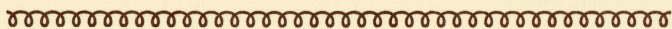
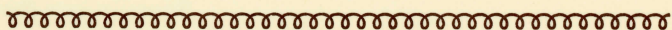


from TOMORROW'S PARENTS



**THE CASE FOR THE
EDUCATED PARENT**



A Study of 13,000 Youth and Their Families

EDITOR'S NOTE

"The Case for the Educated Parent" is one chapter of the book *Tomorrow's Parents* by Dr. Bernice Milburn Moore and Dr. Wayne H. Holtzman. The book is described by Dr. Robert L. Sutherland, who wrote the Introduction, in the following words:

If the book is not in line with the current tradition of popular literature about a sick society, then it is in keeping with the recent area studies which show how large numbers of youth respond to new opportunities when the culture which surrounds them is itself altered. Their response appears to be more behavioral if the opportunities are not merely talked about but are built into the cultural processes of family, school, employment, and neighborhood relationships.

The authors of the book know their business, and their work is dual. Dr. Moore has worked with and learned from youth, parents, and community institutions through two decades of consultation in action programs. In addition to this, she has brought to the study an administrative skill which guided it into a team project of rare proportions and success. (Not a single public school system of the 182 approached was afraid to cooperate—in a day when field studies are sometimes suspect.) She assembled the data, cooperated in the analysis of it, and wrote much of the text of the book.

Dr. Holtzman brought his intensive and extensive research-design experience to bear on the study. He refined the samples, led in designing the instruments, supervised the data processing, and wrote the sections of the book which deal with research methods.

Both authors have subjected their work to critical readers and to critical audiences. They have tested the usefulness of the findings through discussions with research peers, community workers (including teachers), and many parent and youth groups. At last, they are sufficiently satisfied with the manuscript to permit publication. For this reader such a reaction represents an overly cautious understatement. I am downright enthusiastic about the book.

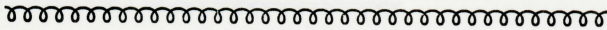
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BERT KRUGER SMITH

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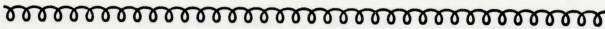
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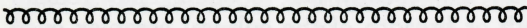
THE CASE FOR THE EDUCATED PARENT

By BERNICE MILBURN MOORE

and WAYNE H. HOLTZMAN



XIII: The Case for the Educated Parent



CULTURAL PARTICIPATION has its being in communication. Resources in culture are doomed to remain hidden and unattainable unless people possess the capacity to perceive, to learn, and to transmit what is available. The more complex the society, the greater the need for proficiency in communication and for depth of perception.

The ability to see, to know, and to understand opens the gateway to sharing in the richness and variety of the creations of man. How far the gate is ajar for any individual is determined, in large measure, by the opportunities he has had to acquire the knowledge, beliefs, and values by which men deal with the world as well as the skills to utilize the "artifacts" of this technological culture. Socialization in the family, education in the schools, and participation in community life are major channels for effective human interaction.

The imperative for parents is the quality of children they will bear and rear. The openness to experience which they achieve for their young determines the degree to which the potentialities of the child may be developed. The breadth of learning of culture and the depth of its meaning available to children largely foreshadow adult adequacy. The paramount contribution offered by educated parents to their children is the capacity for a participating share in society.

Closed doors to cultural variety and richness, and closed minds are

intimately related. Education does not guarantee openness in personality, but it does furnish man opportunity to become free. He develops the capability to be a receptor of his culture. He may share in its creation and its modification. He becomes an essential force in its on-going nature and its change. He is involved. From his involvement, he derives his own capacity to grow and to function.

Persons deprived in communicative ability are woefully limited. Circumstances beyond their comprehension or control may force them to skim the periphery of all that society has to offer. They remain unaware of either the depth or breadth of the cultural complex even of their own nation—let alone of the world. They are incapable of taking from its vast stores or of contributing to its creative strength.¹

The case for education is made most often in relation to scientific and technological need. Education is even more essential for the advancement and survival of the United States because of what it affords in quality of personalities. Persons are the nation. Democracy is the most sophisticated form of organized society. Men govern themselves through sharing in decision-making and in the creation of the very values by which they live. Education affords the tools and the insights to gain from life and to give to it. Both processes are required for the enhancement of man and for the survival of society.

THE EDUCATION OF PARENTS—AN INFLUENTIAL FACTOR

The definite impact of the education of parents upon their offspring has been documented by the Texas Cooperative Youth Study. Young persons from families where mothers and fathers have enjoyed added years in school have revealed, in general, their superior qualifications for effective relationships and sharing in culture. Their responses to measures of personal and family competence furnished the evidence.

The particular courses of study pursued by parents of these Texas youth are not known. Approximate years in school for them were reported by their sons and daughters. Errors of a year or so may have crept into these data. Young persons might tend to overestimate school attendance by their parents because of its link to social status.

The case for the educated parent here presented is not the case for one or another specific type of education. What courses of study would best prepare for parenthood have not been determined. The

¹ Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychology of Participation," *Personality and Social Encounter*, chapter 12, pp. 181-198.

focus is upon the differential responses of youth from homes of various levels of educational attainment.

