perhaps the "vestiges of the past" remain for the Mexican-American and the Negro. The traditional patriarchal Mexican-American pattern is evidenced in these attitudes. The Negro, traditionally, has been forced to rely upon the woman in the family for economic support. The attitude of the male as not dominant in the home is expressed by the Negroes in the sample. However, these two ethnic groups do not differ significantly in practice regarding authority in the family. For both Mexican-Americans and Negroes, the pattern of authority is patriarchal and equalitarian.

5. Woman's Role

As illustrated in Table 25, both Mexican-Americans and Negroes express the attitude that women may have a job. — Approximately 60% of both groups feel that the woman is not to be confined to the home and family. The variables of ethnicity and woman's role are found, then, to be independent. Table 26 indicates a similar pattern of no association between these variables, controlling for socio-economic status. The results of Table 27 lead to the conclusion that there is no relationship between socio-economic status and woman's role for either ethnic group. Percentages do indicate, however, that more respondents in the middle SES group express the attitude that women may have a job. Perhaps the reason these families are in the middle SES group is due to the fact that the wife is working to maintain a middle class position. Another possible explanation for this percentage difference between the low and middle SES groups is suggested by Jeffers (1967) in her participant-observer study of public housing families. Mothers in this study of the "living poor" expressed the sentiment that acquisition of a car, home, and new furniture had been of paramount importance to their parents. They considered themselves casualties, in part at least, of their parents' consumptive tastes and wants. Being "sacrificed" for these material benefits meant doing without adequate food and clothing and being pressed

Table 26. Woman's Role and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Wom. Role	Mex-Amer	Negro	Wom. Role	Mex-Amer	Negro
Only Home	43.6% (41)	44.8% (13)	Only Home	36.5% (57)	29.4% (5)
Job	56.4% (53)	55.2% (16)	Job	63.5% (99)	70.6% (12)
$\chi^2 = .0230, Q = -.0245$			$\chi^2 = .4382, Q = .1603$		

Table 27. Woman's Role and Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity Controlled

<u>Mex-Amer</u>			<u>Negro</u>		
Wom. Role	Low SES	Middle SES	Wom. Role	Low SES	Middle SES
Only Home	43.6% (41)	36.5% (57)	Only Home	44.8% (13)	29.4% (5)
Job	56.4% (53)	63.5% (99)	Job	55.2% (16)	70.6% (12)
$\chi^2 = 2.187, Q = .1466$			$\chi^2 = 1.589, Q = .3220$		

into substitute mother roles with younger siblings while their mother worked. Thus, these women felt strongly about their role as mothers and were opposed to taking a job, —unless of great necessity. Such an explanation is, of course, purely speculative for this analysis. However, a possible hypothesis for future research might include the reasoning that lower class women feel stronger about their roles as mothers than middle class women.

Statistically, neither socio-economic status nor ethnicity is discovered to be a factor associated with woman's role. Both ethnic groups and both socio-economic groups feel that married women may have a job.

6. Present-Future Orientation

Table 28 presents the results of an analysis of the association between present-future orientation and ethnicity. A significant association at the .001 level is found between these variables, with $Q = -.4001$ indicating the direction and strength of the relationship. More Mexican-Americans disagree to the idea of living for the present than Negroes. A closer examination of this relationship, controlling for socio-economic status, is shown in Table 29. For the low SES group, a significant association at the .01 level is indicated between ethnicity and living for the present, with $Q = -.4390$. In the middle group, however, no relationship is found; the variables of ethnicity and present-future

Table 28. Present-Future Orientation and Ethnicity

Live for Present	Mex-Amer	Negro
Agree	34.7% (87)	55.3% (26)
Disagree	65.3% (164)	44.7% (21)

$\chi^2 = 13.502, p < .001, Q = -.4001$

Table 29. Present-Future Orientation and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Live for Pres.	Mex-Amer	Negro	Live for Pres.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Agree	42.6% (40)	65.5% (19)	Agree	29.9% (47)	38.9% (7)
Disagree	57.4% (54)	34.5% (10)	Disagree	70.1% (110)	61.1% (11)

$\chi^2 = 8.491, p < .01, Q = -.4390$ $\chi^2 = .8662, Q = -.1966$

orientation are found to be independent. An explanation of these findings suggests that poverty affects the two ethnic groups in different ways. As Pettigrew states, "Poverty is not limited to Negroes, of course, but it takes on special meaning when due in part to the color of one's skin (1964:14)." This explanation may be applied to the greater percentage of Negroes in the low SES group who feel they cannot control their future and must live for the present.

