

PLACE IN RETURN BOX
 to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
228 JUL 20 2000		JUL 30 2002
DEC 15 2000		
OCT 18 2014		

AFRICAN AMERICAN MOTHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF
GRANDPARENTS' USE OF PROVERBS IN
VALUE SOCIALIZATION OF GRANDCHILDREN

By

Linda Almond McWright

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Family and Child Ecology

1998

Abstract

AFRICAN AMERICAN MOTHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF GRANDPARENTS' USE OF PROVERBS IN VALUE SOCIALIZATION OF GRANDCHILDREN

By

Linda Almond McWright

The purpose of this study was to examine the mothers' perceptions of (a) the intergenerational transmission of values and (b) the transgenerational transmission of the mothers' perception of grandparents' values. Specifically, this study was aimed at determining the relationship between these variables on the value socialization of grandchildren. Further this study explored the usefulness of Ecosystem and Social Exchange Theory in understanding the influence of the proverb transmission process.

The population for this study consisted of 127 mid-western African American mothers. The Family Values Survey was used in this study. The analysis of data included the use of *t*-tests, correlations, and regressions to determine the existence of there relationship specified in the hypotheses. The .05 level of significance was used to analyze the results.

The results of the study suggest that:

1. There was a relationship between the mothers' intergenerational value transmission and the value socialization of their children.
2. There was a relationship between the grandmothers' transgenerational value transmission and the value socialization of their grandchildren.
3. There was no relationship between the grandfathers' transgenerational value transmission and the value socialization of their grandchildren.

Taken as a whole, the findings suggested the usefulness of incorporating propositions drawn from Exchange and Ecosystems Theory into the examination of family values. This study supports the assumption that the child's socialization is related to the parent's and grandparent's value orientation. This study also supports the need to further evaluate the father and grandfather role in the value socialization process their children.

Copyright by
LINDA ALMOND MCWRIGHT
1998

To my parents, Tom and Beulah Almond,
my first teachers, who taught me to love
God and to value myself and the family.
Your love and encouragement was
essential to my success.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the members of my committee: Drs. Lillian Phenice, Lawrence Schiamberg, and Lee June. Your scholarly contributions were greatly appreciated. A special expression of appreciation to Dr. Harriette McAdoo, my chairperson and professional role model, I owe a special debt of gratitude for your unending encouragement and support.

I am also grateful to Dr. Joshua Bagakas, whose research assistance contributed to the strength of this study, and Gloria Harris who provided constant typing, editorial and technical support. Thanks also goes to Drs. George Logan and Maxie Jackson, who have been mentors and helped me understand the world of academia.

I am warmly indebted as well to a number of family members and fictive kin. Over the past seven years my parents, Tom and Beulah Almond, and sisters, Azalee Williams and Thomasa Almond have unselfishly given support in numerous ways. Without their help this dissertation might never have come to fruition. I would also like to thank my brothers and sister, Larry Almond, Henry Almond, and Cynthia Washington for their encouragement. Fictive kin, Shirly Bonds, my “bestest” best friend, thanks for being there through everything!

Finally, a very special thanks to my children, Carter and Latasha, and my goddaughter, Bertha Butler Fabin, for their understanding, patience, and encouragement throughout this academic experience. Your love provided a source of comfort and motivation that was critical to my success.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose of the Study	1
Need for the Study	2
Importance of the Study	3
Assumptions	4
Significance of the Study	4
Conceptual Model	5
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	9
African American Families	9
Current Perceptions of African American Families	10
Values	15
Values and Gender	24
Grandparenting	25
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	29
Sample	29
Data Collection and Procedures	31
Research Design	31
Variables	32
Instruments	34
Research Hypotheses	35
Analysis Plan/Strategies	37
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS	40
Mothers' Belief in Proverbs	40
Mothers' Perception of Grandmother Proverbs	42
Mother-Grandmother Proverb Comparison	45
Mothers' Perception of Grandfather Proverbs	49
Mother-Grandfather Proverb Comparison	50
Proverbs the Mothers Plan to Pass on to Their Children	50
Path Analyses	59
Summary of Findings	61

	<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION	67
Summary	67
Mothers' Proverbs Beliefs	69
Mother and Grandfather Comparisons	70
Mother and Grandmother Comparisons	71
Mother and Child Comparisons	72
Grandmother and Children's Values	73
Grandfather and Children's Values	73
Research Question	74
Limitation of the Study	75
Conclusion	76
Implications	77
Suggestions for Future Research	78
APPENDICES	80
Appendix A: UCRIHS Consent	80
Appendix B: Family Values Scale	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
General References	91

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Traditional Proverbs	21
2. Demographic Characteristics of Sample	30
3. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Mother Believed in	41
4. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Grandmother Believed in and Used Frequently	44
5. Paired t-Test for Differences	46
6. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Grandfather Believed in and Used Frequently	48
7. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Mother Would Like to Hand Down to Her Children	51
8. Factor Analysis of Mothers' and Children's Proverbs	54
9. Factor Analysis of Grandmothers' and Grandfathers' Proverbs	55
10. Zero Correlations of the Variable	58
11. Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses: Child's Values and Predictors, Grandmother, Grandfather, and Mother Values	62
12. Summary of Findings	64

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Ecological Conceptualized Model of Transgenerational Beliefs	8
2. Ecological Conceptualized Model of Transgenerational Beliefs	60
3. Statistical Results of Path Model	63

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine mothers' perceptions of (a) the intergenerational transmission of values and (b) the transgenerational transmission of the mothers' perception of grandparents' values on the socialization of the mothers' children. Further, this study explored the usefulness of Ecosystems and Social Exchange Theory in understanding the influence of the proverb transmission process.

African American proverbs are statements that reflect the shared values, beliefs, and wisdom of the African American culture. Whether the grandparent is present or not, proverbs have linked grandparent to grandchild as a parent used family proverbs in the socialization of their children (Prahald, 1996). Grandparents transgenerationally socialize their grandchildren to cope with daily life situations through the mother's use of proverbs.

Social Exchange Theory and Ecosystems Theory were the theories guiding this study. The overarching hypothesis of this research project was that values are transmitted across the generations, from grandparent to parents to children.

This study addressed transgenerational value transmission by a social-cultural-empirical examination of

proverb transmission using secondary data from the Ethnic Family Research Project (EFRP). Examination of the relationship between selected variables and intergenerational proverb use was conducted with a sample of African American mothers. African American mothers are the subjects under study because past proverb research have found that adults between the ages of 20 and 60 are more likely to understand and use proverbs than people under 20 or over 60 years of age (Nippold, Uhden, & Schwarz, 1997).

Factors found to influence proverb transmission in previous research were explored in this study with African American mothers. They are the mother's proverb belief, the mother's perception of the grandmother's proverb, the mother's perception of the grandfather's proverb, and the proverbs the mothers plan to pass on to their children (Page & Washington, 1987; McAdoo, 1991).

Need for the Study

Grandparents are instrumental in the transmission of family values and beliefs. The transmission of family values is crucial to the maintenance of culture and the socialization of children within families. There is a need to address the impact of African American grandparents on the socio-emotional growth and development of their grandchildren by examining the mother's use of proverbs. There is a need to ascertain whether or not certain values

are emphasized for both the grandparent as well as the grandchild.

If African American undocumented oral presumptions and limited scholarly research findings are accurate, this study will further validate mechanisms and methods of cultural value transmission, specifically through the use of proverbs. Throughout history, African Americans have passed down their traditions, history, and culture through oral traditions; therefore, there is a need to empirically document life experiences relative to value orientations concerning transmission of values from grandparents to grandchildren.