The Education of Fathers

Membership in sociocultural groups in this nation is largely determined by the educational level of the fathers, closely followed by the school achievement of mothers. Occupational status is correlated with education. In fact, these two determinants are interwoven to the point where education of fathers would suffice for status identification, at least when dealing with general trends.

Problem areas in certain segments of the population are intertwined with minimal schooling and submarginal access to the varied traits of the culture. Employment in substandard occupations, both in income and consistency of jobs, goes with elementary education or less. Demands for unskilled labor are decreasing rapidly, and drastic curtailment is expected by 1970.

The educationally and occupationally deprived are slowly decreasing in number, but among them are still to be found the majority of school dropouts. The highest rates of delinquency and truancy come from such families. Family disorganization as displayed by divorce, desertion, and separation is prevalent among this submarginal group. The accumulation of deprivation which arises from insufficient income and inadequate schooling is reflected in personal insecurity and family stress as reported by high school youth.

Strikingly illustrative of this point was a fact sheet released in September, 1960, by the Texas Social Welfare Association pertaining to Aid to Dependent Children. At that time, 68,869 children from 19,135 families were receiving aid from the state. Heads of households of 10 per cent of these families showed no formal education. The remaining 90 per cent had not attended school beyond junior high. By far the majority had no skills which were marketable in either city or country. White families numbered 60 per cent of the group; 40 per cent were nonwhite. These persons were described as the most severely disadvantaged group in the state's population. Major problems for children and youth accrue from inferior education and low earnings.

Youth in the Texas study verified these conclusions. The level of fathers' education usually proved to be a good measure of socioeconomic status and of accessibility and availability of cultural resources.

Significant trends across three levels of fathers' education were obtained from most of the scale scores on attitudes, concerns, and problems of youth in several factorial designs. A consistent decrease in negative social attitudes in most of the scales reflecting both personal-social problems and family conflict occurred as the education of fathers moved from elementary school to some college training. Differences between youngsters from families of different educational levels can be generalized regardless of community size, sex, number of brothers and sisters, or grade levels. The more years in school fathers had completed, the less indication of sociocultural problems and tensions among their children.

The Education of Both Parents

The educational level of mothers and fathers was combined in an analysis of variance, together with the sex of respondents, in order to determine where differences were discernible in impact of the educational attainments of mothers and fathers upon their teen-age sons and daughters. A refined sample was drawn consisting of youth from intact white families. No relatives or unrelated roomers were living in the homes. In addition to sex of respondent, five levels of education were distinguished for both mothers and fathers: grades 0-8; grades 9-11; completion of high school; some college; and two or more years of college. By examining the three independent variables in all possible combinations, a total of fifty cells was obtained for the factorial design. Replications of the basic design yielded a total of 650 cases.

Parallel findings as related to the education of both fathers and mothers were revealed in relation to several attitudes scales, to measures of family conflict, and to concepts of youth in relation to their own adequacy. The influence of fathers' education on their sons and daughters has been noted in several previous analyses. As the educational level of both parents increased, so was the Orientation to Society of their children more positive. So also did their Criticism of Education decrease. Attitudes toward Authoritarian Discipline for children were modified toward more democratic relationships among youth of better-educated parents. Family Tensions and Problems were reported less often by boys and girls from parents with more years of formal schooling. Resentment concerning family life style was modified. In addition, young persons with the more highly educated fathers and mothers felt

more secure in social relationships. Under these same circumstances, they also indicated fewer financial problems.

Middle- and upper-class status can be equated with high school graduation or even higher educational attainment. If this criterion for these status positions can be accepted, then the Texas Cooperative Youth Study indicates quite clearly that middle- and upper-class youngsters do not suffer from being reared under the demands of such parents or the value system of middle- and upper-class culture, as some appear to assume. While some academicians and some nonacademicians have speculated that the pressures upon such youngsters may carry real hazards for their social-emotional development, youth in this study indicate that generally speaking, middle-class parents are not only desirable but also helpful. Their positive assistance is evidenced in youth acceptance of the attitude-value complex predominantly held in the nation. Moreover, the sons and daughters of such parents presented fewer problems and concerns as they grew toward adulthood.

Those who have tended to doubt the child rearing practices on these socioeconomic levels, and also those who have found the middle-class "design for living" acceptable and desirable will both find these data of importance. Again, and perhaps even more imperative, these findings lend credence to the real possibility of ameliorating both the cultural and economic disabilities of the 11 million children whose parents are the functionally illiterate, by holding them *in school through high school*.²

The Education of Mothers

When the education of mothers of high school youth was examined separately, several interactions with the sex of their children were significant. As the years of schooling of mothers increased, as already noted, the attitudes of their youngsters toward the world and toward people improved. This was true for both boys and girls. However, as previously reported, girls were appreciably more optimistic in their Orientation to Society than boys. In one instance, and why would be hard to discover, girls whose mothers were college women but had had less than two years of college were the most satisfied of all with the future of society and with their relationships with people in general.

² Michael Harrington, *The Other America*, p. 187.