In Table 30, the significant association between living for the present and socio-economic status is found at the .01 level for the Mexican-Americans, and at the .05 level for the Negro group. Yule's Q is computed to be equal to .2684 and .4982 for the Mexican-American and Negro groups. For both ethnic groups, a larger proportion of the low SES group feel they cannot control their fate. A note of caution must be added, however, to the generalization that the poor are present-oriented. Certain aspects of the behavior of the poor are better characterized as contingency-oriented than present-oriented. As Lewis (1967) explains, the presumed inability to delay gratification and to "just have to let tomorrow take care of itself" is often a matter of realistic and rational responses to chronic uncertainty, related to the constant vulnerability to poverty. Thus, time-orientation may not be a culture trait nor a unitary one, but rather a multiple and realistic response to the multiple aspects of life.

Table 30. Present-Future Orientation and Socio-Economic Status,
Ethnicity Controlled

	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		<u>Negro</u>		
Live for Pres.	Low SES	Middle SES	Live for Pres.	Low SES	Middle SES
Agree	42.6% (40)	29.9% (47)	Agree	65.5% (19)	38.9% (7)
Disagree	57.4% (54)	70.1% (110)	Disagree	34.5% (10)	61.1% (11)
	$\chi^2 = 7.727, p < .01, Q = .2684$				$\chi^2 = 5.386, p < .05, Q = .4982$

In conclusion, socio-economic status is a significant variable associated with present-future orientation. The pattern of present orientation for the low SES group may be considered as a realistic response to the conditions of poverty. For the low SES group, ethnicity is found to be related to living for the present, indicating that poverty affects the two ethnic groups in different ways.

Relationship of Family Structure
to Attitudes Concerning the Family

Two aspects of family structure, family size and marital status, are examined in their effect upon attitudes concerning the family, including position of men, authority in the family, woman's role, and living for the present. An examination of the appropriate statistic for this analysis, tau b, reveals faulty reasoning regarding the hypothesized asymmetric relationship. The tau b's were so small as to indicate that, theoretically, reasoning which reversed the independent and dependent variables might achieve similar results. The asymmetric hypothesis proved to be faulty, then, in its chronological or causal reasoning of family structure affecting attitudes. Thus, a symmetric relationship is the appropriate one for these variables, and chi-square and Q are the statistics to be considered for such a non-causal relationship. Family structure is examined in association with attitudes concerning the family, with and without a consideration of socio-economic status.

1. Family Size

Results of the analysis of family size with attitudes are summarized in the Appendix, Tables 39-46. Present-future orientation is found to be associated with family size at the .05 level without the control variable. However, when socio-economic status is considered, this relationship no longer exists. The only attitude concerning the family found to be associated with family size, independent of socio-economic status, is woman's role. Family size and woman's role are significantly related at the .01 level for the low SES group, with $Q = -.4769$. More small families in this group believe a woman may have a job. The same pattern is evidenced for the middle SES group, but differences are not found to be statistically significant. The attitude expressed about woman's role is of a practical nature, then, as a large family demands more time and energy for the woman and limits her opportunity to have a job outside the home.

2. Marital Status

Three attitudes concerning the family are found to be associated with marital status. Results are indicated in the Appendix, Tables 47-54. An association between marital status and position of men is found at the .01 level. This relationship is unaffected by the control variable of socio-economic status. For the low SES group, chi-square is greater than the .05 level of significance and $Q = .3002$. For the middle

group, chi-square is greater than .10 level and $Q = .4569$. The pattern indicates married respondents more often feel that men are dominant. The association between marital status and authority in the family at the .001 level also is unaffected by a consideration of socio-economic status. The low SES group has a chi-square greater than the .001 level; the association for the middle group is at the .01 level. This relationship, however, is a spurious one, since a majority of those who are not married must have the mother in authority in the family. An association between woman's role and marital status is indicated at the .10 level. A greater percentage of the sample who were not married felt the woman could have a job. For the low SES group, an equivalent relationship is found at the .01 level, with $Q = .3746$. For the middle SES group, no statistical association is indicated between the variables, although percentages do indicate a similar pattern of responses for this group.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Results

The findings of the present study are summarized in relation to the hypotheses of the study as follows:

Hypothesis 1: A. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among Negroes and Mexican-Americans within each socio-economic status group.

