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Perceptions of gender socialization among African-American female caretakers

Cherise Michelle Carpenter

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PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER SOCIALIZATION AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE CARETAKERS

A Project
Presented to the Faculty of California State University, San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Social Work

by Cherise Michelle Carpenter
June 2001
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Approved by:

Dr. Camille S. Reineke, Faculty Advisor
Social Work

Robert Strong, Minister,
Ecclesia Christian Fellowship

Dr. Rosemary McCaslin, MSW Research Coordinator

6-6-01 Date
ABSTRACT

This study examined gender socialization child-rearing patterns among a sample of African-American female caretakers to determine whether there are differences in maternal expectations of the child based on gender. It is a correlational design that relies on a survey method of data collection. Frequency distributions, chi-square, bivariate correlations and multivariate analyses were employed to analyze data. Findings will broaden the scant body of knowledge that currently exists on African-American child-rearing patterns and therefore increase the number of culturally relevant resources available to social workers providing services to African-American families. In addition, this study yields information that can be useful in understanding implications for African-American adult male and female societal functioning.
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I give glory and honor to God for His gift of unconditional love, strength and guidance.

To my support network of friends and family, who remained the same throughout my process of change: thank you.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

We Raise Our Daughters and Love Our Sons is an adage in the African-American community that addresses the difference in the manner in which some African American mothers rear boys versus girls. The indication here is that girls are reared with strict discipline and the emphasis on the acquisition of independent living skills is crucial. On the other hand, boys are highly adored and given a privileged status, which involves looser restrictions and more entitlements. This practice is commonly referred to as "spoiling" the child. According to Dickerson (1995), this practice is manifested in the way that girls are socialized to be responsible in regards to household chores, child rearing tasks, academics and social interactions. Mothers expect their daughters to learn these skills earlier than boys. It has been observed that this adage is espoused and practiced by many African American women, whether they are single or parenting with a spouse.

Dickerson (1995) refers to two theories that may explain why some African-American mothers "raise" their
daughters and "love" their sons. The first is that
coddling child rearing practices stem from the post
slavery era, during which African-American mothers were
compelled to protect or shield their sons from societal
racist attacks. Secondly, during the Industrial Era, the
jobs that were available to African-American men demanded
rigorous physical labor, so men qualified for employment
based on their physical strength. Therefore, rearing boys
to pursue a higher education was not effective preparation
for independent living, whereas girls were encouraged to
attend college as a "way out" of a life of cleaning the
"white folks'" houses. Other theories offered as
explanations for this child-rearing practice include the
belief that Black men are worthless and irresponsible, so
less is expected of them; and the presumption that Black
women are superior to Black men, and thus more is expected
of girls (Staples, 1994). The latter two theories are a
reflection of White supremist philosophy, according to
Staples (1994), that some African-Americans internalize.

However, in today's society, both men and women must
be prepared to compete in a technologically advanced
society. When boys are "loved" during childhood and
expected to be a "provider" in adulthood, they are set up
to fail. If boys are not prepared and groomed for higher
education and employment marketability, equipped with the skills to foster successful independent living, maturity and responsibility, they are unable to fulfill the adult male roles expected of them. These expectations, compounded by societal forces of racism and discrimination, foster a disabling condition. What follows this practice is a sense of failure on the part of African-American men in regards to their fulfillment of the adult male role. Therefore, it is asserted that the practice of “raising” daughters and “loving” sons has been an historical adaptation for some Black mothers -- a means of preparing Black boys for adulthood in a society in which opportunities for them are limited. Unfortunately, in today’s society, this practice is maladaptive in that the Black boys must be taught the skills necessary to compete in a technologically advanced society.

Webster defines “adage” as a traditional saying expressing a common experience or observation. The definition implies the possibility of some factual basis or “common experience,” and due to this fact, adages and folk sayings have prompted numerous research efforts. The objective of this study is to test the relevance of the adage “We raise our daughters and love our sons” among a sample of African-American female caretakers.
The research examined gender socialization child-rearing patterns among African-American female caretakers, focusing specifically on expectations of boys versus girls. The interest in this study was prompted by the researcher’s observations in her own family (nuclear and extended) and those of many of her friends, from which a curiosity developed about how prevalent the practice of “loving sons” and “raising daughters” is in the wider African-American community.

Aside from the researcher’s personal curiosity, this study is significant in that there is a scarcity of research about child socialization in Black families, and the specific focus on gender socialization is even more limited. It is important to examine patterns in Black families to develop a culturally appropriate framework in which to study Black families in general, as opposed to using Eurocentric models that are not applicable.

Child-rearing and gender socialization patterns are important in understanding implications for adulthood. Especially relevant is the status of the Black male, which is often referred to as endangered, emasculated, inferioritized and dehumanized (Myers, 1998). Without an understanding of child and gender socialization patterns, success in making interventions is limited.
It is important to note that the researcher does not espouse a victim-blaming approach to this problem. In other words, it is not the intent to blame Black parents or the Black family structure for the disenfranchisement of the Black male. It is necessary to acknowledge the contribution of structural factors such as racism, discrimination and oppression to this problem. However, as Hill (1999) suggests, a social constructionist theoretical perspective is relevant in that it validates the importance of structural factors in shaping life options while also acknowledging individuals as agents defining their life roles and acting in accordance with those definitions. In other words, it is the researcher's opinion that both familial and societal structures influence child socialization in the African-American family, and attention to both factors is given in this study.

Problem Focus

This study examined the gender socialization child-rearing patterns of African-American female caretakers to determine the differences in maternal expectations of boys versus girls. The purpose is to test the relevance of the African-American folk saying, "We
raise our daughters and love our sons" among a small sample of Black mothers (and other female caretakers).

This study has significant cultural, societal and social work implications. The research findings offers a culturally relevant framework in which to view African-American families. Benefits to the African-American community include an opportunity to reframe the experiences of children and their families so that strengths are highlighted and culturally relevant interventions can be adopted. The need for a new a paradigm that challenges the existing deviant models in viewing African American families cannot be overstated. The esteem of the culture is threatened by existing literature as African-Americans read and are presented with culturally and professionally irresponsible information that some may internalized. A clear example of a deviant perspective is Farber's (1997) statement that "hey [writers utilizing the strengths perspective in viewing issues in the African-American community] exemplify the types of methodological narrowness and some of the political prejudices that continue to plague this field of study" (p. 202). As long as cultural relevance and sensitivity is presented as a "narrow" way of thinking, racism and discrimination will persist. African
Americans need to develop paradigms based on their unique dynamics, as a European framework is not a relevant standard.