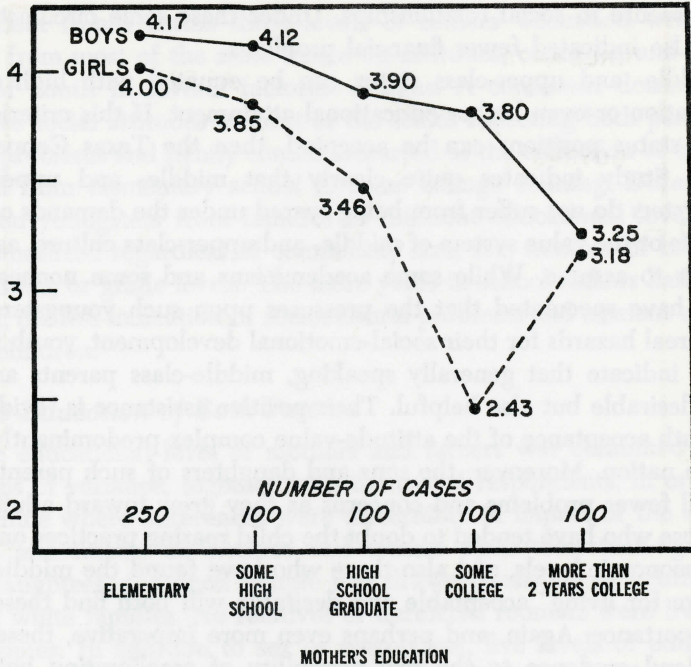


FIGURE 88

Relation of Orientation to Society to Sex and Mother's Education

The downward trend in distrust of fellowmen and of the future for boys was significant in that it proved to be a variation on some other scores measuring family conflict and personal competence.

Sex differences, in fact, were relatively unimportant in measures of family conflict and personal competence when mothers had attended elementary school, junior high, or high school. Marked discrepancies became evident, however, when mothers had attended college but had remained for less than two years. Sons of these women were more aware of Family Problems and Tensions. They judged themselves as less adequate, both personally and socially. They sensed more difficulties in Personal Adjustment. Resentment of the way of life at home was equalled only by boys whose mothers had not finished high school. In passing, they felt they encountered greater financial difficulties as well.

Explanation of the origin of the concerns of high school boys whose mothers had been to college but had not remained for two years more

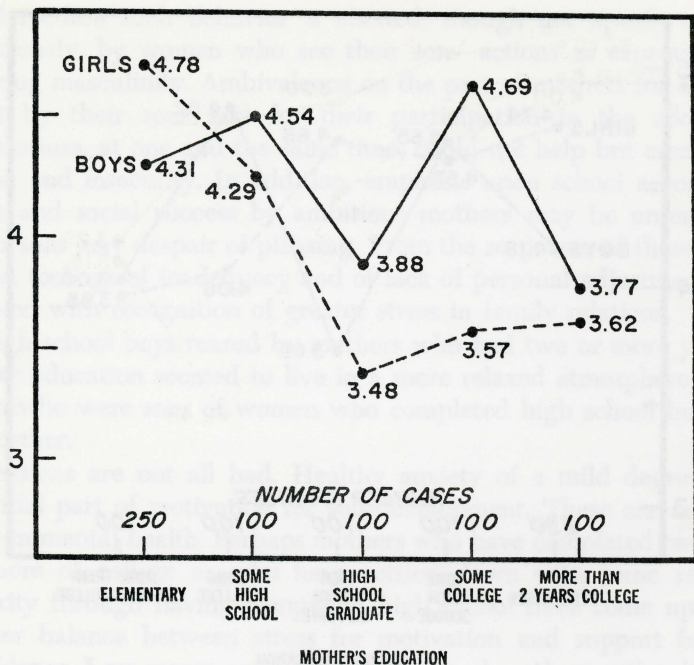


FIGURE 89

Relation of Resentment of Family Life Style to Sex and Mother's Education

is not easy. Perhaps some speculation will be acceptable. Women on this educational level may be moving up the social ladder with their husbands, or they may be desirous of a transition from one social status group to another. Consequently these women are probably not at ease either in their present status or about the position they hope to attain. Numbers of them may have married men with more education than they. As they attempted to measure up to what they conceived as the requirements of their husbands, their own stresses were apparently intensified. Inadequacy, which they felt, could have been transmitted to their teen-age sons. Perhaps, in addition, they placed too great an emphasis upon achievement at school and in peer groups for their boys. Moreover, one could guess that these women would tend to over-emphasize "things" in their homes, housekeeping details, and niceties in behavior which would be difficult for teen-age boys to accept or appreciate. On the other hand, perhaps some displayed relative in-

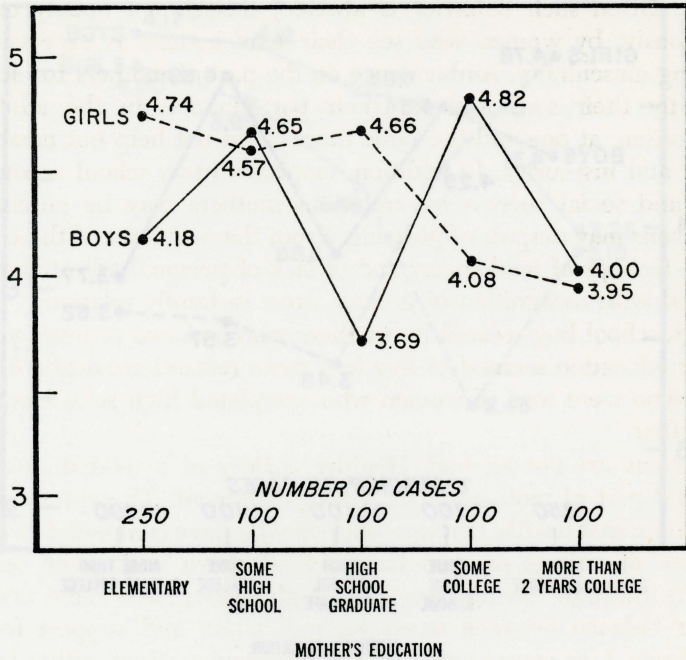


FIGURE 90
Relation of Personal Adjustment to Sex and Mother's Education

ability to operate their homes with ease and efficiency. This would be in direct contrast with their ambitions, and to this, their sons might react negatively.