The hypothesis may be rejected for the variables contact with extended family, position of men, and, for the low SES group, importance of extended family and living for the present. More differences than similarities are indicated for these variables between Mexican-Americans and Negroes, with socio-economic status controlled. It is concluded, then, that ethnicity is a significant factor associated with these variables. The strongest relationship with ethnicity, socio-economic status controlled, exists for the variables contact with extended family, position of men, and present-future orientation for the low SES group, in that order.

Hypothesis 1: B. There are no differences with respect to family patterns among SES groups within the Mexican-American and Negro ethnic groups.

Marital status, authority in the family, present-future orientation, and, for the Mexican-Americans, family size and extended family system are the variables which give evidence for the socio-economic status factor. For these variables, the hypothesis may be rejected, and it is concluded that Negroes and Mexican-Americans demonstrate more similarities than differences within the low and middle SES groups for these variables. The association between marital status and socio-economic status, ethnicity controlled, proved to be the strongest relationship found in the present analysis. The relationship between present-future orientation and socio-economic status was stronger for the Negro than the Mexican-American group. Although the association of socio-economic status with family size and with contact with extended family for the Mexican-Americans was significant, these were not strong relationships.

In conclusion, evidence is indicated for both the ethnicity and socio-economic status variables, depending on which family variable is considered. Evidence for the socio-economic status factor is overwhelming in its relationship

with marital status for both ethnic groups, and it is concluded that socio-economic status exerts a more powerful influence than ethnicity on the family structure variable marital status. Families of the ethnic groups, then, when controlled for socio-economic status, do not differ significantly in their marital status. Socio-economic status is also found to be a significant factor in association with authority in the family and present-future orientation. For the Mexican-American, significant associations between socio-economic status and family size and contact with extended family are also indicated, though the relationships are weak. Mexican-Americans and Negroes differ importantly in contact with extended family and in attitudes concerning the position of men in the home. Ethnicity, then, exerts a more powerful influence than socio-economic status in association with these variables. Ethnicity is also found to be a significant factor associated with importance of extended family and present-future orientation for the low SES group.

These empirical findings of the present study lend support to the "soft" data gained from the author's participant-observation experience. Contact with a low income group comprised of minority group members provided the observation that similar patterns of marital status were exhibited within the group, regardless of ethnicity. No one ethnic group seemed to have a larger amount of "broken" homes than any other.

Although evidence for ethnicity was also indicated, the author was impressed by the similarities between the Negroes and Mexican-Americans in the group, particularly concerning family structure. Thus, many of the observations resulting from the "soft" methods of analysis, in particular, the importance of the socio-economic status variable in acting as a leveler for the ethnic groups in certain areas of family life, were confirmed by the "hard" data of the present study.

Hypothesis 2: Negroes within each SES group are not married and express matriarchal attitudes.

The majority of Negroes, regardless of socio-economic status, are married and express patriarchal and equalitarian relationships of authority in the family. However, concerning the position of men in the home, Negroes did not indicate a patriarchal attitude; instead, the sentiment that men were not dominant in the home was expressed. This hypothesis, then, may be rejected for the variables marital status and authority in the family, but may not be rejected for the aspect of patriarchy concerning position of men. It is concluded that, for the most part, the characterization of Negro family life, regardless of socio-economic status, is in contrast to the picture of instability and matriarchy so often attributed to the Negro family.

Hypothesis 3: There is no effect of family structure on attitudes concerning the family, independent of socio-economic status.

The hypothesized asymmetric relationship is not supported in the analysis of family structure and attitudes. A null hypothesis of independence between the variables family structure and attitudes concerning the family is substituted for the causative relationship. This hypothesis of independence may be rejected for each aspect of family structure, as indicated:

1. family size: For the low SES group, woman's role is found to be associated with family size.
2. marital status: The attitudes concerning position of men, authority in the family, and, for the low SES group, woman's role are associated with the family structure variable marital status.

The null hypothesis of independence may be rejected, then, for the attitudes found to be associated with family size and marital status. These attitudes include woman's role, position of men, and authority in the family. The relationship between structure and attitudes for the family life variables is a symmetric one; results indicate that the reasoning which places structure as the independent variable

and analyzes its effect upon attitudes concerning the family is an inappropriate one. Since the socio-economic status variable is associated with the family variables, it was necessary to control for socio-economic status in a consideration of the relationship between structure and attitudes in the family.