The preponderance of literature on African American grandparents has primarily focused on grandmothers, extended family support networks, and child care, utilizing working or poor female single family structures. The majority of the studies examined the direct dyad interactions of grandparents and grandchildren. These studies significantly added to the understanding of African American grandparenting dynamics. However, they did not address questions regarding cultural belief systems that are passed on from one generation to another.

Importance of the Study

The proposed research was unique in several respects. First, it empirically established intergenerational and transgenerational cultural socialization linkages across

three generations. Second, very few proverb studies have empirically examined mothers' perceptions of proverbs that grandfathers believed in and passed on to their grandchildren. African American grandfather research studies are almost non-existent, leaving one to make generalizations about African American grandfathers that tend to minimize or negate their influence on their grandchildren.

Assumptions

The conceptual model that guided the analysis of the socialization of grandchildren reflected the theoretical influences of the social exchange theory from an ecosystem perspective and conceptual influences of transgenerational proverbs literature as well as the strengths and limitations of the data set. Certain assumptions could be drawn; they were as follows.

1. A child's socialization is related to the parent's and grandparent's value orientation.
2. Proverb transmission is an adaptive strategy for the socialization of children founded in Africa and used throughout the diaspora and continues today.

Significance of the Study

The results of this study were significant because of the educational and family therapy implications for family life education, parent education, and gender issues within families and society at large. In addition, this study

contributed to the literature of gender-related issues found within African American society. Since a large proportion of the proverb literature was conceptual in nature, this study added to the small empirical body of proverb research.

Conceptual Model

The overall conceptual model was based on ecosystem and exchange theories (see Figure 1). The family ecosystem was seen as surrounding the model, explaining the cultural systems within the family system that the child is exposed to on a daily basis. Exchange theory explained the influences of social-cultural factors and suggested both intergenerational and transgenerational effects in assessing value transmission inside the model.

The independent social-cultural variables were divided into two main categories and were viewed as influencing a child's value socialization. These categories are part of the child's family system within the ecosystem. The categories were the intergenerational and transgenerational independent variables. The intergenerational variable pertained to the mother's belief. The transgenerational variables pertained to the mother's perception of the proverb beliefs of the grandmothers and grandfathers.

This ecosystems model emphasized the dynamic interaction and relatedness of family members as well as social and cultural factors (McAdoo, 1993b). Utilizing the ecological framework allowed for the assessment of the

relationship among ecologies of cultural beliefs, adaptive strategies, socialization goals, and developmental outcomes for African American children. Adults in families have formed beliefs about what it means to be a member of that ethnic group and what behaviors and attitudes are reflective of adaptations to that status. These beliefs shape the socialization goals and techniques of ethnic minority families. There are trends or patterns among ethnic minority children that can be attributed directly or indirectly to distinct cultural behavioral patterns found among their families (Harrison, Wilson, Pine Chan, & Buriel, 1990).

The exchange framework was concerned with the dynamics that characterize the exchange relationship and the factors that mediate its formation, maintenance, and breakdown. Social exchanges were characterized by interdependence (Sabatelli & Shehan, 1993). The family's ability to obtain profits in a relationship is contingent on the ability to provide family members with rewards.

Social exchange theory offered an appropriate framework for considering the transmission of proverbs because it addressed the interdependence of individuals inside the family system and the rewards of cultural value transmission. The general proposition of social exchange theory was that humans avoid costly behaviors and seek rewarding statuses, relationships and interactions to the end that their profits are maximized (Jackson, 1993).

Consequently, families continue to do what they found to be rewarding in the past.

Social exchange involved making investments that constitute some level of commitment or obligation to the other party. In this context, proverbs are shared because they have special meaning to family members. There is a mutual trust between family members that the process will not be lost, and a reward system (either internal or external) is linked with the transmission. If an individual adopts a belief in a proverb and receives a certain amount of pleasure (healthy or unhealthy), that individual will be more inclined to share the proverb with other family members. Moreover, once there is family acceptance of a proverb, that family is less likely to consider other proverbs outside of those they already believe in (Jackson, 1993).

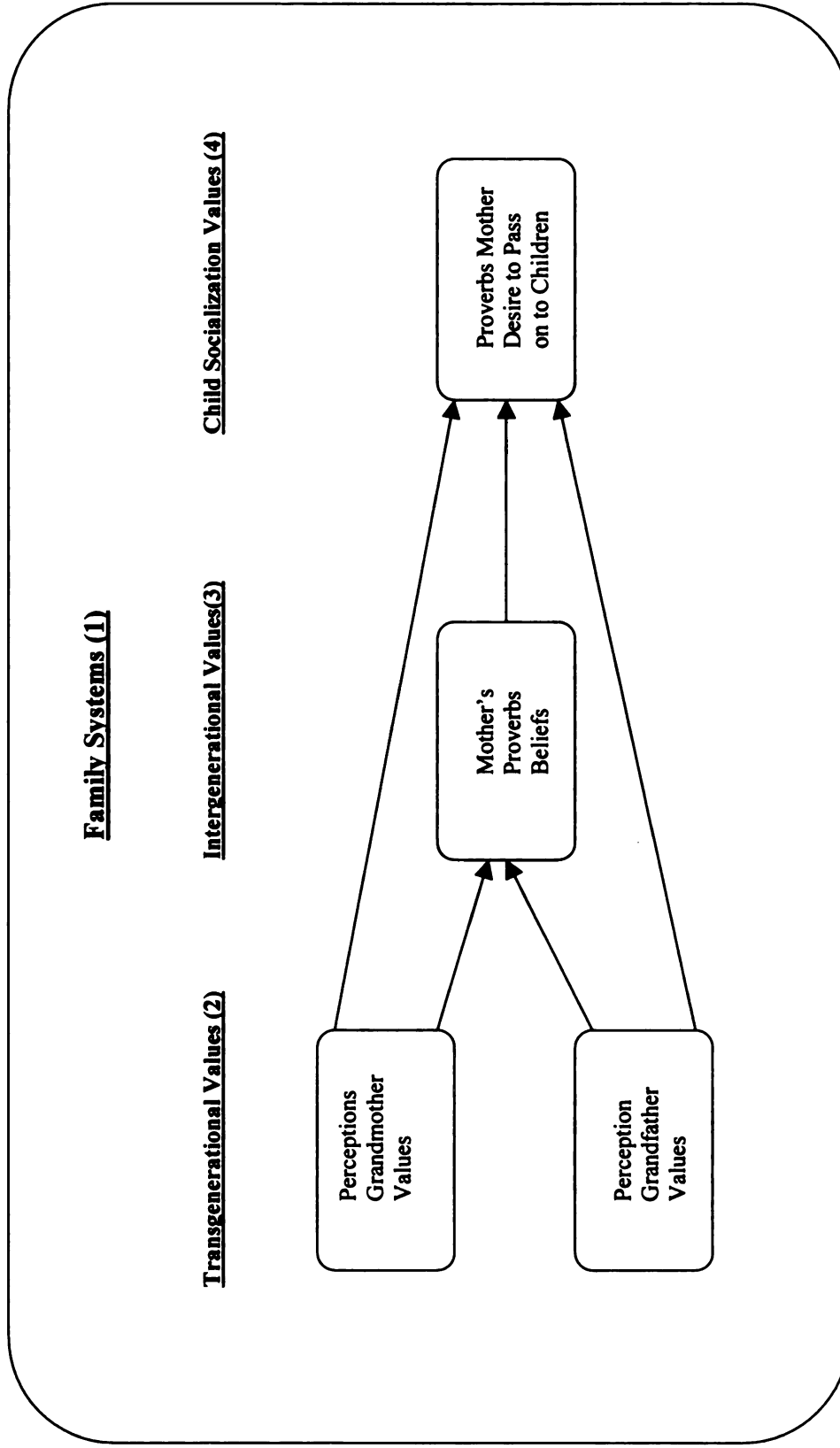


Figure 1. Ecological Conceptualized Model of Transgenerational Beliefs.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

African American Families

There is tremendous cultural diversity within African-American communities in the United States. The prevalent tendency of policymakers has been to categorize African-American families along stereotypical lines. Considering the heterogeneity of cultural variables that are present among African-American families, it should be clear that there is no such entity as the Black family. The great diversity of values, characteristics, and life-styles that arise from such elements as geographic origins, level of acculturation, stages of cultural identity, socioeconomic status, education, religious background, and age reveals such categorization to be inaccurate.