An additional benefit to the African-American community is that this study provides information that can enhance Manhood Development Programs, which have become a socializing agent in many communities. These programs are geared toward providing mentoring and education to Black male adolescents in their transition to adulthood. Understanding differences in how boys and girls are raised can assist these programs in identifying adaptive techniques to emphasize in the program and maladaptive patterns to avoid.

The societal benefit of this study is that information about the diversity in family structures, including strengths and limitations will be increased. This will aid in broadening perspectives, which will hopefully decrease racist attitudes and discriminatory practices against these children and their families.

Implications for the field of social work are also significant in regards to the proposed study. Adding to the extremely small body of knowledge that exists on African-American child and gender socialization patterns will equip social workers in a variety of settings with a
greater variety of resources to draw from in providing services to Black families. This will foster more culturally competent service delivery.

This study also offers resources to workers in the Child Welfare sector in that knowledge of culturally specific socialization patterns in the Black family will aid workers in making assessments and interventions with these families. Awareness of how gender expectations affect an individual's perceived parenting role can guide workers in teaching and modeling appropriate parenting skills and in referring to support services. Again, this speaks to providing culturally competent social work practice.

The research question is as follows: Are African-American female caretaker expectations of their female children different from that of their male children with respect to academics/career, discipline, household chores, preparation for independent living and development of interpersonal relationships?
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

As was mentioned in the previous sections of this paper, research on child and gender socialization patterns in the Black family is deficient. There are a limited number of scholars in the fields of psychology, sociology and African-American studies who have developed theories about the functions of the Black family, but very few studies on the matter. Staples and Johnson (1993), in their synthesis of existing research on Black families, comment, "The literature is full of assumption—but little proof—about how Black men are reared in their families" (p. 123). This poses a serious problem for social work practice with Black families (and is also evident in the researcher's lack of access to studies upon which to base the literature review of this paper), as practice should be directed by research. If there is no research, is practice based merely on assumption? This is dangerous.

Hill (1999) conducted a study examining the "everyday work" of Black and white parents in child socialization, during which she stated "the hypothesis of gender neutrality in black child rearing is widely supported in previous studies but for the most part is not grounded in
empirical research” (p. 110). Lewis (1975) wrote an exploratory paper (not based on his research) on socialization patterns in the Black family, during which he also acknowledged the paucity of research on sex role socialization in Black families.

Not only is the existing literature on Black families deficient, but much of it is biased and does not reflect the diversity of the African-American culture. Moynihan's work (1965) probably serves as the leading source of misleading information on the Black family. In his report, Moynihan describes the Black family as typically matriarchal, which weakens the family structure and lends itself to pathology. According to Hill (1999), Moynihan asserted that since women led families and were breadwinners, the single-parent family structure undermines the traditional role of the male breadwinner, which perpetuates racial inequality. Moynihan's work, filled with fallacies and erroneous generalizations about the Black family, sparked a trend in the literature that depicted African-Americans as culturally deviant.

Another problem with much of the existing literature is that it is focused mostly on low-income and poor families, while literature on White families is primarily based on middle-income earners. Staples and Johnson (1993)
refer to this as the "Culture of Poverty" approach. From this viewpoint, Black culture is a response to poverty and intergenerational poverty breeds poverty and certain behavioral characteristics of the poverty experience, including fatalism, desire for immediate gratification, female dominance and disorganization. In this way, poor Black people are blamed for their problems. In addition, the body of knowledge fails to address issues relevant to diverse groups within the culture, as it is a fact that all Black people are not poor and do not reside in urban ghettos. Therefore, the deficient and inaccurate nature of information about Black families works against viewing them in a culturally relevant light.

A few resources attempt to describe Black family socialization, related to gender specifically, as a culturally unique process versus one that is pathological. Hill (1999) asserts "Black feminists have argued that gender norms are constructed quite differently among black people and have suggested that they do not play a central role in the socialization of African-American children" (p. 108). This implies that socialization of Black children is not based on gender as it has shown to be in white families, where there are specific traits fostered in boys and different ones in girls. For example,
independence, nurturing and assertiveness are characteristics developed in both Black boys and girls, and this is a reflection of the nature of many African societies where female independence coexist with male authority, according to Staples (1994) and Staples and Johnson (1993).

Lewis (1975) attributes the uniqueness of Black family sex role socialization to an African heritage. In child rearing practices, there is a high value placed on personal uniqueness, nonconformance and the development of specific personality traits from infancy onward. There is also an appreciation for individualism, but not in the sense that is demonstrated in the dominant culture (characterized by independence from others' opinions and values, and self-centeredness). African individualism is paired with interpersonal connectedness to the group, which Lewis describes as a synthesis of polarities. He contrasts this cultural feature with the focus on dichotomy in Western culture, a tendency to define things in "either-or," or black and white terms.

It is to this difference in perspective that Lewis attributes the differences in sex roles in the two cultures. For example, in the dominant culture, characteristics typified as male/female are distinct and
often mutually exclusive (boys as aggressive, independent and self-confident and girls as passive dependent and possessing feelings of inadequacy). On the other hand, expectations of Black girls and boys overlap; other factors like age and birth order (not gender alone) differentiate socialization practices in early childhood development. Staples and Johnson (1993) describe this approach to studying the Black family as the Afrocentric Model. It implies that all people of African descent (regardless of nationality) share a common experience, history and culture, with some cultural variations. This identifies them as the African Diaspora. This framework uses African referents versus white referents in studying the Black family.

Although some literature denotes the nonexistence of gender roles in Black child socialization, there is some evidence that the sex of the child plays a factor in child-rearing practices. Although there were no significant differences in socialization practices based on gender in her study, Hill (1999) noted that some parents (both Black and white) expressed more traditional ideals such as being "ladylike" and discouraging "feminine" play in boys. In addition, Hunter (1992), in his study of African-American male perceptions of manhood,
comments that other studies reveal that images of mainstream masculinity are pervasive among some Black men and that Black urban men identified toughness, decisiveness, athletic prowess, aggressiveness and violence with their conception of manhood.

Hill (1999) describes a "gender dilemma" in that there is societal pressure for African-Americans to conform to mainstream gender roles. However, they are unable to do so due to the economic disenfranchisement of the Black male, which limits his ability to perform the role of provider in the family. This has disastrous effects on the status of the Black males and on the Black family, as it is shown that male participation in the family is directly correlated with his ability to fulfill the provider role. Hunter (1992) found that in discussing their views of manhood and family roles, Black men expressed both themes of the patriarch and partner in describing their familial roles. Does this reflect the struggle between maintaining egalitarian roles promoted by Black culture and Western society's patriarchal nature? Perhaps it does. Hunter also notes that many writers claim that the over identification of masculinity leads to maladaptive role fulfillment in Black males. This is manifested in the "tough guy" and "player of women" roles.
that work against the survival of the African-American community. It’s synonymous with a “catch-22” situation.