Whatever the true explanation, Resentment of Family Life Style was greatest for high school boys whose mothers had attended college but not as much as two years. The only exception was girls whose mothers had had only elementary education. Women, it should be remarked, may marry social position. Men are usually forced to earn socioeconomic success. Youth study evidence indicates that these mothers did exert greater pressure upon their sons than upon their daughters.

Adolescent boys are often at variance with society in definition of acceptable behavior. Rebellious acts are not uncommon at any socioeconomic level. Flaunting of adult mores is sometimes accepted by middle-class mothers with tacit approval as a part of transition rites to adult manhood, as Talcott Parsons indicated in a previously quoted

article. Often such behavior is abetted, though not openly or even consciously, by women who see their sons' actions as expressions of growing masculinity. Ambivalence on the part of mothers for achievement by their sons and for their participation in the adolescent moratorium, at one and the same time, could not help but create confusion and insecurity. In addition, emphasis upon school accomplishment and social success by ambitious mothers may be unremitting. Their sons may despair of pleasing. From the responses of these young males, feelings of inadequacy and of lack of personal adjustment were coupled with recognition of greater stress in family relations.

High school boys reared by mothers who had two or more years of higher education seemed to live in a more relaxed atmosphere as did those who were sons of women who completed high school but went no further.

Tensions are not all bad. Healthy anxiety of a mild degree is an essential part of motivation for self-development. These are accepted facts in mental health. Perhaps mothers who have completed two years or more of college or who have settled down with some sense of security through having completed high school have come upon the proper balance between stress for motivation and support for self-confidence. Less secure and less well-informed mothers, either because they tried to get a college education but dropped out after barely beginning or because of insufficient schooling for their current social roles, may lack the capacity to provide resources for frustration tolerance, which is an important facet of maturity. "Divine discontent," which in essence is ambition, is different from tension for which there appears no release. At any rate, boys with mothers who completed high school or had more than two years of college were aware of fewer problems and less tension, and described themselves as feeling more adequate both personally and socially.

High school girls exhibited somewhat different patterns of response than boys. Greater stress was encountered on nearly all fronts by girls when their mothers had only elementary schooling. Family Problems and Tensions were more acute. Girls were more keenly aware of their own personal limitations. They recognized their inability to function with ease in social situations. They were beset with problems of Personal Adjustment as noticeable as those encountered by boys whose mothers had gone to college less than two years. Their financial problems were strikingly evident. Resentment of home living was

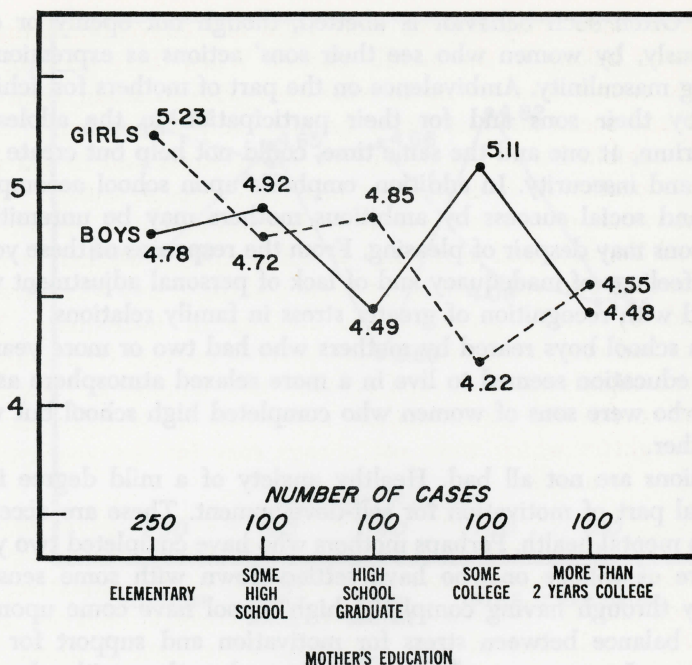


FIGURE 91
Relation of Family Tension to Sex and Mother's Education

high. Fewest pressures upon girls were apparent among those whose mothers had finished some college but not two years or more. This finding is diametrically opposite to that obtained for male youth.

Young girls, whose mothers had gone only to elementary school, have already surpassed them in education as indicated by their presence in high school classes. Many of their problems may have had their origin in that they were already better informed than their own parents. Many of them would be aware of differences in the way of life of their families and those for youth from other types of homes. Aspirations and goals for themselves had probably already outstripped any opportunity for easy realization.