Admittedly, there are some similarities within African-American families; however, African-Americans are not a monolithic group. There are differences among them, and researchers postulate that cultural paradigms or value orientations contribute to the diversity of African-American families in America (Allen, 1978).

In the current study, research trends of African American families were reviewed and presented, along with a discussion of how they apply to research design. There are social economic conditions that face American families in general, as well as cultural issues that confront African

American families specifically. These factors were discussed as they apply to African American families' socialization. Because of the importance of grandparents in African American children's socialization, the empirical literature pertaining to this relationship was also discussed.

Current Perceptions of African American Families

The literature concerning African American families is often complex and conflicting. Many of the heterogeneous factors describing African American families can be attributed to the social-cultural frameworks from which African Americans have been examined. Interdisciplinary researchers, particularly in the past 30 years, have worked to counter the negative images that surround African American families. As a result of their efforts, three conceptualizations emerged in the study of the African American family (Dobson, 1988; McAdoo, 1988a).

The first conceptualization is that African American families are what they are because of poverty. The second concept is that poverty, enslavement, and Reconstruction have left an enduring scar on African American families. The third conceptualization is that African American families are qualitatively different than other families because of the remnants of African culture that they have maintained and that they have adapted to discrimination (Dobson, 1988; McAdoo, 1988b).

These three conceptualizations differ greatly; however, they seem to fall into two schools of thought: the Cultural Ethnocentric School, which employs a deficit model, and Cultural Relativity School, which examines the strengths of families (Dobson, 1988). Allen (1978) categorized these concepts into three theoretical perspectives: cultural deviant, cultural equivalent and cultural variant. The cultural deviant and cultural equivalent paradigms reflected the worldview of researchers and guided cultural ethnocentric research designs until the 1970s (Dilworth-Anderson, Burton & Johnson, 1993; Johnson, 1988).

Culturally Deviant

The first conceptualization, African Americans are what they are because of poverty (Dobson (1988), is consistent with the cultural deviant perspective. The cultural deviant paradigm implies that the African-American family is negative, pathological, and/or functioning inadequately in comparison to the white, middle-class, nuclear family (Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, and Johnson, 1993). If poverty were removed, there would be a convergence of values and structure between all families. According to this paradigm, the more variance there is with normal white families, the more the African-American family is believed to be inadequate and dysfunctional (Allen, 1978; Johnson, 1988). Additionally, the cultural deviant paradigm also assumes that all remnants of the African American family were

destroyed by slavery. This pathological characterization of African-Americans families has been depicted in literature for the past fifty years and is reflected in the Cultural Ethnocentric School of thought (Dobson, 1988).

Culturally Equivalent

The second conceptualization, that poverty, enslavement, and Reconstruction have left an enduring scar on African-American families, is consistent with the cultural equivalent perspective (Johnson, 1988; McAdoo, 1986). The cultural equivalent perspective emphasizes the factors African Americans have in common with mainstream white families (Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993) and describes the African-American family as Puritans when they adopted white morals. The African-American family was not blamed for the problems it faced; racism and discrimination were cited to explain problems in many African-American families. Few positive values were attributed to the unique traits of African-American family structure. When resemblances are found between African-American families and European-American families, the resemblances are assumed to represent similarities in cultural values. Differences between African-American and European-American families are believed to be attributable to the impact of the experiences of slavery and poverty on the former.

Cultural equivalent theorists hold the view that continuing economic and social discrimination against African-Americans is largely to blame for family instability or community problems, not the heritage of slavery, inherent personality flaws, or deviant value systems. For instance, sociologists indicted that there was no evidence to support the common notion that differences are due to the slave experience. Although the cultural equivalent view, like the cultural deviant view, uses the middle-class nuclear family as the standard by which to evaluate African-American families, the researchers who use this perspective do so in a generally positive light and do not focus on dysfunction.

Cultural Variant

The third conceptualization, that African-American families are qualitatively different from families of other ethnic groups, is similar to the cultural variant Perspective (Johnson, 1988; McAdoo, 1986). The cultural variant perspective views African-American families as family forms different from the white norm but still functional (Allen, 1978; Dobson, 1988; Nobles, 1974). The cultural variant framework emphasis culturally and contextually relevant interpretations of African American families (Dobson, 1988; Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993).

Similarly, the cultural relativity school views aspects of African-American culture as qualitatively different from

European-American culture and possibly related to African culture (Dodson, 1988; McAdoo, 1988; Hill 1994). The cultural variant paradigm is underrepresented in African-American literature. However, there are a growing number of researchers who approach the African-American family from this perspective. Researchers suggests that the strength of the developmental cultural variant model promotes the interpretation of family structure and function among African Americans in the context of culture, historical time, economic, social and political change (Dilworth, Burton, & Johnson, 1993).

Of the current theoretical perspectives of African-American families presented above, the first pertains to the impact of poverty and does not address the diversity of socioeconomic status within the African-American population. Thus, it is not applicable to a study of middle class, working and improvised class African-American families. The second conceptualization focuses on comparative studies and assumes that differences between African-American and European-American middle class families are attributable to the negative impact of slavery, poverty and Reconstruction. This perspective does not allow for within-group analysis, nor does it recognize that the differences between African-American and European American families may be attributable to positive aspects of the African-American subculture as opposed to negative ones. Because these two conceptualizations do not account for diversity or positive

differences within African-American families, this researcher adopted the cultural variant perspective which is reflective of the Cultural Relativity School of thought.

Values

Lustig (1994) suggests that value and culture are inextricably linked. Culture exists because individuals follow predictable stable behavior patterns over time such as eating, dressing, and relating socially. These predictable behavior patterns are based upon a form of mental programming called values which govern specific behavior choices.

Lustig further asserts that values are developed as a result of environmental adaptations and historical factors that affect the culture. Environmental adaptations refer to the culture's ability to adjust and modify external forces so that they are consonant with that culture's needs. Such value adaptations allow cultures to survive. Without them, cultures become valueless and disintegrate. Cultural values are further enhanced by historical factors that have become a part of how a culture sees itself and views the world around it. How a culture views power structures, economic systems, traditions, etc., determines value formation for a given culture.

An example of environmental and historical forces that influenced the formation of cultural values can be seen in the way slaves adapted to non-African ways of life. Once

captured, Africans were not allowed to speak their native languages or practice their native customs. African Americans had to learn new and innovative ways of communication because of the oppression of slavery. They were able to transmit culture and values through storytelling, song, dance, music, body language and facial expression (Mitchell, 1986; Daniel & Effinger, 1996; Prahalad, 1996). These kinds of cultural adaptations were consciously developed as survival tools and allowed African Americans to communicate with one another as they interfaced within the constraints of their new environment.

Once formed, a culture's basic values have to be transmitted from one generation to another. Most of these core values are programmed at a very early age. The primary agents for transmitting values are parents; however, the entire folklore of a culture provides messages about the preferred way of thinking, feeling, perceiving, and acting. Cultural values can differ in a variety of ways (Lustig, 1994). Any discussion of a culture's values requires examining ways in which the culture differs between and within groups. One such empirical and ethnographic discussion of values has been provided by several cultural relativity African American scholars.