While Black men are not accepted in their culturally specific gender role, Black women are. Hill (1999) states that Black women who have deviated from the traditional woman’s role are viewed as strong, while Black men who have done this are emasculated and marginalized. She also claims “Although they [Black women] may be socialized into accepting strong, self-reliant roles, ethnographic research has found that the majority of African-American females want to marry a man who can help support them and a family, and they blame Black men for their inability or unwillingness to contribute to successful marriages” (p. 123).

Myers (1998) conducted a study to empirically test the effect of single-parent family structure on lowering the level of self-esteem among Black males. The results reveal that family of origin structure had no significant effect on self-esteem. She states, “Throughout life, all of us perform numerous roles. How we feel about ourselves is due largely due to the levels of success we achieve while performing the roles. However, if there are social structural deterrents placed before us, how is it possible for us to fulfill the roles expected of us” (p. 59)? This
leads to a more in-depth discussion of how societal structures influence gender role socialization.

Many authors emphasize the role that discrimination, racism and oppression play, currently and historically, in Black family gender role socialization. According to Hill and Zimmerman (1995), although Black children are not socialized based on gender early on, gender-based socialization may emerge as a result of the expectations that society place on Black men and women. In other words, parents may begin to socialize their children based on traditional sex roles, as they become aware of the societal pressures that will be placed on their children to fulfill these roles as adults. Lewis (1975) contends that when African-American children become adolescents, they are subject to societal pressures that influence their socialization. "Thus, later socialization, depending on the conditions under which the families live, is more adaptive to a particular situation of opportunity or exclusion as they operate for males and females" (Lewis, p. 237).

Many writers speak of slavery and how, by selling them as chattel, separating them from their families, denying the opportunity to fulfill the father-role and purposefully discounting Black marriages, slavery robbed
Black men of their important function in the Black family. According to Staples and Johnson (1993), Black women began to fulfill the role of family provider after the Emancipation period, when employment opportunities for men were limited.

Myers (1998) refers to the systematic dehumanization, inferioritization and emasculation of Black men throughout history as a dominant view of Black male socialization. She contends "Society creates myths about blacks and other groups in order to preserve the status quo; to make sure the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' maintain their positions" (p. 8). She discusses, in detail, how the following myths and stereotypes about Black men have been perpetuated to disenfranchise them: "Sambo," super Athlete with little intelligence; Black men are sexually superior to White men, unable to maintain stable relationships with women, are selfish and are dominated by matriarchal women in their households, and therefore impotent. Hunter (1992) found that self-determination and accountability was one of the crucial features of Black male conception of manhood. Responsibility and economic viability was at the core of this conception. Therefore, it is easy to consider how poverty and unemployment have a direct impact on Black male self-esteem, as they undermine his ability to provide
for himself, to be independent and in control of his life. With this in mind, a discussion of the micro-structural factors that contribute to Black male socialization is vital.

There are some studies that reflect very different maternal expectations for boys and girls in Black families that would appear to validate the adage, "We raise our daughters and love our sons." Hill (1999) asserts that some studies suggest that parents support competence and self-reliance more in their daughters than in their sons. In their study examining how illness behavior is influenced by child gender expectations, Hill and Zimmerman (1995) found that African-American mothers of sons with Sickle Cell Disease perceived them as sicker than mothers of daughters, even though symptoms and disease severity did not differ by gender.

Mothers of sons with the disease were more involved in care-giving, more protective (even admittedly overprotective), viewed their sons as fragile, and more closely supervised and restricted their child’s activities to avoid pain crisis. On the other hand, mothers of daughters gave their girls more freedom, emphasized independence and encouraged physical activities. They also trusted their girls to care for themselves, expected them
to tolerate minor symptoms and made a special effort not to "spoil" or pamper their girls, which was perceived as providing excuses for them to avoid performing their expected role. Hill and Zimmerman (1995) state that this protection of sons could possibly have a crippling effect on boys with the disease and may have interfered with the boys' adaptive functioning in response to the illness.

"The greater labor mothers invested in caring for their sons suggests that the old adage that Black mothers 'love their sons but raise their daughters' might be true" (Hill & Zimmerman, p. 16).

Myers (1998) refers to a previous study where African-American mothers interviewed about their sons expressed the dilemma of protecting them from the hostile world while training them to be responsible and self-sufficient adults. This appears to be a huge challenge for Black mothers, achieving that delicate balance between nurturing and fostering independence.

It has also been stated that socioeconomic and cultural factors shape gender norms and that they are often reflective of social class and race-specific perspectives (Hill & Zimmerman, 1995). The results of Carr and Mednick's study examining social class effects on sex role socialization in achievement motivation (1988)
indicate that sex-role socialization differs with social class. Middle class parents foster more nontraditional sex roles and those in the lower class rear their children with more traditional gender roles. Blau (1981) examined social processes that influence intellectual competence in Black and White children to explain the differences in their measured ability in the early years of schooling.

Results indicated that the effect of child gender on Black maternal ambition was greatly influenced by socioeconomic status (SES) as compared to whites: 72% of low SES Black mothers of sons had low ambitions scores while 56% of mothers with girls had low scores. Furthermore, 16% of Black mothers of girls and 5% of those with boys had high ambitions. In addition, mothers of daughters overall had higher educational ambitions for their children than did those of boys.

According to Staples (1994) child socialization in the Black family changed in the post-slavery era in that daughters were raised to be more independent, disciplined and responsible than their sons. Staples discusses three theories to explain this occurrence. The first is reflective of the internalization of the ideology of white supremacists that Black men are worthless and irresponsible, and therefore less is expected of them. The second is also
based on white supremist ideology, that Black women are superior to Black men and so more is expected of them. The third theory is that Black mothers feel the need to protect their sons from the dangers of a society that is hostile toward Black men (stemming from the pre-civil rights era), and they teach them to be obedient and compliant to avoid being viewed as too aggressive. Dickerson (1995) also refers to the theory that, during the Industrial Era, the jobs that were available to African-American men demanded rigorous physical labor, so men qualified for employment based on their physical strength. Therefore, rearing boys to pursue a higher education was not effective preparation for independent living, whereas girls were encouraged to attend college as a "way out" of a life of cleaning the "white folks" houses.