Suggestions for Future Research

Differences and similarities between the Negro and Mexican-American groups have been analyzed in an effort to determine whether ethnicity or socio-economic status may explain variances between the groups. A comparative analysis of family life for the Negro, Mexican-American, and Anglo groups is suggested for future research. Such an analysis would reveal differences and similarities between the Anglo group and the two minority groups of the present study, the Negroes and Mexican-Americans. With a consideration of socio-economic status, differences between these groups could be interpreted in the light of ethnic identification and the extent of discrimination and racism which prevent minority groups from participating in the dominant Anglo society. Similarities between the Anglo and minority groups by class level would indicate the importance of socio-economic status as a leveler between the groups.

The family variables in the present study are operationalized in a limited manner, with one or two questions defining a concept. These concepts need to be developed and defined by future research. In particular, diverse aspects of the variables patriarchy and woman's role could be included in a definition of these concepts. A further study of the differences between middle and low SES groups regarding woman's role has already been suggested. Since a difference in results was found to exist between aspects of family variables dealing with attitude and those dealing with practice, an analysis of the extent of the differences and the reasons which prevent an attitude from becoming practice is suggested.

The association between family structure and attitudes concerning the family found in the present study also represents a research possibility. Research needs to be centered on the nature of this relationship and on the factors which may affect the association.

Policy Implications of the Findings

The results of this comparative study of family life reveal that whether ethnicity or socio-economic status is the more powerful variable associated with family structure and attitudes is dependent upon the particular family variable being considered. The importance of the socio-economic status

factor in the areas of family size, marital status, authority in the family, and present-future orientation indicates that much of the family life of the lower class Negro is not peculiar to the Negro, but is a function of socio-economic status rather than race. The implications of the findings for social policy and social change are in contrast to any strategy which makes the Negro family a separate target of social action from an attack on the socio-economic structure. An analysis of the Negro family must be viewed in the context of the Negro's problematic position in society. Louie Lomax (1969) suggests the significance of the socio-economic status factor in his analysis of the urban crisis: "The American race problem is becoming less and less a matter of race, more and more a matter of class." Thus, the major economic, political, and social subsystems of our society must become more responsive to and representative of the Negro American. It is the knowledge that the family is a product of socio-economic conditions that must be the basis of social policy.

APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 31. Contact With Extended Family and
Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	26.6% (25)	62.1% (18)
Frequent	73.4% (69)	37.9% (11)

$\chi^2 = 23.02, p < .001, Q = -.6374$

<u>Middle SES</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	19.7% (31)	61.1% (11)
Frequent	80.3% (126)	38.9% (7)

$\chi^2 = 28.12, p < .001, Q = -.7293$

Table 32. Contact With Extended Family and
Ethnicity, Income Controlled

<u>Low Income</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	24.4% (20)	59.3% (16)
Frequent	75.6% (62)	40.7% (11)

$\chi^2 = 20.81, p < .001, Q = -.6370$

<u>Middle Income</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	21.3% (36)	65.0% (13)
Frequent	78.7% (133)	35.0% (7)

$\chi^2 = 33.36, p < .001, Q = -.7456$

Table 33. Contact With Extended Family and
Ethnicity, Housing Controlled

<u>Low Housing</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	19.2% (25)	58.6% (17)
Frequent	80.8% (105)	41.4% (12)
$\chi^2 = 35.88, p < .001, Q = -.7122$		

<u>Middle Housing</u>		
Contact-Ext. Fam.	Mex-Amer	Negro
Infrequent	25.6% (31)	66.7% (12)
Frequent	74.4% (90)	33.3% (6)
$\chi^2 = 22.87, p < .001, Q = -.7062$		

Table 34. Contact With Extended Family and
Ethnicity, Occupation Controlled

<u>Low Occupation</u>		
<u>Contact-Ext. Fam.</u>	<u>Mex-Amer</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Infrequent	27.4% (29)	64.5% (20)
Frequent	72.6% (77)	35.5% (11)
$\chi^2 = 27.26, p < .001, Q = -.6568$		

<u>Middle Occupation</u>		
<u>Contact-Ext. Fam.</u>	<u>Mex-Amer</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Infrequent	18.6% (27)	56.2% (9)
Frequent	81.4% (118)	43.7% (7)
$\chi^2 = 21.44, p < .001, Q = -.6978$		