African American Values

Hill (1971), imploring a cultural relativity approach, used census data to show the strengths of African American

families. He identified five strengths: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation. Billingsly (1992), drawing on the work of several scholars who studied the strengths of African American families, validated and built upon Hill's findings. Other scholars who advocated this viewpoint are Aschenbrenner (1973) and Stack (1974), who studied single-parent and two-parent low income urban families. They found these families held strong values on relationships and kinship ties, reciprocity, fidelity to family obligations, and a commitment to children.

Royce and Turner (1980) and Gray (1983) studied urban samples. Royce and Turner found that African American families placed strong value on teaching children to have self-respect, to be happy, and to develop family cooperation and discipline. Gray, studying two- and one-parent families, found families valued strong kinship bonds, strong achievement orientation, positive parent-child relations, strong religious orientation, intellectual cultural orientation, and strong work orientation.

McAdoo (1979, 1981, 1992) studied the extended family and upward mobility of African Americans. Her findings are similar to those of the above-cited scholars. However, she found that the value of kinship, including fictive kin, relationships, mutual assistance and reciprocity, education of children and self-reliance, were also characteristics of

single- and two-parent middle class families in both the city and suburban areas.

Additionally, Christopherson (1979) studied African American families in eight rural Oklahoma communities. He found that the families valued love of children, accepted children born out of wedlock, and had strong resilience as well as adaptability of family coping skills. Billingsly (1992), drawing on these studies, developed a list of African American family values, some of which are a commitment to education and to self-help, service to others, a strong religious orientation, and a strong work orientation (Billingsly, 1992; Sudarkasa, 1996).

African American Proverbs

For African Americans, the challenges of living have created a distinctive folklore that served as a foundation for the development and transmission of cultural values (Daniel & Effinger, 1996). African Americans have prevailed in the intergenerational oral transmission of culture through the use of proverbs that are repeated over and over to their children and grandchildren (McAdoo, 1991; McAdoo & McWright, 1994; Daniel & Effinger, 1996).

During slavery proverbs served as pearls of wisdom for the survival of the extended family and provided ingenious educational systems because the children were surrounded by the lessons of their ancestors, dead or living, in such a natural way that they didn't recognize the experience as a

lesson. Parents developed instructional and socializing techniques for their children that were difficult to suppress. While parents worked long hours, the task of transmitting the culture fell to elderly grandparents who cared for and taught small children who were too young to work. When children were old enough to work in the fields, their education into the culture continued with the singing of spirituals and work songs, and the telling of stories, proverbs and folktales (Mitchell, 1986).

Most recently, Prahlad (1996), in a social-cultural ethnographic study, examined proverb use and meaning among African Americans in a variety of settings such as pool halls, bars, auto-repair shops, retirement homes, medical offices, churches, basketball courts, and football fields, as well as folklore archives from the University of California, Berkeley, and other researchers. Prahlad found that proverbs were less likely to be used during formal church services and more likely to be used in informal conversations between men and women before and after church services. The greatest percentage of proverb interactions occurred in the home between adults and children. The proverbs were often combined with a facial expression and vocal intonations to reinforce a message.

Prahlad further asserted that proverbs are linked to the historical past as well as the personal past of the user. The user is in some way mediating the link between the past and present as well as mediating symbolic meaning

and value each time a proverb is verbalized. Furthermore, through the process of symbolic meaning, the proverbial items become a folk belief, a truth to live by or a personal motto. In other words, a proverb that was learned by someone whose parents used it repeatedly would have a greater symbolic value for that person than a proverb overheard in a conversation among strangers. In this context, proverbs are instrumental in teaching values.

Several Cultural Relativity family scholars have created a framework to describe and measure proverbs. Imploring a social-cultural contextual approach, Page and Washington (1987) and McAdoo (1991) examined intra-familial, transgenerational cultural linkages by studying maternal proverb transmission and the values inherent in the proverb (see Table 1). Page and Washington (1987) examined the relationship between traditional proverbs and Rokeach's values and the disposition to receive and transmit values intergenerationally. They asked 100 single low-income African American mothers to indicate the traditional values received from their mothers, the values they believe in, and the values they intend to pass on to their children. In their study, there were four top-ranking proverbs that mothers most highly valued. The first proverb, What goes around, comes around, refers to the value of equality. The second proverb, Blood is thicker than water, refers to family security. The third proverb, Cleanliness is next to

Table 1. Traditional Proverbs

Traditional Proverbs

1. It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail.
 2. Don't let no one make you ugly.
 3. You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.
 4. Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.
 5. The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.
 6. Pretty is as pretty does.
 7. What goes around, comes around
 8. The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
 9. All people are created equal.
 10. If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.
 11. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.
 12. Better to be envied than pitied.
 13. Cleanliness is next to Godliness.
 14. Blood is thicker that water.
 15. One cannot live by bread alone.
-

Godliness, refers to equality; and the fourth proverb, If you don't think anything of your self, no one will, refers to ambition. The aforementioned proverbs and Don't count your chickens before they are hatched refer to social control and were the proverbs most of the mothers intended to pass on to their children. These mothers transmitted values related to equality, family security, ambition, and social control.

The most highly-ranked proverbs the subjects reported receiving from their mothers are (a) What goes around, comes around, (b) Blood is thicker than water, (c) Cleanliness is next to Godliness, and (d) Don't count your chickens before they are hatched. These proverbs represent the world views of equality, family security, and self control. The values of family and equality were most highly valued across the three generations.

The proverbs Better be envied than pitied and The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world were the least likely to be well-received and passed on to their children. These proverbs measured the values of self-respect and sense of accomplishment. The values the single mothers seem to embrace were those that promote family, community, and independence, while those least embraced were individually-centered values.

Page and Washington summarized that the value of independence was reflective of African American women who were socialized to be assertive and take care of themselves

and their children, with or without a mate. Or, it could be these single mothers, out of a need to survive, have abandoned more feminine values for more feminist values long before it was politically correct to do so.

McAdoo (1991), building upon Page & Washington's research, studied transgenerational values and outcomes for children. She collected data from parents whose children were participating in church afterschool programs for working parents. She examined the traditional and contemporary proverbs beliefs of the parents. McAdoo found that African American parents valued these proverbs: (a) Don't count your chicken's before they are hatched, (b) One cannot live by bread alone, (c) What goes around, comes around, (d) It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail, and (e) The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice. These working and middle class parents stressed values that were family-oriented, that promoted self-sufficiency, self-esteem and positive racial attitudes. McAdoo concluded that the family and work values African Americans have cherished in the past are fundamental in the socialization of African American children today.

McAdoo's and Page and Washington's studies are significant in intergenerational value literature as they established normative measures for assessing and interpreting cultural norms (Prahlad, 1996). However, these studies were somewhat limited. Page and Washington's sampled poor single mothers; working and middle class

mothers were not examined. Conversely, McAdoo studied working and middle class parents; both mothers and fathers were the unit of analysis. Both of the studies examined maternal value transmission. The values that grandfathers believed in and passed on were not mentioned.

Values and Gender

Rokeach (1973) studied the value orientation of a cross sample of white and African American males and females of all ages and social economic status. He found that men placed a higher value on an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, social recognition, and freedom. Men were more materialistic, achievement focused, and intellectually oriented, as well as pleasure seeking. Conversely, women valued world peace, happiness, inner harmony, and salvation. Women seemed more oriented toward religious values, personal happiness, love, a personal life free of conflict, and a world free of international conflict.

Socialization literature suggests that society socializes men and women differently. Men are conditioned to value achievement and intellectual pursuits, while women are socialized to value love, affiliation, and the family (Rokeach, 1973). When both hold the same values, men tend to be less attentive than women to links between the environment and things they value (Stern, Dietz, & Kalof, 1993; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). For grandparents it would appear that gender socialization may lead grandmothers to

focus more on values related to the grandchildren's health and well-being, and grandfathers on values related to grandchildren's economic well-being (Stern, Dietz, & Kalof, 1993; McAdoo & McWright, 1994).