In summary, existing literature on Black family socialization patterns is scanty, and most of it is biased or too narrowly focused and fails to reflect the diversity of the African-American experience. However, there are some writings that depict Black family gender role socialization as culturally specific, stemming from an African cultural heritage. In this literature, there exists some agreement that gender is not a factor in
socializing Black children, while others argue the adoption of traditional, mutually exclusive feminine and masculine roles. It has also been stated that gender roles in early childhood are more ambiguous, but change in adolescence to accommodate societal expectations to fulfill traditional adult roles.

Many authors provide explanations of how societal factor factors such as racism, oppression and discrimination impact gender socialization in Black families. Most of this literature is based on the premise that the African-American male, since slavery, have been viewed as weak in their demonstration of the culturally specific gender norms, but robbed of their ability to act in the traditional patriarchal norms dictated by society. This puts him in a precarious position, adversely affecting his self-esteem, relationships with Black women and role in the family. The child rearing practice of 'raising' daughters and 'loving' sons is commonly viewed in the literature as an adaptation of the Black family to such societal forces.
CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Study Design

This study examined the gender socialization and child-rearing patterns of African-American female caretakers to determine the differences in maternal expectations of boys versus girls. The purpose is to test the relevance of the African-American folk saying, "We raise our daughters and love our sons," among a small sample of Black mothers, grandmothers and other female caretakers. The intention is to provide information on how child gender influences maternal expectations, specifically in the areas of academic/career preparation, discipline, household chores interpersonal relationships and preparation for independent living. The purpose of the study is exploratory in nature, as there is, at best, a scant body of literature on African-American child socialization. Furthermore, research on African-American gender socialization is meager. These findings add to the existing body of literature on African American gender socialization, providing a more comprehensive research base for future studies.
The study is a correlational design, which relies on a self-report (survey) method of data collection. This limits the ability to establish causal linkages between child gender and maternal expectations based on findings. It is impossible to control for factors, outside of child gender, that could influence maternal expectations. This threatens the internal validity of the study. However, the findings demonstrate trends and associations between child gender and maternal expectations. The research question is as follows: Are African-American female caretaker expectations for their female children different from those for their male children with respect to academics/career, discipline, household chores, interpersonal relationships and preparation for independent living?

Sampling

A non-probability convenience sample of fifty-one African-American female caretakers was from solicited from various locations throughout the San Bernardino area: twelve from Cal State University San Bernardino, sixteen from local churches (Ecclesia Christian Fellowship, Temple Baptist and New Hope Baptist), six from the Delman Heights Community Center and seventeen from a snowball sampling
procedure. Caretakers included biological and foster mothers, grandmothers, stepmothers and other relative female caretakers. Limiting the sample to female caretakers is consistent with the purpose of examining maternal expectations of children. The sample included mothers of sons and mothers of daughters to allow for a comparison of expectations based on child gender. Since the sample is non-probability, it would be impossible to state the extent to which this group is reflective of the general population of African-American female caretakers. This threatens the external validity of the study. However, the results identified trends and associations regarding this particular group’s child-rearing strategies as they relate to gender socialization.

Data Collection and Instrument

An instrument was created for data collection, as the search for an existing instrument measuring the variables examined in this study was to no avail. The survey was developed from some of Hill’s (1999) Parenting Survey questions and others created by the author of this study. It is a twenty-eight-item survey of closed-ended questions that solicit socio-demographic information and descriptions of separate dimensions of parenting.
Five demographic questions are measured nominally and continuously. Six questions, measured nominally and continuously, address academic/career expectations. Two questions relate to discipline and are measured nominally. One question measures six variables related to household chores in an ordinal fashion. Seven questions address interpersonal relationships and dating issues with ordinal, nominal and continuous measurements. One question covers five ordinal variables related to reparation for independent living. One question addresses nine variables related to perception of the child's personality. Four questions address perceptions of child vulnerability to racism and sexism with ordinal measurements. Three questions are related to ordinal and continuous measurements of the parent's perceptions of the child's ability to function independently.

Participants were asked to complete Parenting Survey I based on rearing their oldest child. They were then asked to complete Parenting Survey II based on their second oldest child of the opposite gender. Respondents who had only one child or more than one child of the same gender were advised to disregard Parenting Survey II. Questions were focused on soliciting data describing specific child rearing practices and child expectations.
Independent variables are female caretakers of sons and female caretakers of daughters. Dependent variables are the eight dimensions of parenting measured: discipline strategies, expectations regarding household chores, expectations regarding academic progress and career planning, training regarding development of interpersonal relationships, preparation for independent living, child vulnerability to racism/sexism, child’s ability to function independently (now and in the future) and parent perceptions of the child. Independent variables were measured at nominal, ordinal and continuous levels. The dependent variables were measured at the nominal levels.

The instrument was pre-tested by a group of six non-participant African-American female caretakers. Feedback regarding the clarity and relevance of the questions will be solicited from the pretest group. Changes to the survey format were implemented, based on pre-test group suggestions, in order to create clearer instructions and ease participant’s comfort-level in responding to sensitive subjects.

Procedure

The data collection process began following the attainment of Human Subjects Approval. Participants from
Cal State University San Bernardino were solicited during a Black History Celebration sponsored by the university's Cross Cultural Center. They were provided a survey, pen, a sitting area and light refreshments were offered. Respondents from local churches were solicited during Sunday morning services. An announcement about the purpose of the study and the request for participation was made prior to the close of each service to maximize participation.

Participants from Ecclesia Christian Fellowship and Temple Baptist were provided surveys in an envelope and instructed to complete and return them to a confidential drop-box located in the church lobby. Members of New Hope Baptist were given surveys and completed them in a room provided by the church administration, and returned them personally.

The remaining respondents were obtained from Delman Heights Community Center and a snowball sample of individuals affiliated with the Inland Area Association of Black Social Workers.

Protection of Human Subjects

Participants were given a written debriefing statement including referral information in the event that
they experience any emotional stress as a result of participating in the study. Informed consents were be distributed and returned to the researcher with the participant's "X" marking to verify consent. No signatures were requested in order to maintain client confidentiality and anonymity.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

There were fifty-one female caretakers who participated in the study. The majority of them (89.6%) were mothers, 7.5% consisted of aunts, stepmothers and foster mother and the remaining 3% were grandmothers. The mean age of respondents was 37 and the mode age was 31. The majority of respondents (56.9%) had some college education or a two-year degree, 19.6% had a 4-year degree, 11.8% possessed professional degrees and 11.8 percent had a high school diploma. Though the overwhelming majority of respondents were unemployed (80%), 41% were married, and the largest income category represented (27.5% of respondents) was that of $50,000 or more per year. 19.6% were in the $30,000 - $39,999 bracket and 9.8% in the $40,000-$49,999 category. This suggests that many of the respondents are homemakers and their spouses are the primary breadwinners in the home and that the majority of households are middle to upper income.