Table 35. Relatives in the Home and Ethnicity,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro	Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro
None	84.0% (79)	86.2% (25)	None	87.3% (137)	77.8% (14)
Some	16.0% (15)	13.8% (4)	Some	12.7% (20)	22.2% (4)
$\chi^2 = .0796, Q = -.0854$			$\chi^2 = 1.784, Q = .3237$		

Table 36. Relatives in the Home and Socio-Economic
Status, Ethnicity Controlled

Relatives	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		<u>Negro</u>		
	Low SES	Middle SES	Low SES	Middle SES	
None	84.0% (79)	87.3% (137)	None	86.2% (25)	77.8% (14)
Some	16.0% (15)	12.7% (20)	Some	13.8% (4)	22.2% (4)
$\chi^2 = .7824, Q = -.1307$			$\chi^2 = .680, Q = .2821$		

Table 37. Non-Relatives in the Home and Ethnicity,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

	<u>Low SES</u>		<u>Middle SES</u>		
Non-Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro	Non-Relatives	Mex-Amer	Negro
None	96.8% (91)	100.0% (29)	None	96.8% (152)	94.4% (17)
Some	3.2% (3)	0.0% (0)	Some	3.2% (5)	5.6% (1)
$x^2 = 1.030, Q = -1.000$			$x^2 = .2998, Q = .2827$		

Table 38. Non-Relatives in the Home and Socio-Economic
Status, Ethnicity Controlled

	<u>Mex-Amer</u>		<u>Negro</u>		
Non-Relatives	Low SES	Middle SES	Non-Relatives	Low SES	Middle SES
None	96.8% (91)	96.8% (152)	None	100.0% (29)	94.4% (17)
Some	3.2% (3)	3.2% (5)	Some	0.0% (0)	5.6% (1)
$x^2 = .1356, Q = -.0011$			$x^2 = 1.705, Q = 1.000$		

Table 39. Family Size and Position of Men

Fam. Size	Not Dom.	Dom.
Small	40.6% (28)	59.4% (41)
Large	41.9% (96)	58.1% (133)

$x^2 = .0428$, $Q = -.0277$, $\text{Tau B} = .01\%$

Table 40. Family Size and Position of Men, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Fam. Size	Not Dom.	Dom.	Fam. Size	Not Dom.	Dom.
Small	50.0% (12)	50.0% (12)	Small	35.6% (16)	64.4% (29)
Large	43.4% (43)	56.6% (56)	Large	40.8% (53)	59.2% (77)

$x^2 = .4605$, $Q = .1313$, $\text{Tau B} = .27\%$ $x^2 = .5740$, $Q = -.1101$, $\text{Tau B} = .22\%$

Table 41. Family Size and Authority in the Family

Fam. Size	Father	Mother	Both
Small	40.6% (28)	21.7% (15)	37.7% (26)
Large	48.0% (109)	17.6% (40)	34.4% (78)

$\chi^2 = 1.281$, Tau B = .24%

Table 42. Family Size & Authority in the Family,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			
Fam. Size	Father	Mother	Both
Small	20.8% (5)	45.8% (11)	33.3% (8)
Large	39.2% (38)	29.9% (29)	30.9% (30)

$\chi^2 = 3.335$, Tau B = 1.42%

<u>Middle SES</u>			
Fam. Size	Father	Mother	Both
Small	51.1% (23)	8.9% (4)	40.0% (18)
Large	54.6% (71)	8.5% (11)	36.9% (48)

$\chi^2 = .1675$, Tau B = .07%

Table 43. Family Size and Live for the Present

Fam. Size	Agree	Disagree
Small	30.4% (21)	69.6% (48)
Large	40.2% (92)	59.8% (137)

$\chi^2 = 3.880, p .05, Q = -.2110, \text{Tau B} = .72\%$

Table 44. Family Size Live for the Present,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Fam. Size	Agree	Disagree	Fam. Size	Agree	Disagree
Small	41.7% (10)	58.3% (14)	Small	24.4% (11)	75.6% (34)
Large	49.5% (49)	50.5% (50)	Large	33.1% (43)	66.9% (87)

$\chi^2 = .6868, Q = -.1568, \text{Tau B} = .39\%$ $\chi^2 = 1.966, Q = -.2088, \text{Tau B} = .67\%$