Grandparenting

Grandparents play an important role in the transmission of culture, giving children and grandchildren a sense of continuity, identity, and family history (Creasey, 1993; Hilton & Macari, 1997). Grandparents view themselves within the framework of five structural types: formal, funseeker, surrogate parent, reservoir of family wisdom, and distant figure (Neugarten and Weinstein, 1964; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). The grandparents assuming a formal role maintain constant interest in the child and maintain well-documented lines between parenting and grandparenting. The funseeker grandparent tends to be more informal and playful, and mutual satisfaction characterizes the relationship. The grandparent functioning as surrogate parent is usually a grandmother who assumes caretaking responsibilities for the grandchildren at the initiative of an adult daughter. The fourth structural type, reservoir of family wisdom, is a grandfather-identified role as dispenser of special skills and resources. The lines of authority between generations are clearly marked. Finally, the grandparent as a distant figure is characterized by benevolent grandparents who maintain infrequent contact with the child.

Kornhaber and Woodward (1981), in a study of grandparent/grandchild relationships, revealed emotional attachment to be a fundamental component of the relationship for children. Using qualitative data, the authors identified several modes of attachment that existed between grandchildren and grandparents: (a) the grandparent as the essence of family bonds; (b) the grandparent as a constant object in the life of the children, who knew their grandparents through personal experience and through stories; (c) grandparents as teachers of basic skills; (d) grandparents as negotiators between children and parents, helping one to understand the other; (e) same-sexed grandparents as role models for adulthood; (f) grandparents as connections between the past and future, giving a sense of historical and cultural rootedness; (g) grandparents as determinants of how the young feel about the old in society; and (h) grandparents as great parents, providing a secure and loving adult/child relationship that is next in emotional power only to the relationship with parents. It can be proposed that these bonds between grandparent and grandchildren represent ways in which the grandparents/grandchildren functions as a resource for the family and its members.

Grandparents serve as a comfort to both adult children and grandchildren (Hagestad, 1985; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). For grandchildren, grandparents often serve as a source of companionship, confidantes, and advice-givers (Dellmann-

Jenkins, Papalia, & Lopez, 1987; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). Kornhaber and Woodward (1981) studied the roles of grandparents from the grandchild's perspective. The sample involved 300 grandchildren, 5 to 8 years of age, and five specific roles from the grandchild's perspective were identified: historian, mentor, role model, wizard, and nurturer/great parent. Historian grandparents provided both a cultural and familial sense of history. Mentor grandparents offered wisdom, taught children to work with the basics of life, and deepened sex-role identity. Role model grandparents served as examples for the children's future roles as grandparents, for aging, and for family relationships. The fourth role, wizard grandparents, were magical to children, telling stories and stoking the child's imagination. The fifth role, nurturer, was the most basic role that grandparents played, widening the support system for grandchildren. Kornhaber & Woodward's summary of interviews failed to differentiate findings by race, gender, or social class.

These studies showed the significance of emotional attachments between grandparents and grandchildren. The attachment is unique in that the relationship is exempt from the psycho-emotional intensity and responsibility that exists in parent/child relationships (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). The love, nurturance, and acceptance that grandchildren have found in the grandparent/grandchild relationship conferred a natural form

of social immunity on children which they could not get from any other person or institution (Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; McAdoo & McWright, 1994).

Grandparents function as a family resource for bridging the past, present, and future for younger generations, giving them a sense of security, aiding in their ego development, and offering them a vision of the future (Baranowski, 1982; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; McAdoo & McWright, 1994).

This study addressed several research questions:

1. Are traditional African American proverbs a viable method to assess the social-cultural linkage between grandparent and grandchild?
2. To what extent are the use of African American proverbs handed down from grandparent to parent to grandchild.
3. Do proverb transmissions differ based on the gender of the grandparents as perceived by the mother?
4. What are the mother's values inherent in African American proverbs?
5. Are there relationships between the grandmother and grandfather values and the socialization values of their grandchildren?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The data for this study was drawn from the Ethnic Families Research Project (EFRP) data set. The proposed unit of analysis for this study consisted of 127 African American women who were raising learning disabled elementary or middle school age children. A summary of the demographic and background characteristics of the overall sample is provided (Table 2). Data on the grandparents and children were collected from the mothers who participated in the study. The majority of the respondents were biological mothers, while 11% were extended family members in the parenting role (grandparents, aunts and sisters). The mothers ranged in age from 21 to 60 years, with a mean age of 34 years. Most of the mothers, 57%, were previously married, and 42% were never married.

The mean years of education completed by the mothers was 12.4 years. Of the sample, 28% of the mothers reported being middle class, 28% were working class and 42% were impoverished. The average number of children per household was 3.2. The mean age of the children was 9 years; 65% were males and 35% were females.

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Characteristics	%	M	SD
Mother's Age		34.0	8.30
21 - 35	65		
36 - 60	<u>35</u>		
	100		
Child characteristics			
Age (range = 7 - 12)		9.00	2.5
Gender			
Male	65		
Female	<u>35</u>		
	100	1.35	.48
Highest grade completed		12.4	8.01
Less than 12th grade	35		
12th grade	41		
Postsecondary	<u>24</u>		
	100		
Social Status			
Impoverished class	42	1.96	1.09
Working class	30		
Middle class	<u>28</u>		
	100		
Relationship to child			
Biological mother	89		
Extended family member	<u>11</u>		
	100		
Current marital status			
Never married	57		
Married	<u>43</u>		
	100		
Number of Children in Household		3.20	1.84

Data Collection and Procedures

Permission for the EFRP study was granted by the Michigan State University Human Subjects Review Committee (UCRIHS) (see Appendix A). The original survey, which began in 1995, involved a Midwestern sample of 259 African American and Mexican American parents. The families were recruited through community centers, public agencies, and schools in two metropolitan cities. From the targeted areas, community residents, public agencies, and school personnel identified potential respondents from African American families. Potential respondents were screened by telephone, and face-to-face interviews of 2-1/2 hours in duration were conducted with those who qualified and who were willing to participate. Each family was given \$25 for its participation.

Research Design

A correlational design used to achieve the objectives of this study contained one set of dependent variables: the proverbs the mother plans to pass on to her children. The three independent variables are (a) the proverbs the mother believed in; (b) the mother's perception of the proverbs the grandmother believed in; and (c) the mother's perception of the proverbs the grandfather believed in. This study assessed the extent to which the data available for this study were consistent with the model presented in Figure 1.

Variables

The following independent variables are used in this study. All of the proverbs are measured, based upon the mother's response to 15 traditional proverbs in the Family Values Scale.

Intergenerational Variables

1. Mother's Proverbs

Conceptual Definition: Mother's proverbs describes the proverbs that the mother believes.

Operational Definition: Self report of the mother's agreement with the truth in the proverb.

Mother's Values

Conceptual Definition: Mother's values describes the values the mother believes.

Operational Definition: The value belief related to the proverb.

Transgenerational Variables

2. Grandmother's Proverbs

Conceptual definition: Grandmother's proverbs describes the mother's perception of the proverbs her mother told her.

Operational Definition: The mother's self report of the proverbs her mother believed and used.

Grandmother's Values

Conceptual definition: Grandmother's values describes the mother's perception of the values her mother told her.

Operational Definition: The value belief related to the proverb.

3. Grandfather's Proverbs

Conceptual Definition: Grandfather's proverbs describes the mother's perception of the proverbs her father believed in and used.

Operational Definition: The mother's self report of the proverbs her father used and passed on to her.

Grandfather's Values

Conceptual Definition: Grandfather's values describes the mother's perception of the values her father believed in and used.