Thirty-six of the respondents completed one parenting survey, meaning they had only one child or more than one child of the same gender. Fifteen respondents completed
two parenting surveys; one based on a male child and the other on a female child. This provided a subset of parents who raised children of both genders, allowing for analysis of child-rearing patterns within particular families. Overall, there were twenty-nine surveys completed based on male children and thirty-nine based on female children. There were a total of sixty-eight parenting surveys completed in all.

Data Analysis Results

Academic/Career Expectations:

Pearson Product Moment Correlations were conducted to determine the relationship among the following variables related to maternal academic/career expectation, by child gender: the most important value to teach the child, what the mother would like the child to have most when he/she grows up, if the mother expects the child to attend college, how important it is that the child attend college, if the mother discussed possible careers with the child and if the child has a specific job/career interest. There was one significant zero order correlation between gender and the child having a specific job/career interest. However, the Chi-Square test revealed no significant difference between the proportion of males
(58.6%) and females (33.3%) whose mothers believed their child had a specific job/career interest (refer to Appendix E).

**Discipline:**

The relationship between two variables, the mother's perception of her most important parenting role and the form of discipline used most often, as they relate to gender of the child was analyzed via chi square. The results indicated no significant difference between these two variables based on child gender. However, with regard to the parenting role variable, the majority of parents perceived their most important role as teacher/guide (82.1% for boys and 84.2% for girls), despite gender of the child (Refer to Appendix F). It should be noted, however, that among the mothers who reported their primary role as disciplinarian, a higher percentage of indicated thus with male children (10.7%) than with female children (2.6%). In addition, more mothers indicated being a good provider is their most important parenting role with girls (13.2%) than those responding based on boys (7.1%).

Percentages of responses regarding the form of discipline mothers use most often reflect that loss of privileges was the most frequent form of discipline used by mothers (57.1% for boys and 50.0% for girls), followed
by reason/logic (39.3% for boys and 44.4% for girls), and last, spankings (3.6% for boys and 5.6% for girls). There were no trends of difference based on gender (Refer to Appendix G).

**Chores:**

A correlational analysis was conducted on six variables indicating how important mothers felt it was for their child to learn specific chores: cleaning, cooking, grocery shopping/meal planning, emptying the trash, laundry and washing dishes. The results indicated a significant relationship between gender of the child and the importance of learning to cook ($r = -.33, p < .01$) and the importance of learning to empty the trash ($r = -.24, p < .05$). A manova analysis was administered with gender as the independent variable (IV) and the importance of learning to empty the trash and learning how to cook as the dependent variables (DV's) to determine if there were significant differences in maternal expectations of boys versus girls. Findings suggested a significant difference between boys ($m = 4.67$) and girls ($m = 4.18$) in terms of maternal perceptions of the importance of learning how to cook, $F(1, 63) = 7.80, L .01$. There was no significant relationship between gender and learning to empty the trash.
Interpersonal Relationships/Dating:

A correlational analysis was conducted to determine if there were significant differences by gender in maternal expectations in the following seven areas: whether the mother teaches the child it is important to be married before having sex, teaching the child to be married before having children, the mother’s interest in the school teaching the child more about sex education, age the mother will (did) allow the child to date, dating curfew, whether the mother discussed sexuality with the child and the age at which she discussed sexuality with the child. There was no significant relationship between gender and any of the variables of maternal expectations related to the child’s interpersonal relationships and dating experiences.

Preparation for Independent Living:

A correlational analysis was conducted to ascertain differences between variables related to maternal expectations of child preparation for independent living based on gender. The following five variables were analyzed by gender: importance of teaching the child budgeting/money management skills, teaching the child to use public transportation, driving a car, job application and interviewing skills and skills related to locating
appropriately housing. There was no significant relationship between gender and any of the variables related to child preparation for independent living.

Additional Analysis

Statistical tests were administered using data that were not the focus of the study's research question, but that are significant in the general discussion of differences in expectations of boys versus girls. Data analyzed are from the following three categories: maternal descriptions of their child's personality, perceptions of the child's vulnerability to racism and/or sexism and maternal perceptions of the child's ability to function independently now and in the future.

Maternal Perceptions of the Child's Personality:

A correlational analysis was conducted on nine variables, based on gender, related to maternal perceptions of the child's personality: perceptions of the child as aggressive, caring and sensitive, strong-willed, emotionally mature, athletic, hardworking, helpful at home, responsible and obedient. The results indicated a significant relationship between gender of the child and maternal perceptions of the child as strong-willed ($r = .20, p < .05$), athletic ($r = -.26, p < .05$) and
helpful at home (r = .21, p < .05). There was no significant relationship between gender and the other variables related to perception of the child’s personality.

Maternal Perceptions of the Child’s Vulnerability to Racism/Sexism:

Four variables were analyzed via correlational tests to determine if there were differences in maternal perceptions of the child’s vulnerability to racism and/or sexism, based on gender. The variables are as follows: the extent to which the mother believed the child’s gender will affect the child’s ability to obtain a college degree, affect of gender on obtaining a good job, affect of ethnicity on obtaining a college degree, and affect of ethnicity on securing a good job. There was no significance based on gender.

Perception of the Child’s Ability to Function Independently:

A correlational analysis was conducted on three variables of maternal perceptions of the child’s ability to function independently as they related to gender. These variables are: the mother’s level of confidence that the child could function independently, without a caretaker, for a forty-eight hour time period; the age the mother
expects the child to begin living independently, away from the mother’s home; and the level of support the mother perceived the child would need to successfully transition to independent living. There was no significance amongst these variables based on gender.

Analysis of Maternal Expectations and Perceptions among a Subset of 15 Caretakers who were Raising Boys and Girls:

Correlational analyses of variables within the subset of fifteen caretakers who completed two parenting surveys (one for their male child and another for their female child) were conducted to determine if there were differences in maternal expectations/perceptions of boys and girls within families. The results yielded no significant relationships between gender of the child and the five dimensions of expectations/perceptions: academics/career, discipline, household chores, development of interpersonal relationships and preparation for independent living.
Academic/Career Expectations

Although there was not statistical significance amongst the variables reflecting maternal academic/career expectations of the child by gender, there was a trend that more mothers reported that boys had a specific job/career interest versus girls. A possible explanation for this trend may be reflective of the differences in mean ages of boys versus girls in the sample. The mean age for boys was eleven, whereas the mean age for girls was nine. In addition, the most frequent age for boys was sixteen, and that for girls was nine. This indicates that boys tended to be older than girls. Therefore, it would be expected that more boys would have a specific career interest and this trend may not necessarily reflect differences in maternal expectations of boys versus girls.