Release from deprivation in family life for many of these girls rests upon the possibility of marriage with men on another subcultural level. To attract such men, these young women may strive to achieve behavior they imagine is prevalent in middle-class groups. Their defi-

nitions of "lady" may become more rigid and conventional than for those who belong to the middle classes. When these girls, or their families, cannot measure up to what they wish to attain, their sense of self and social adequacy may be materially threatened.

Girls exhibited a steady decline in family stress and in self doubt as the education of their mothers increased through college. No significant variations in this trend were observed except in Family Problems and Tensions and in feelings of self adequacy. Mothers who had had less than two years of college produced daughters who were least troubled by family pressures and feelings of inadequacy. When mothers had completed two or more years of college, their daughters indicated slightly more discomfort with their families and somewhat less self-confidence. Their mothers apparently made demands upon their daughters which were not always easy for the youngsters to achieve or to accept.

Girls mature more rapidly than do boys, both physically and socially. Their relationships with their mothers are more intimate. In middle-income families, they are expected to be attractive, well groomed, and to "behave like ladies." Aggressive behavior is not expected or tolerated as it is sometimes from their brothers. They probably incorporate the aspirations of their mothers into their own lives with relative ease. They usually receive more attention, get more praise, and encounter less blame than their brothers. However, it is worthy of note that best-educated mothers had sons and daughters who were quite comparable in their reporting of minimal family problems and tensions.

PARENTS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

Occupations and their relationship to cultural adequacy offer another interesting evidence of the tangential nature of employment and education. A nine-point scale of occupational levels for fathers was collapsed into seven categories:

- (a) Unskilled workers
- (b) Semi-skilled manual workers
- (c) Skilled manual workers
- (d) Farm owners and managers
- (e) White collar workers
- (f) Small businessmen
- (g) Professional and large businessmen

Work status for mothers was encompassed in two categories: homemakers and employment outside the home. Consideration of all possible combinations of sex, mothers' work status, and fathers' occupation yielded twenty-eight cells in the basic factorial design. A refined sample consisting of intact white families, with no roomers or relatives living in the home, was used. Fourteen replications of the basic design yielded a total of 420 students.

TABLE 44: *Mean Scores for Father's Occupation and Five Significant Scales*

| <i>Father's Occupation</i> | <i>Orientalion to Society</i> | <i>Criticism of Education</i> | <i>Resentment of Family Life Style</i> | <i>Social Inadequacy</i> | <i>Financial Problems</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Unskilled Worker | 4.40 | 4.82 | 4.77 | 5.27 | 4.90 |
| Semi-skilled Manual Worker | 4.10 | 5.13 | 4.55 | 5.70 | 4.95 |
| Skilled Manual Worker | 3.37 | 4.63 | 4.03 | 4.92 | 4.97 |
| Farm Owner and Manager | 3.75 | 5.23 | 4.43 | 5.05 | 4.83 |
| White Collar Worker | 3.75 | 4.72 | 3.87 | 4.70 | 4.68 |
| Small Businessman | 3.50 | 4.73 | 3.53 | 5.00 | 4.38 |
| Professional and Large Businessman | 2.97 | 4.10 | 3.43 | 4.60 | 4.27 |

The educational level of fathers increased with their occupational status. Types of employment proved to be of considerable significance with respect to the responses of youth on several scale scores. Children of unskilled workers, rural or urban, were much more negatively oriented to society than young persons from other occupational groups. A consistent advance toward a more positive outlook on life was apparent as fathers moved up the scale toward professional and management positions. Similar results were obtained for Resentment of Family Life Style, Social Inadequacy, and Financial Troubles. This is telling evidence of easier access to and availability of cultural assets to middle- and upper-income families.

Youth from families with fathers who were farm owners or managers were the most severely critical of education. Least negativistic about school were young persons whose fathers were engaged in the professions or large business enterprises.

More important for consideration were rural youth from the lowest economic and educational levels, farm laborers and tenants. They were less critical of school and teachers than children of the owners or managers for whom their fathers worked. Perhaps they recognized

education as their only opportunity for escape from the fates of their fathers. Young people whose fathers were farm laborers and tenants evidently understood the limitations of their parents' socioeconomic position. Accumulation of capital by laborers or tenants to become farm owners is recognized as of the past. Cost of farm land and equipment makes this transition prohibitive. Improved living conditions through more adequate income may be appraised as the only way out of stark poverty. Education becomes desirable to these deprived youth, though it may be little understood for its value by their parents.

Why youth from families of farm owners and managers were most critical of school is a bit difficult to discern. Agriculture production does not hold the status nor command the income it once did. However, perhaps the owners or managers of land still feel that they "have it made." Because their children are economic assets such parents seldom encourage school attendance after the sixteenth year when compulsory attendance ends. Resistance to education by these youth may reflect a culture lag in their fathers. These men may sincerely believe, even in this era of technological advance, that an agrarian way of life is feasible even when it is built on minimal education and family labor. While these fathers may not overtly discourage their children about school, they probably do not offer much encouragement either.

Another line of speculation may be worth pursuing briefly. The higher scores on Criticism of Education by young persons from families of farm owners and managers may arise from their discontent with the kind of curriculum available to them in their high schools. Perhaps they feel that it is not functional for their lives. For many it may not be, in truth, if it is geared to college preparatory work. Be these comments as they may, the contrast between youth in the upper and lower strata of farm economy is of interest.