Operational Definition: The value belief related to the proverbs.

Dependent Variable

Child's Socialization Variables

Grandchild's Proverbs

Conceptual Definitions: Grandchild's proverbs describes the proverbs the mothers passed on to her children.

Operational Definition: Self report of the proverbs the mother passed on to her children.

Grandchildren's Values

Conceptual Definition: Grandchildren's values describes the value belief related to the values the mothers wanted to pass on to her children.

Operational Definition: The values related to the proverbs.

Instruments

The Family Value Scale (Appendix B).

The instrument included 15 traditional proverbs that assessed the beliefs of African American adults (Page & Washington, 1987). The Southern, church-based proverbs examined the intrafamilial and transgenerational transmission of values of African Americans (McAdoo, 1994). Page and Washington's instrument contained three proverb indexes. This was a 45-item scale with 3 subscales: 1) The proverbs the mother believed in; 2) The proverbs the grandmother believed in; and 3) The proverbs mother planned to pass on to her children. Each of the three proverb scales were presented on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 = never used proverb, and 5 = believed in and used frequently. For this study, the first index, Mother Proverbs, had a Cronbach's alpha score of .71. For the second index, Grandmother Proverbs, the alpha score was .83; and the third

index, Child Proverbs, had a Cronbach's alpha reliability score of .96. McAdoo (1991) added to the instrument by including the index Grandfather Proverbs. The grandfather proverb scale Cronbach's alpha for this study was .79.

Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were based on the research questions along with the review of literature.

Hypothesis 1

Null Hypothesis 1

The mothers' belief in proverbs will be dissimilar to those beliefs found in the literature.

Alternative Hypothesis 1

The mothers' belief in proverbs will be similar to those beliefs as found in the literature.

Hypothesis 2

Null Hypothesis 2

The mothers' proverb beliefs will be significantly different to their perception of the grandmothers' belief in proverbs.

Alternative Hypothesis 2

The mothers' proverb beliefs will not be significantly different than their perception of the grandmothers' belief in proverbs.

Hypothesis 3

Null Hypothesis 3

The mothers' belief in proverbs are unrelated to their perception of the grandfathers' belief in proverbs.

Alternative Hypothesis 3

The mothers' belief in proverbs will not be significantly different than their perception of the grandfathers' belief in proverbs.

Hypothesis 4

Null Hypothesis 4

The mothers' proverbs beliefs are unrelated to the proverbs she plans to pass on to her children.

Alternative Hypothesis 4

The mothers' proverb beliefs will not be significantly different than the proverbs she plans to pass on to her children.

Hypothesis 5

Null Hypothesis 5

There are no relationships between the Mother Value Index and the Child Value Index.

Alternative Hypothesis 5

There are positive significant relationships between the Mother Value Index and the Child Value Index.

Hypothesis 6

Null Hypothesis 6

There are no relationships between the Grandmother Value Index and the Children Value Index.

Alternative Hypothesis 6

There are positive significant relationships between the Grandmother Value Index and the Child Value Index.

Hypothesis 7

Null Hypothesis 7

There are no relationships between the Grandfather Value Index and the Children Value Index.

Alternative Hypothesis 7

There are positive significant relationships between the grandfather Value Index and the Child Value Index.

Hypothesis 8

Null Hypothesis 8

There will be no transgenerational effect between the factor analyzed the Grandmother Value Index and the factor analyzed the Children Value Index.

Alternative Hypothesis 8

There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the factor analyzed the Grandmother Value Index and the factor analyzed the Children Value Index.

Hypothesis 9

Null Hypothesis 9

There will be no transgenerational effect between the Grandfather Value Index and the Children Value Index.

Alternative Hypothesis 9

There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the factor analyzed Grandfather Value Index and the factor analyzed Children Value Index.

Analysis Plan/Strategies

Data analyses involved the following statistics:

1. Descriptive statistics: Mean ranking were used to determine the distributional characteristics of each of the variables. The means were employed only as a convenience of

description and do not enter into calculations or statements of statistical significance (Rokeach, 1973). A t-test was computed to test for differences in characteristics among the four domains.

2. Principal component factor analyses were conducted to determine which proverbs clustered together to ascertain the strongest values inherent in the proverbs and to further examine the relationship between the mother and child values as well as the grandmother and grandfather values the mother plans to pass on to her children. There is no statistical test of significance for factor analysis; however, the general consensus among researchers is that a factor loading greater than .25 to .30 is substantial (Nihira, Weisner, & Bernheimer, 1994). Page and Washington (1987) and McAdoo (1991) choose a .50 loading or greater. For the purposes of this study, the coefficient loadings of .50 or greater were included in each factor. The mean scores of each of the factors were summed to develop a value index (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1993). The first coefficient loading in each factor was used to determine the value labels of each factor grouping (Berg and Gall, 1983).

3. Zero-order correlation was used to examine the extent of the association among the variables and the associations between the independent variables and the proverbs passed on to the grandchild (Page & Washington, 1987; McAdoo, 1991).

4. Path analyses were used to determine if an indirect relationship existed between the predictor variables and the dependent variables (Berg & Gall, 1983).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this chapter, the data obtained from the study were presented and analyzed. Each hypotheses was stated as an alternative and tested by the data.

Mother's Belief in Proverbs

Hypothesis 1. The mother's belief in proverbs will be similar to the traditional African American beliefs found in the literature.

Hypothesis 1 was not rejected. To test the hypothesis, mothers' proverb beliefs were assessed using the Mother Proverb Index of the Family Values Scale. The higher scores reflected stronger agreement with the proverb (5 = high and 1 = low. The mean measure of central tendency was used to determine what proverbs the mothers' believed. The mean ranking provided a relative position of a particular value in the total hierarchy of values.

The mothers' proverb beliefs mean scores ranged from 4.61 to 3.03. According to the mean ranking, the mothers' top four most valued proverbs were ranked as follows: (a) If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will ($M=4.61$); (b) What goes around comes around ($M=4.52$); (c) Cleanliness is next to Godliness ($M=4.50$); and (d) Blood is thicker than water ($M=4.48$). These proverbs represented values related

Table 3. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Mother Believed in (N = 127)

Proverbs	Rank	M	SD
If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.	1	4.61	.79
What goes around comes around.	2	4.52	.81
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.	3	4.50	.72
Blood is thicker than water.	4	4.48	.85
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	5	4.41	.84
Don't let no one make you ugly.	6	4.35	.97
One cannot live by bread alone.	7	4.31	1.02
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.	8	4.11	1.03
All people are created equal.	9.5	3.95	1.39
The blacker the berry the sweeter the juice.	9.5	3.95	1.17
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.	11	3.80	1.09
It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail.	12	3.56	1.30
Pretty is as pretty does.	13	3.48	1.24
Better to be envied than pitied.	14	3.43	1.17
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.	15	3.03	1.23

to self respect, fairness, spirituality, and family connectedness (Page & Washington, 1987; McAdoo, 1991, 1993). There was evidence to suggest that the mothers' beliefs were similar to traditional African American values cited by Billingsly (1992) which stressed family and religious values (see Table 3).

The four lowest mean ranking proverbs were: (12) It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail ($M=3.56$); (13) Pretty is as pretty does ($M=3.48$); (14) Better be envied than pitied ($M=3.43$); and (15) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world ($M=3.03$). These proverbs were the same as the ones in Page and Washington's (1987) findings and represented assertiveness, social recognition, positive self image, and respect of the mother's role in the family.

Mother's Perception of Grandmother Proverbs

The grandmother's proverbs were assessed using the Perception of Grandmother's Proverb Index of the Family Values Scale. The higher scores reflected stronger agreement with the proverb (5 = high and 1 = low). The first step in the analyses was to ascertain which of the grandmothers' proverbs the mothers perceived as important. Mean ranking was used to determine the highest ranking proverb. The second step of the analysis was to compare each grandmother's proverb with the mother's proverb belief. Paired t-tests were used to determine the significant differences between the variables. The same procedure was

used to test the mothers' perceptions of the Grandfather Values Index and the Children Values Index.