However, the greater number of mothers reporting that boys had a specific career interest than girls, may suggest that mothers listen more to male child expressions of career interests than to those of girls; mothers may be more aware of the aspirations of boys. This could reflect a difference the level of support of boys versus girls,
but not necessarily be indicative of a difference in academic/career expectations.

**Discipline:**

The results indicated that for boys and girls, the overwhelming majority of mothers perceive their primary parenting role as that of teacher/guide. However, there were notable differences, based on gender, in percentages of those parents who selected one of the other two responses to describe their primary parenting role. For instance, nearly four times the number of mothers indicated their primary parenting role with boys as disciplinarian, than girls. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, mothers may perceive discipline as more important with boys as a means of preparing them to function in a society that is hostile toward African-American males. In other words, mothers may feel it necessary that boys remain on their best behavior to avoid discipline from the school and law enforcement systems, which may be influenced by racial discrimination. Another possible suggestion may be that mothers perceive their boys as more aggressive and prone to engage in inappropriate behavior, therefore warranting more discipline than girls.
Almost twice as many mothers perceived their primary parenting role as a good provider for girls, than for boys. This may indicate an adaptation of traditional gender roles on the part of mothers in that they may expect girls to need providers in their adulthood, while they socialize boys to become providers in their adulthood.

Chores:

Maternal expectations that boys learn to cook were significantly higher than that for girls. This may suggest that mothers, espousing traditional gender roles, may assume that girls will intuitively know, or automatically learn, how to cook. This may minimize the stated importance of girls learning how to cook, and increase the level of importance associated with boys learning this particular task in order to be as accountable as girls in this area.

Interpersonal Relationships/Dating and Preparation for Independent Living:

The lack of significant differences between maternal expectations of boys versus girls in the areas of interpersonal relationships/dating and preparation for independent living suggests that mothers expect boys and
girls to adhere to the same standards and conduct as they train them in these two areas.

Maternal Perceptions of the Child’s Personality:

More mothers perceived girls to be helpful at home than they did boys. This may suggest that mothers initiate joint performance of household tasks more with girls, or simply that girls are more interested in helping at home than boys. More girls were perceived as strong-willed than boys, which may, in fact, reflect maternal perception of girls as stronger and less vulnerable than boys.

More mothers perceived male children as athletic when compared to girls. This may indicate a trend toward more traditional gender socialization, in which boys are reared to engage in more physical and competitive activities than girls.

Perception of the Child’s Vulnerability to Racism and/or Sexism and Perception of the Child’s Ability to Function Independently:

The lack of significant differences in maternal perceptions of vulnerability to Racism/Sexism and the child’s independent functioning, based on gender, implies that mothers do not consider gender a factor in the child’s vulnerability to racism/sexism, or in the child’s ability to function independently. In other words, their
perceptions of boys and girls in these areas are comparable.

Conclusion

This study was designed to determine the relevance of the adage “We raise our daughters and love our sons” among a small sample of African-American female caretakers. The research question was as follows: Are African-American female caretaker expectations of their female children different from that of their male children with respect to academics/career, discipline, household chores, development of interpersonal relationships and preparation for independent living?

The results indicated that there were significant relationships or trends in the academic career, discipline, household chores and perception of child personality dimensions based on gender. A greater number of mothers indicated that boys have a specific career interest than mothers did for girls. There is a strong possibility that the fact that boys in the study tended to be older than girls may provide more of an explanation for the significance than a difference in maternal expectations of boys versus girls.
If the differences in mean ages of girls versus boys a factor in the results obtained, it is also possible that Hill and Zimmerman's theory (1995) regarding gender-based socialization occurs in latter childhood applies. In other words, it is conceivable that Black children are initially socialized in a gender-neutral or egalitarian manner until adolescence, when parents feel pressure to prepare their child for more traditional roles to function in the mainstream patriarchal society. In this way, boys may be reared to focus more on academics/career than girls. This directly refutes the adage; “We raise our daughters and love our sons.”

More mothers indicated that their primary parenting role was disciplinarian with boys, when compared to girls. Again this refutes the adage, which implies lesser restrictions and more entitlements for boys. However, this may also indicate a protective mechanism on the part of mothers to shield their boys from discriminatory practices in the school and law enforcement systems.

Boys were expected to learn to cook more than girls were. Again, this contradicts the adage. This difference may reflect a mother's perception that cooking is intuitive for girls and therefore placing an emphasis on
the stated need for boys to become competent in this area also.

There was only one area of results that appeared to complement the adage of "raising" daughters and "loving" sons. This is that more girls were perceived as strong-willed than were boys. This suggests a level of tenacity for girls and vulnerability for boys. If mothers perceive their boys as more vulnerable than girls, this may lead to a coddling and "spoiling" form of child-rearing for boys while girls may be held to higher expectation.

It is suggested that this study be repeated with a larger sample to provide a greater variety in ages of boys and girls. This may control for the influence of age of the child on variables that are highly related to age or maturity level of the child. In addition, a more varied representation of socio-economic status (SES) may also allow for a more detailed analysis of differences in child-rearing practices across various SES groups.
CHAPTER SIX
LIMITATIONS

Study Limitations

There are several limitations to this study, which prevent generalization of results to the broader African-American community. First, it relies on a self-report (survey) method of data collection, which limits the study to caretaker report versus describing their real actions. It is conceivable, for example, those caretakers who completed two parenting surveys were influenced by social desirability; they may want to be viewed as impartial to gender in their child-rearing tasks.

Other limitations include the relatively small sample size, the middle-upper income bias and the significant amount of missing data collected. These factors limit the study’s ability generalize the findings to the African-American Community.

Social Work Implications

The findings of this study add to a scant body of knowledge on gender socialization in African-American families. Social Workers can apply this information in a variety of practice settings to highlight strengths of
Black families and to develop a better understanding of the diversity within Black family structures. It is imperative that social work practice with African-American families is culturally competent and based on research that accurately reflects the needs, strengths, diversity and limitations of this particular populations.