Positive attitudes toward education were encountered among youth whose fathers were skilled or white-collar workers, and operators of small businesses. Sons and daughters of urban unskilled laborers were more resistant to school, but not to the same degree as children of farm owners. The importance of education to the great middle class, lower and upper, is evidenced in the responses of high school youth, even as it is in parent-teacher organizations.

Social Inadequacy was most apparent among youngsters from unskilled-worker families both in the country and in town. These youngsters also expressed the greatest resentment over their ways of life at

home. They were in high school, it should be remembered, while their parents probably never completed elementary grades. They had learned of better ways of living. They had glimpsed a more rewarding way of life. No wonder they were aware of their own Social Inadequacies and of the insufficiencies of their own homes.

WORKING MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

Whether mothers were full-time homemakers or were employed outside the home made no significant difference in the attitudes of their sons and daughters. High school students whose mothers were working for pay were no more nor less optimistic about society and people than those whose mothers were at home. They were no different in their conceptions of proper discipline for children. Attitudes toward school and their academic competence appeared to be approximately the same. Neither Family Problems nor Family Tensions were more acute among them.

Youth from homes of working mothers were aware of no more problems of Personal Adjustment nor did they feel any less adequate in social situations than children of women whose major concern was homemaking. No variations were exhibited by peer-group behavior in either isolation from their peers or pressures for conformity. Their Resentment of Dependency was not implicated with the working status of their mothers. Employment of mothers, rather than being a major defect in modern family life, appeared not to be a determining factor in the over-all effectiveness of their teen-age children.

Exceptions to this generalization should be noted on three measurements employed in the youth study, all involving higher order interactions of mother's occupation and other background variables. Because of its relative insignificance, only slight mention should be made of the minimal difference in recognized financial problems. Boys, whose mothers were employed for wages, admitted slightly less concern over money than did those whose mothers were housewives. No difference between girls was discovered.

Responses to the scale indicating feelings of Self Inadequacy were very much alike for youth whose mothers were employees or homemakers. However, some minor interaction was discovered between these groups when occupation of fathers was taken into consideration.

Youth who expressed feelings of greater self inadequacy among those whose mothers were employed were from families where the

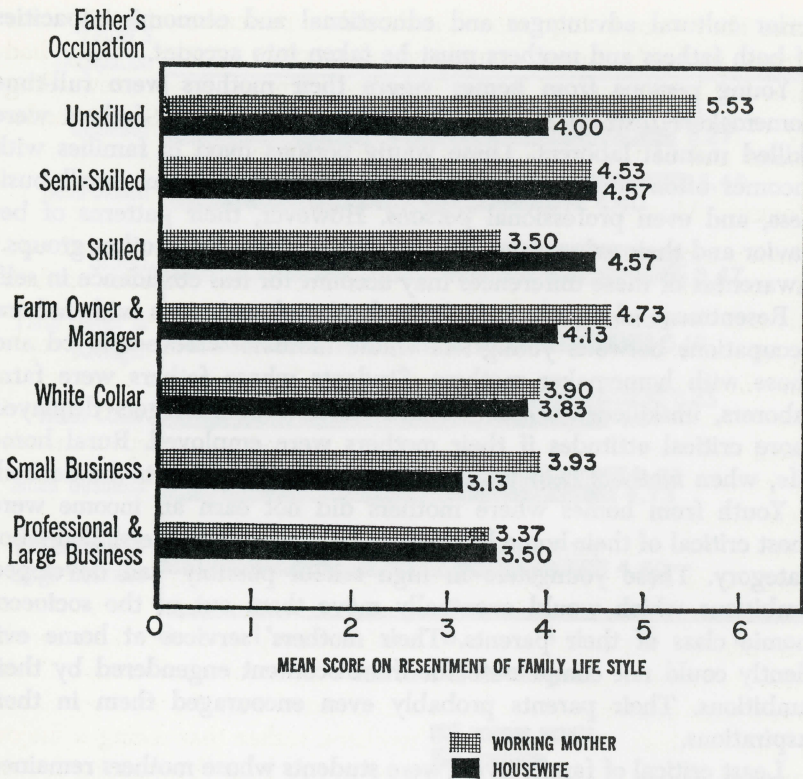


FIGURE 92

Relation of Resentment of Family Life Style to Mother's Work Status and Father's Occupation

fathers were unskilled, semi-skilled, or white-collar workers. Women, whose husbands were working on such jobs, were probably employed on like levels of skill. Limited education and occupational competency more than likely placed these parents in the lower income brackets for services rendered. Earnings from both parents may be necessary to hold the family at even a subsistence level of living. Many jobs classified as white-collar come under the category of minimal in demand for education and in pay. Feelings of personal inadequacy among youth from such families could not be attributed alone to the employment of their mothers. A combination of causes including in-

ferior cultural advantages and educational and economic capacities of both fathers and mothers must be taken into account.

Young persons from homes where their mothers were full-time homemakers displayed more Self Inadequacy if their fathers were skilled manual laborers. These young persons lived in families with incomes often equivalent to or above some white-collar, small business, and even professional persons. However, their patterns of behavior and their value structures are distinct from these other groups.³ Awareness of these differences may account for less confidence in self.

Resentment of Family Life Style displayed variations with fathers' occupations between youngsters whose mothers were employed and those with homemaker mothers. Students whose fathers were farm laborers, unskilled workers, or farm owners or managers displayed more critical attitudes if their mothers were employed. Rural home life, when mothers held jobs, evidently left something to be desired.