Table 45. Family Size and Woman's Role

Fam. Size	Only Home	Job
Small	27.9% (19)	72.1% (49)
Large	42.5% (97)	57.5% (131)

$\chi^2 = 8.781, p < .01, Q = -.3126, \text{Tau B} = 1.58\%$

Table 46. Family Size & Woman's Role, Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Fam. Size	Only Home	Job	Fam. Size	Only Home	Job
Small	25.0% (6)	75.0% (18)	Small	29.5% (13)	70.5% (31)
Large	48.5% (48)	51.5% (51)	Large	38.0% (49)	62.0% (80)

$\chi^2 = 7.751, p < .01, Q = -.4769, \text{Tau B} = 3.52\%$

$\chi^2 = 1.698, Q = -.1872, \text{Tau B} = .59\%$

Table 47. Marital Status and Position of Men

Marital S.	Not Dom.	Dom.
Not Married	55.8% (29)	44.2% (23)
Married	38.6% (95)	61.4% (151)

$x^2 = 9.713, p < .01, Q = .3342, \text{Tau B} = 1.74\%$

Table 48. Marital Status and Position of Men,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Marital S.	Not Dom.	Dom.	Marital S.	Not Dom.	Dom.
Not Married	54.5% (24)	45.5% (20)	Not Married	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)
Married	39.2% (31)	60.8% (48)	Married	38.3% (64)	61.7% (103)

$x^2 = 4.772, p < .05, Q = .3002,$
 $\text{Tau B} = 2.18\%$

$x^2 = 2.863, p < .10, Q = .4569,$
 $\text{Tau B} = 1.07\%$

Table 49. Marital Status and Authority in the Family

Marital S.	Father	Mother	Both
Not Married	14.0% (7)	74.0% (37)	12.0% (6)
Married	52.8% (130)	7.3% (18)	39.8% (98)

$$\chi^2 = 122.2, p < .001, \text{ Tau B} = 15.05\%$$

Table 50. Marital Status & Authority in the Family,
Socio-Economic Status ControlledLow SES

Marital S.	Father	Mother	Both
Not Married	7.1% (3)	81.0% (34)	11.9% (5)
Married	50.6% (40)	7.6% (6)	41.8% (33)

$$\chi^2 = 67.02, p < .001, \text{ Tau B} = 27.8\%$$

Middle SES

Marital S.	Father	Mother	Both
Not Married	50.0% (4)	37.5% (3)	12.5% (1)
Married	53.9% (90)	7.2% (12)	38.9% (65)

$$\chi^2 = 9.620, p < .01, \text{ Tau B} = 12.7\%$$

Table 51. Marital Status and Live for the Present

Marital S.	Agree	Disagree
Not Married	44.2% (23)	55.8% (29)
Married	36.6% (90)	63.4% (156)

$x^2 = 1.832$, $Q = .1578$, $\text{Tau B} = .36\%$

Table 52. Marital Status and Live for the Present,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

Low SES			Middle SES		
Marital S.	Agree	Disagree	Marital S.	Agree	Disagree
Not Married	47.7% (21)	52.3% (23)	Not Married	25.0% (2)	75.0% (6)
Married	48.1% (38)	51.9% (41)	Married	31.1% (52)	68.9% (115)

$x^2 = .0237$, $Q = -.0075$, $\text{Tau B} = .001\%$ $x^2 = .1354$, $Q = -.1513$, $\text{Tau B} = .08\%$

Table 53. Marital Status and Woman's Role

Marital S.	Only Home	Job
Not Married	30.0% (15)	70.0% (35)
Married	41.1% (101)	58.9% (145)

$\chi^2 = 3.825, p < .10, Q = -.2382, \text{Tau B} = .72\%$

Table 54. Marital Status and Woman's Role,
Socio-Economic Status Controlled

<u>Low SES</u>			<u>Middle SES</u>		
Marital S.	Only Home	Job	Marital S.	Only Home	Job
Not Married	31.8% (14)	68.2% (30)	Not Married	16.7% (1)	83.3% (5)
Married	50.6% (40)	49.4% (39)	Married	36.5% (61)	63.5% (106)

$\chi^2 = 7.396, p < .01, Q = -.3746, \text{Tau B} = 3.30\%$

$\chi^2 = 1.311, Q = -.4842, \text{Tau B} = .57\%$

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