There are additional implications with regard to practice in the Child Welfare Services Sector. Social Workers can apply this information to assist them in child protection and adoption assessments of family structure and functioning. An increased knowledge of unique gender socialization patterns in the African-American family will aid in assessing the quality of parent-child interaction, provision of structure and rules in the home, minimize tendencies to inappropriately label children as "parentified" and overall, provide a more culturally relevant framework in which to assess and intervene with these families.
APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT
INFORMED CONSENT

This study examines child-rearing practices of African-American mothers, grandmothers and other female caretakers. Your participation is strictly voluntary. This study is conducted by Cherise Carpenter, a social work graduate student at California State University San Bernardino (CSUSB) under the supervision of Dr. Camille Reineke, and with the guidance of Dr. Rosemary McCaslin, Professor of Social Work at CSUSB. The Department of Social Work Subcommittee of the Institutional Review Board of CSUSB has approved this study, and the university requires that you give your consent before participating.

It will take approximately 20-25 minutes for you to complete the survey. You will be asked various questions regarding your parenting role. THIS STUDY IS ANONYMOUS. No information that identifies you personally will be recorded or revealed; information from the study will be reported in group form only. You may change your mind about participating or stop at any time. You may contact Dr. Rosemary McCaslin if you have any questions about the study or your participation. She may be reached at (909) 880-5507. The study results will be available after June 2001, in Pfau Library at CSUSB.

By checking the box provided below and dating this form, you acknowledge that you understand the nature of the study and agree to participate. You also acknowledge that you are at least 18 years of age.

I Agree to Participate in the Study ___________ (check if you agree) Today’s Date Is: ___________
APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHICS SURVEY
DEMOGRAPHICS SURVEY

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY IS TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ABOUT CHILD REARING AND SOCIALIZATION IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES.

Before we discuss your child(ren), will you first give me some information about yourself? .

1. What is your marital status?
   __ Single, never married
   __ Married
   __ Divorced
   __ Separated
   __ Widowed

2. How old are you? ___

3. What is your employment status?
   __ Employed
   __ Unemployed
   __ Retired
   __ Other (specify)
   If employed, what is your occupation? ________________________________

4. What is the highest level of education that you completed?
   __ H.S. Diploma or less
   __ Some College or 2-year Degree
   __ 4-Year Degree
   __ Professional Degree

5. What is your family’s yearly income?
   __ $0 - $9,999 per year
   __ $10,000 - $19,999 per year
   __ $20,000 - $29,999 per year
   __ $30,000 - $39,999 per year
   __ $40,000 - $49,999 per year
   __ $50,000 or more per year
APPENDIX C

PARENTING SURVEY
PARENTING SURVEY 1

Instructions: In answering the following questions, think about your oldest child, age 16 or younger, who lives with you. Your responses should relate to this only. Feel free to make additional comments if you like.

1. What is the age and grade level of your oldest child, age 16 or younger, who lives with you?
   Age ________ Grade level ________

2. Is this child male ________ or female ________? (Check one)

3. How are you related to this child?
   ___ Mother  ___ Grandmother
   ___ Other ___________ (Describe how you are related.)

4. Which of the following words describe this child? Check ALL the words that do a GOOD JOB of describing this child.
   ___ Aggressive
   ___ Emotionally Mature
   ___ Helpful at Home
   ___ Caring/Sensitive
   ___ Athletic
   ___ Responsible
   ___ Strong-Willed
   ___ Hardworking
   ___ Obedient

5. Which one of these values is most important for you to teach this child? (CHECK ONE).
   ___ Doing Well in School
   ___ Being Happy and Feeling Good About Him- or Herself
   ___ Being Obedient and Respectful

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6. Which one of the following would you most like to see this child have as he/she grows up? (CHECK ONE)

___ A strong, loving family
___ A good education and a good job
___ A kind and compassionate personality.

7. Which of these do you consider your most important role in parenting this child? (CHECK ONE).

___ Being a teacher and a guide
___ Being a disciplinarian
___ Being a good provider

8. Which of these discipline strategies do you use most often with this child? (CHECK ONE)

___ Loss of privileges
___ Spankings
___ Reason/logic

Please use the following scale in answering questions 9-12. Fill in the number that best reflects your response.

Will Significantly Affect 1
Will Affect 2
Will Possibly Affect 3
Will Have Little Affect 4
Will Not Affect at All 5

9. To what extent do you believe this child’s gender (being male or female) will affect his/her ability to obtain a college degree? _____

10. To what extent do you believe this child’s gender will affect his/her ability to secure a professional job? _____

11. To what extent do you believe being African-American will affect this child’s ability to obtain a college degree? _____

12. To what extent do you believe being African-American will affect this child’s ability to secure a professional job? _____
13. Do you expect this child to attend college?
   ___ Yes       ___ No

14. How important is it to you that this child attends college? (CHECK ONE)
   ___ Very important
   ___ Somewhat important
   ___ Not important at all

15. Have you discussed possible careers/jobs with this child?
   ___ Yes       ___ No

16. Does this child have a specific job/career interest?
   ___ Yes       ___ No
   If yes, what? __________________________________________

Questions 17 - 23 are designed to gather information about the various beliefs parents have about sex and sex education. For this reason, your honest responses are important.

17. Are you teaching (or will you teach) this child that it is important to get married before having sex?
   ___ Yes       ___ No

18. Are you teaching (or will you teach) this child that it is important to get married before having children?
   ___ Yes       ___ No

19. Would you like for the school to teach this child more about sexuality?
   ___ Yes       ___ No

20. At what age will (did) you allow this child to date? ________
21. How late would (do) you allow this child to stay out on a date?

___ before 9:00pm
___ 9:00pm
___ 10:00pm
___ 11:00pm
___ 12:00 midnight
___ after 12:00 midnight

22. Have you discussed sex/sexuality with this child?

___ Yes ___ No

23. If you have not already, at what age do you plan to discuss sex/sexuality with this child? Age: ___.

24. How important is it that this child learns to perform the following household tasks?

   Very Important 1
   Important 2
   Somewhat Important 3
   Not Very Important 4
   Not Important at All 5

A. General Housecleaning _____
B. Cooking _____
C. Grocery Shopping/Meal Planning _____
D. Emptying the Trash _____
E. Laundry _____
F. Washing Dishes _____

25. If there was an emergency that required you to leave your home for a 48 hour period, how confident are you that this child could function independently (without a caretaker)? Circle the appropriate response below.

   Very Confident 1
   Confident 2
   Somewhat Confident 3
   Not Very Confident 4
   Not Confident at All 5
26. How important is it for you to teach this child the following skills in preparation for independent living?

   Very Important 1
   Important 2
   Somewhat Important 3
   Not Very Important 4
   Not Important at All 5

A. Budgeting and Money Management 
B. Using Public Transportation 
C. Driving a Vehicle 
D. Employment Application and Interviewing 
E. Locating Appropriate Housing (i.e., Apartment Hunting) 

27. At what age do you think this child will be prepared to move out of your home and live independently? Age: 

28. To what extent do you think this child will rely on your emotional support in order to transition to independent living successfully? Place a check mark next to the appropriate response. Only Check one.