Youth from homes where mothers did not earn an income were most critical of their home life if their fathers were in the skilled-labor category. These youngsters in high school possibly had developed ambitions which would eventually move them out of the socioeconomic class of their parents. Their mothers' services at home evidently could not compensate for the discontent engendered by their ambitions. Their parents probably even encouraged them in their aspirations.

Least critical of family living were students whose mothers remained at home and whose fathers were in small business. Women in these homes have evidently accepted homemaking as a professional career. From this, they gain their basic satisfaction. They apparently transmitted contentment to their families as well. In passing, it is worthy of note that among these women are found large numbers who combine professionalized homemaking with the stimulation of volunteer services. This is likewise true of numerous women whose husbands are professionals or business executives.

A final striking finding demands report. Youngsters, whose mothers were employed and whose status level was indicated by the professional or managerial roles of their fathers, expressed least concern

³ Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman, and Gerald Handel, *Workingman's Wife*. And Patricia Cayo Sexton, "Speaking for the Working-Class Wife," *Harper's Magazine*, CCXXV (October, 1962), 129-133.

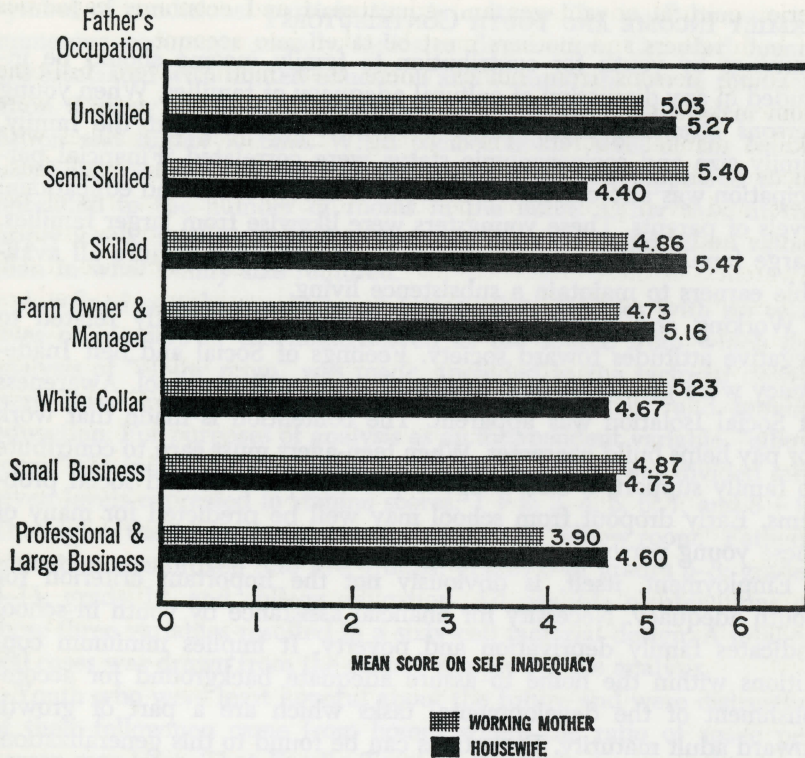


FIGURE 93

Relation of Self Inadequacy to Mother's Work Status and Father's Occupation

over their personal adequacy. Among youth with working mothers they were also the least resentful of family life style. Apparently they were more adequate and self-assured than youth from the same socioeconomic group whose mothers were full-time homemakers.⁴

⁴ The meaning of mothers' occupational status from a statistical point of view may need some interpretation. Whether or not mothers work outside their homes has little relationship with the main socioeconomic variables; from the factor analysis summarized in Table A-4 in Appendix A it is apparent that mothers tended to be housewives if they had large families. They tended to be employed outside their homes if families were smaller. Whether or not mother worked outside the home and the total number living in the home were both defining variables for Factor V.

FAMILY INCOME AND YOUTH CONTRIBUTORS

Earnings by youth for contribution to family income should be included in any discussion of cultural adequacy of families. When young persons attending high school worked to help support the family, family size and socioeconomic status were correlated. Financial participation was also correlated with lower occupational and educational levels of parents. These youngsters were likewise from larger families. Large families of the undereducated and untrained require all available earners to maintain a subsistence living.

Working and going to high school were significantly related to negative attitudes toward society. Feelings of Social and Self Inadequacy were greater among employed youth still in school. Awareness of Social Isolation was apparent. The contention is made that work for pay helps build character. When teen-agers must earn to contribute to family support, it also is apt to produce personal and social problems. Early dropout from school may well be predicted for many of these young persons.

Employment, itself, is obviously not the important criterion for youth adequacy. Necessity for financial assistance by youth in school indicates family deprivation and poverty. It implies minimum conditions within the home to assure adequate background for accomplishment of the developmental tasks which are a part of growth toward adult maturity. Exceptions can be found to this generalization, but problems of youth more often than not have their origin in family limitations. Correction and mediation of difficulties and tensions among these youth no doubt lie in modification and improvement of the family matrix in its community setting rather than in therapy for individuals.⁵ Improvement in the ability of family members to participate in culture and better access to cultural experiences and opportunities would seem to offer major promise.