Hypothesis 2: The mothers' proverb beliefs will not be significantly different than their perception of the grandmothers' belief in proverbs.

Hypothesis 2 was not rejected. There were no statistically significant differences between the Mother and Grandmother proverbs for 7 of the 15 proverbs. Mean ranking of the grandmother's most valued proverbs were: (a) If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will ($M=4.29$); (b) Blood is thicker than water ($M=4.29$); (c) What goes around comes around ($M=4.20$); and (d) Don't count your chickens before they are hatched ($M=4.19$), respectively (see Table 4). These proverbs are related to self respect, family connectedness, fairness, and caution (Page & Washington, 1987). The above proverbs were similar to the proverbs ranked highest by the grandmothers in Page and Washington's study.

The grandmothers' least valued proverbs were ranked as follows: (12) Pretty is as pretty does ($M = 3.24$); (13) It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail ($M = 2.89$); (14) Better be envied than pitied ($M = 2.86$); and (15) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world ($M = 2.85$).

Table 4. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Grandmother Believed in and Used Frequently (N = 127)

Proverbs	Rank	M	SD
If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.	1.5	4.29	1.41
Blood is thicker than water.	1.5	4.29	1.41
What goes around comes around.	3	4.20	1.55
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	4	4.19	1.38
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.	5	4.11	1.52
One cannot live by bread alone.	6	4.07	1.54
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.	7	4.02	1.59
All people are created equal.	8	3.90	1.63
Don't let no one make you ugly.	9	3.88	1.61
The blacker the berry the sweeter the juice.	10	3.65	1.68
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.	11	3.36	1.73
Pretty is as pretty does.	12	3.24	1.81
It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail.	13	2.89	1.82
Better to be envied than pitied.	14	2.86	1.68
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.	15	2.85	1.67

These proverbs are similar to those in Page and Washington's (1987) findings and are related to social recognition, assertiveness, positive self image, and respect of the mother's role in the family.

Mother-Grandmother Proverb Comparison

The proverbs (a) If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will; (b) Blood is thicker than water; and (c) What goes around comes around were listed among the most valued proverbs for the mothers and the grandmothers. These high ranking proverbs were related to self respect, family connectedness, and fairness. The four low ranking proverbs for the mothers and grandmothers were (a) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, (b) Better be envied than pitied, (c) Pretty is as pretty does, and (d) It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail. These proverbs were related to the mother's role in the family, positive self image, social recognition, and assertiveness.

To test the statistical differences of the mean ranking comparisons, paired t-test were conducted. There were no statistically significant differences between the mothers and grandmothers for 7 of the 15 proverbs (see Table 5). The proverbs were: (a) Don't count your chickens before they are hatched; (b) The darkest hour is just before the dawn; (c) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world; (d) Blood is thicker than water; (e) The blacker the berry the

Table 5 : Paired t-test for differences.

Independent Variables	<u>Mother</u>		<u>Grandmother</u>		t-value	df
	<u>Mean</u>	(SD)	<u>Mean</u>	(SD)		
Poor Dog	3.57	(1.32)	2.92	(1.82)	4.12	120***
You Ugly	4.33	(.98)	3.89	(1.62)	2.99	122**
See Valley	4.13	(1.0)	3.36	(1.73)	4.95	122***
Goes Around	4.51	(.81)	4.20	(1.55)	2.22	123*
Anything Yourself	4.60	(.80)	4.29	(1.41)	2.53	122*
Envied Pitied	3.44	(1.18)	2.86	(1.51)	3.79	122***
Cleanliness	4.49	(.73)	4.11	(1.51)	2.90	122*
Bread Alone	4.34	(.98)	4.06	(1.54)	2.18	122*
	<u>Mother</u>		<u>Child</u>			
Darkest Hour	3.80	(3.39)	1.09	(1.79)	2.74	126*

$p < .001^{***}$

$p < .01^{**}$

$p < .05^{*}$

sweeter the juice; (f) Pretty is as pretty does; and (g) All people are created equal. These proverbs are related to the values of caution, spirituality, mother's role in the family, family connectedness, positive racial identity, social recognition, and equality.

The mothers' beliefs that were significantly stronger than the grandmothers' proverbs were (a) It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail ($M = 3.57$; $t = 4.12$; $p \leq .000$); (b) Don't let no one make you ugly ($M = 4.33$; $t = 2.99$; $p = .000$); (c) You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill ($M = 4.13$; $t = 4.95$; $p = .000$); (d) What goes around comes around ($M = 4.51$; $t = 2.22$; $p = .028$); (e) If you don't think anything of yourself no one will ($M = 4.60$; $t = 2.53$; $p = .013$); (f) Better be envied than pitied ($M = 3.44$; $t = 3.70$; $p = .000$); (g) Cleanliness is next to Godliness ($M = 4.49$; $t = 2.90$; $p = .004$); and (h) One can not live by bread alone ($M = 4.34$; $t = 2.18$; $p = .031$). These proverbs are related to assertiveness, responsibility, perseverance, fairness, self respect, positive self image, spirituality, and family connectedness (Page & Washington, 1987; McAdoo, 1991). There was sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis.

Table 6. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Grandfather Believed in and Used Frequently (N = 127)

Proverbs	Rank	M	SD
Blood is thicker than water.	1	4.54	1.67
If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.	2	4.34	1.83
What goes around comes around.	3	4.33	1.81
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.	4	4.27	1.83
The blacker the berry the sweeter the juice.	5	4.21	1.87
One cannot live by bread alone.	6	4.19	1.92
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	7	4.15	1.92
Don't let no one make you ugly.	8	4.13	1.91
All people are created equal.	9	4.11	1.96
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.	10	4.04	2.06
Pretty is as pretty does.	11	3.84	2.09
It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail.	12	3.61	2.17
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.	13	3.58	2.13
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.	14	3.15	2.16
Better to be envied than pitied.	15	3.14	2.19

Hypothesis 3: The mothers' beliefs in the proverbs will not be significantly different than her perception of the grandfathers' belief in proverbs.

Hypothesis 3 was not rejected. There were no significant differences between the beliefs of the mothers' proverbs and grandfathers' proverbs. The mean ranking between the two groups were similar (Table 6) and paired t-test revealed no significant differences between the mothers' proverbs and grandfathers' proverbs.

Mother's Perception of Grandfather Proverbs

The mothers' perception of the grandfather's most valued proverbs were: (a) Blood is thicker than water ($M = 4.54$); (b) If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will ($M = 4.34$); (c) What goes around comes around ($M = 4.33$); and (d) Cleanliness is next to Godliness ($M = 4.27$). These proverbs are related to family connectedness, self respect, fairness, and spirituality.

The least valued proverbs were: (a) It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail ($M = 3.61$); (b) The darkest hour is just before the dawn ($M = 3.58$); (c) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world ($M = 3.15$); and (d) Better to be envied than pitied ($M = 3.14$). These proverbs reflect assertiveness, spirituality, mother's role in the family, and positive self image.

Mother-Grandfather Proverb Comparison

The top four ranking proverbs the mothers' believed in were the same proverbs that the grandfathers believed in. The proverbs The hand that rock the cradle rules the world and Better be envied than pitied were low ranking for both the mother's proverbs and the grandfather's proverbs. These proverbs are related to the mother's role in the family and positive self image. Statistical analysis revealed no significant differences between the beliefs of the two groups.

Hyp. 4 The mothers' proverb beliefs will not be significantly different than the proverbs she plans to pass on to her children.