   _____ This child will be dependent upon my emotional support.
   _____ This child will need emotional support from me.
   _____ This child may need emotional support from me.
   _____ This child would be able to transition successfully without my emotional support.
PARENTING SURVEY II

INSTRUCTIONS

In the first parenting survey, you answered questions regarding your oldest child, age 16 or younger, who lives with you. Now, please answer the following questions about your second oldest child who is of the opposite gender. For example, if the child you discussed in Parenting Survey I is female, now respond to the following with your male child in mind. If you have more than one child of the opposite gender, choose the child who is closest in age to the child in Parenting Survey I. If you do not have a child of the opposite gender, or any other children, you may disregard this section of the study and submit the Informed Consent, Demographics sheet and

1. What is the age and grade level of your oldest child, age 16 or younger, who lives with you?
   Age _______ Grade level _______

2. Is this child male _______ or female _______? (Check one)

3. How are you related to this child?
   ____ Mother _______ Grandmother
   ____ Other _________ (Describe how you are related.)
4. Which of the following words describe this child? Check ALL the words that do a GOOD JOB of describing this child.

- Aggressive
- Emotionally Mature
- Helpful at Home
- Caring/Sensitive
- Athletic
- Responsible
- Strong-Willed
- Hardworking
- Obedient

5. Which one of these values is most important for you to teach this child? (CHECK ONE).

- Doing Well in School
- Being Happy and Feeling Good About Him- or Herself
- Being Obedient and Respectful

6. Which one of the following would you most like to see this child have as he/she grows up? (CHECK ONE)

- A strong, loving family
- A good education and a good job
- A kind and compassionate personality.

7. Which of these do you consider your most important role in parenting this child? (CHECK ONE).

- Being a teacher and a guide
- Being a disciplinarian
- Being a good provider

8. Which of these discipline strategies do you use most often with this child? (CHECK ONE)

- Loss of privileges
- Spankings
- Reason/logic
Please use the following scale in answering questions 9-12. Fill in the number that best reflects your response.

Will Significantly Affect 1
Will Affect 2
Will Possibly Affect 3
Will Have Little Affect 4
Will Not Affect at All 5

9. To what extent do you believe this child’s gender (being male or female) will affect his/her ability to obtain a college degree? _____

10. To what extent do you believe this child’s gender will affect his/her ability to secure a professional job? _____

11. To what extent do you believe being African-American will affect this child’s ability to obtain a college degree? _____

12. To what extent do you believe being African-American will affect this child’s ability to secure a professional job? _____

13. Do you expect this child to attend college?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

14. How important is it to you that this child attends college? (CHECK ONE)
   ___ Very important
   ___ Somewhat important
   ___ Not important at all

15. Have you discussed possible careers/jobs with this child?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

16. Does this child have a specific job/career interest?
   ___ Yes  ___ No
   If yes, what? ____________________________________________________________
Questions 17 - 23 are designed to gather information about the various beliefs parents have about sex and sex education. For this reason, your honest responses are important.

17. Are you teaching (or will you teach) this child that it is important to get married before having sex?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

18. Are you teaching (or will you teach) this child that it is important to get married before having children?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

19. Would you like for the school to teach this child more about sexuality?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

20. At what age will (did) you allow this child to date?

21. How late would (do) you allow this child to stay out on a date?
   ___ before 9:00pm
   ___ 9:00pm
   ___ 10:00pm
   ___ 11:00pm
   ___ 12:00 midnight
   ___ after 12:00 midnight

22. Have you discussed sex/sexuality with this child?
   ___ Yes  ___ No

23. If you have not already, at what age do you plan to discuss sex/sexuality with this child? Age: ____.
24. How important is it that this child learns to perform the following household tasks?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Important</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Very Important</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Important at All</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. General Housecleaning _____
B. Cooking _____
C. Grocery Shopping/Meal Planning _____
D. Emptying the Trash _____
E. Laundry _____
F. Washing Dishes _____

25. If there was an emergency that required you to leave your home for a 48 hour period, how confident are you that this child could function independently (without a caretaker)? Circle the appropriate response below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confidence</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Confident</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Confident</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Very Confident</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Confident at All</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. How important is it for you to teach this child the following skills in preparation for independent living?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Important</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Very Important</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Important at All</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Budgeting and Money Management _____
B. Using Public Transportation _____
C. Driving a Vehicle _____
D. Employment Application and Interviewing _____
E. Locating Appropriate Housing (i.e., Apartment Hunting) _____

27. At what age do you think this child will be prepared to move out of your home and live independently? Age: ________.
28. To what extent do you think this child will rely on your emotional support in order to transition to independent living successfully? Place a check mark next to the appropriate response. Only Check one.

[ ] This child will be dependent upon my emotional support.
[ ] This child will need emotional support from me.
[ ] This child may need emotional support from me.
[ ] This child would be able to transition successfully without my emotional support.
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

This study examines child-rearing practices of African-American mothers, grandmothers and other female caretakers. This study is conducted by Cherise Carpenter, a social work graduate student at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB). Cherise is under the supervision of Dr. Camille Reineke and the guidance of Dr. Rosemary McCaslin, Professor of Social Work at CSUSB. The Department of Social Work Subcommittee of the Institutional Review Board of CSUSB has approved this study.

THIS STUDY IS ANONYMOUS. No information that identifies you personally has been recorded; information from the study will be reported in group form only. You may contact Dr. Rosemary McCaslin if you have any questions about the study or your participation. She may be reached at (909) 880-5507. The study results will be available in Pfau Library at CSUSB after June 2001.

If you suffer any emotional distress as a result of your participation in the study, you may contact a family service agency for assistance by calling (909) 980-3004.

Your participation is greatly appreciated.
APPENDIX E

SPECIFIC JOB/CAREER INTEREST
Respondents Perception that the Child has a Specific Job/Career Interest, Reported in Percentages by Gender of Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child has a specific job/career interest</td>
<td>58.60</td>
<td>33.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

PRIMARY PARENTING ROLE REPORTED
Respondents Perceptions of Primary Parenting Role Reported in Percentages by Gender of the Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher/Guide</td>
<td>82.10</td>
<td>84.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinarian</td>
<td>10.70</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Provider</td>
<td>7.10</td>
<td>13.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G

DISCIPLINE USED REPORTED
### Most Frequent Form of Discipline Used Reported in Percentages by Gender of the Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of privileges</td>
<td>57.10</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spankings</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason/Logic</td>
<td>39.30</td>
<td>44.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