"ELBOW ROOM" AND FAMILY ADEQUACY

"Elbow room" is the ratio of the number of rooms in the house to the number of persons living in the home. This ratio is still another

⁵ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*. From a different point of view, this same problem has been attacked by James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs*.

symbol of conditional participation in culture. The small house with numerous occupants usually indicates deprivation. Crowded homes are associated with limited education and occupations low in remuneration. Luxury of space, or adequacy of room, goes with better education and higher income. When socioeconomic level of the family was held constant, the number of persons in families appeared to be unrelated to the number of rooms in the home. Other than at the upper levels, families tended to live in what they could afford rather than in what family size required.

A refined sample consisting of intact white families with no relatives or roomers in the home served as the source from which the analysis of "elbow room" was made. Included in the factorial design were three independent variables: sex, "elbow room," and fathers' education. For purposes of analysis as an independent variable, "elbow room," the index of living space per family member, was divided into seven levels expressed in stanine scores: 1 + 2; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 + 9. The higher the score, the greater the amount of "elbow room." Fathers' education was broken into five groups: grades 0-4; grades 5-8; grades 9-11; grade 12, and college education. All possible combinations of these three variables resulted in a sixty-cell factorial design. A total of 560 cases was drawn from the refined sample for the analysis.

Youth who were least hopeful about the future and were distrustful of their fellowmen came from homes where the ratio of space per person was least. That Family Tension was highest among this same group was not unexpected. That resentment over the way of living was also maximum was predictable. Large families cooped up in houses which afforded minimal "elbow room" for family members could scarcely be expected to avoid disorganized housekeeping and interpersonal conflict. That young persons from such homes also experienced more financial problems could almost be left unsaid.

More space for each person coupled with more years in formal education for fathers, produced the greatest satisfaction with family life among high school youth. However, "elbow room" alone was not enough to produce these desirable results. Boys and girls whose fathers attended four grades of elementary school or less and lived in spacious quarters were approximately as critical of their homes as were those who resided under circumstances of minimal adequacy. More "elbow room" per person does not always afford better living arrangements

for the family. Many spacious houses in rural communities and in interstitial areas in cities are in sad states of deterioration. Living in them may be as near mere existence as living with real poverty in space.

Poverty in space pushed to its maximum the tension level within families. Youngsters from homes where "elbow room" was least, were distressingly aware of family conflict. Even a minimum improvement in space per person brought significant modification of stress.

Higher status and adequacy in life space at home are synonymous. Perhaps youngsters who lived in homes affording a middle range of "elbow room" wanted and needed more personal living space than they could have. In any event, Family Tension was minimal among youth whose homes afforded the greater ratio of space per family member. Another observation may be in order. Families who live in largest houses and have more adequate incomes may sometimes suffer from social rather than physical distance. Family Tension and social distance are probably correlates, no matter what the living space for each person. What may be indicated is that there is, in fact, an optimum in "social elbow room"—neither too small in space nor too large in social distance.

One single highly significant interaction between sex of the respondents and "elbow room" was revealed. Social Inadequacy was reported as significantly higher for girls than for boys, except under one or two special circumstances. Social adjustment for girls was much more difficult than for boys when "elbow room" was at a premium. Not until stanine scores reached five or above was there noticeable improvement in their feelings of social adequacy.⁶

Boys, by contrast, found more severe problems in social relationships when they came from houses of mid-range in the ratio of rooms per persons living in them. Boys tended to react more acutely to the way of life in the home. Their greater Resentment of Family Life Style indicated this. Girls were more influenced by the amount of space available to them as reflected in their relationships with others. Privacy and aloneness would appear to be more important to girls. Orderliness in the home and behavior of family members with one another seemed to hold greater meaning for boys.

⁶ A stanine score of 5 or above is equivalent to an "elbow room" index of 1.285 or greater. The number 1.285 is the index obtained when a family of seven lives in a nine-room house.

AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

Education of parents has emerged from data presented in numerous analyses from the Texas Cooperative Youth Study as a major conditioning factor in making available to youth resources and opportunities for adequate participation in culture. Education of mothers and fathers is the source of and the reason for the development of youth toward maximum competence in school, in interpersonal relations within the family, in the conceptions of their own personal adequacy.⁷ The level of cultural participation of parents is, from this evidence, an imperative determinant in what children will gain from and eventually give to society.

Education in today's schools has among its major responsibilities the promotion of quality of parenthood to assure the quality of persons in this nation. No other aims for education can be attained without sound personalities through which to proceed toward other goals and ideals. No fact has become more obvious from this research than that young persons must remain in school and become well educated in order to perform the paramount obligations of their adult lives—the rearing of children in competent families residing in adequate homes.

Totalitarian countries may wish to explore institutional rearing of children. Democratic society, if the Texas study is reliable, can afford nothing less for the survival of its way of life than well-educated parents, establishing and maintaining satisfying family living at home and for their children.

⁷ The research of Fred Stroedbeck and his associates at the University of Chicago with culturally deprived nursery-age children is of major relevance to this statement. Also see Edward J. Ryan, "Personal Identity in an Urban Slum," in *The Urban Condition*, edited by Leonard J. Duhl, pp. 135-150. Most important also is a second essay in this same volume: Thomas Gladwin, "Strategies in Delinquency Prevention," especially pp. 269-274. For a dramatic statement of the devastating impact of poverty, both economic and cultural, see Harrington, *The Other America*.