Hypothesis 4 was not rejected. There were no significant differences between the beliefs of the mothers' proverbs and the proverbs they planned to pass on to their children. Mean ranking was used to determine what proverbs the mothers planned to pass on to their children. Paired t-tests were used to determine the significance differences between the variables.

Proverbs the Mothers Plans to Pass on to Their Children

The proverbs the mothers planned to pass on to their children were (a) If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will ($M = 4.61$); (b) Blood is thicker than water ($M = 4.41$); (c) Don't count your chickens before they are hatched

Table 7. Rank Order of Means for Proverbs the Mother Would Like to Hand Down to Her Children (N = 127)

Proverbs	Rank	M	SD
If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.	1	4.61	1.08
Blood is thicker than water.	2	4.41	1.19
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	3.5	4.40	1.22
Don't let no one make you ugly.	3.5	4.40	1.27
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.	5	4.38	1.29
What goes around comes around.	6	4.33	1.36
All people are created equal.	7.5	4.17	1.50
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.	7.5	4.17	1.40
One cannot live by bread alone.	9	4.08	1.55
The blacker the berry the sweeter the juice.	10	3.74	1.63
Pretty is as pretty does.	11	3.68	1.67
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.	12	3.39	1.75
Better to be envied than pitied.	13	3.22	1.72
It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail.	14	3.21	1.75
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.	15	2.89	1.63

($M = 4.40$); and (d) Don't let no one make you ugly ($M = 4.40$) (see Table 7). These proverbs were related to self respect, family connectedness, caution, and personal power. The proverbs the mothers were least likely to pass on to their children were (a) Pretty is as pretty does ($M = 3.68$), (b) The darkest hour is just before the dawn ($M = 3.39$), (c) It's a poor dog that won't wag it's own tail ($M = 3.21$), and (d) The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world ($M = 2.89$). These proverbs were related to social recognition, spirituality, assertiveness, and the mother's role in the family.

T-tests comparing the mean responses of the mothers' proverb reference group and the proverbs the mothers plan to pass on to their children indicated there were no differences in 14 of the proverbs she planned to pass on to her children. However, a significant difference was found in one of the 15 variables (Table 5). Specifically, the mothers reported stronger agreement with The darkest hour is just before the dawn ($M = 3.80$; $t = 2.74$; $p = .05$). There was sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis.

Principal components factor analyses were conducted to determine which proverbs cluster together. The variables rotated into five factors. The first three factors were selected. Factor loading in the 4th and 5th rotation were eliminated due to one-item loading and/or low coefficient scores. The factors are listed in Tables 9 and 10. The mean scores of each factor were summed to develop a value

index (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1993). Each factor was tested for reliability. Factors with alpha scores over .50 were included in the value index. The factors appeared to measure several values, to list them all in this discussion would be very confusing, therefore the established rule of factor labeling was used in this study. The first coefficient loading in each factor, which is the strongest coefficient, was used to determine the value dimension of each factor grouping (Berg and Gall, 1983; Jaeger, 1990).

For the mothers, coefficients loading on Factor 1 appeared to measure the dimension of perseverance (see Table 8). The variables loading on Factor 2 appeared to reflect the dimension of positive self image. The variables loading on Factor 3 seemed to be related to family connectedness. The three factors that represented the factor analyzed values of the Mother Value Index were perseverance, positive self image, and family connectedness. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the total Mother Values Index was .72.

The grandmother proverbs represented the value dimension of family connectedness on Factor 1 (see Table 9). Factor 2 reflected values of positive self image. The proverbs loading on Factor 3 seemed to reflect the value dimension of perseverance. Factors 1 and 2 were included in the grandmothers Value Index. Factor 3 was eliminated because the Cronbach's alpha was .109. The Grandmother Values Index consisted of the values of family connectedness

Table 8: Factor Analysis of Mothers' and Children's Proverbs

Mothers' Proverbs	Mother's Factors		
	1	2	3
Perseverance			
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.	.76		
Don't count the chickens before they are hatched.	.70		
Pretty is as pretty does.	.59		
Self Image			
Better be envied than pitied.		.67	
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.		.60	
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.		.58	
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.		.57	
Family Connectedness			
Blood is thicker than water.			.80
What goes around , comes around			.67
Children's Proverbs	Children's Factors		
	1	2	3
Family Connectedness			
Blood is thicker than water.	.77		
If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.	.72		
Cleaniness is next to Godliness.	.69		
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	.59		
What goes around, comes around.	.55		
Spirituality			
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.		.74	
All people are created equal.		.70	
Don't let no one make you ugly.		.65	
It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.		.56	
Positive Racial Identity			
The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.			.76
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.			.65
Better be envied than pitied.			.52
Pretty is as pretty does.			.52

Table 9: Factor Analysis of the Grandmothers' and Grandfathers' Proverbs

Grandmothers' Proverbs	Grandmothers' Factors		
	1	2	3
Family Connectedness			
Blood is thicker than water.	.86		
Cleanliness is next to Godliness	.75		
What goes around, comes around.	.72		
One cannot live by bread alone.	.68		
The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.	.60		
If you don't think anything of yourself no one will.	.59		
Positive Self Image			
Better be envied than pitied.		.79	
It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.		.70	
Pretty is as pretty does.		.63	
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.		.63	
Perseverance			
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.			.72
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.			.53
Grandfathers' Proverbs	Grandfathers' Factors		
	1	2	3
Family Connectedness			
Blood is thicker than water.	.87		
What goes around, comes around.	.77		
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.	.75		
Cleanliness is next to Godliness.	.72		
The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.	.70		
If you don't think anything of yourself no one will.	.64		
Perseverance			
It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.		.83	
You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.		.75	
Don't let no one make you ugly.		.69	
The darkest hour is just before the dawn.		.61	
Positive Self Image			
Better be envied than pitied.			.80
All people are created equal.			.66
The had that rocks the cradle rules the world.			.65
Pretty is as pretty does.			.63
One cannot live by bread alone.			.52

and positive self image. The overall reliability of the index was .55.

The grandfather proverbs on Factor 1 represent values that seem to measure family connectedness (See Table 9). Factor 2 denoted values related to perseverance, while Factor 3 depicted values related to positive self image. The Grandfather Values Index represented the factor analyzed values of family connectedness, perseverance, and positive self image. The overall reliability for the index was .96. The Grandfather Value Index internal consistency score was the highest of the four indexes.

The proverbs the mothers would like to pass on to their children represent values related to family connectedness on Factor 1 (See Table 8). Factor 2 depicted value dimensions of spirituality, while positive racial attitude was measured in Factor 3. The overall reliability for the Children Values Index was .79. The children factor analyzed values were family connectedness, spirituality, and positive racial attitude.

Zero Order Correlations were conducted to examine relationships between the factor analyzed value indices (See Table 10).

Hypothesis 5: There are positive significant relationships between the Mother Value Index the Children Values Index.

Hypothesis 5 was not rejected. The more the mothers' valued perseverance, positive self esteem, and family connectedness, the more they passed on values to their children related to family connectedness, spirituality, and positive racial attitude. Each of the mothers' values was significantly related to each of the values they planned to pass on to their children.(see Table 10).

Hypothesis 6: There are positive significant relationships between the Grandmother Value Index the Children Values Index.

Hypothesis 6 was not rejected. The more the grandmothers' believed in the values of family connectedness, positive self image and perseverance, the more likely the mothers passed on values to their children related to family connectedness, spirituality, and positive racial attitude. The two grandmothers' values were significantly related to all three of the children values.(see Table 10).

Hypothesis 7: There are positive significant relationships between the Grandfather Value Index the Children Values Index.

Hypothesis 7 was rejected. The grandfather value domains of assertiveness and positive self image did not have a statistical significant relation to the values the mothers planned to pass on to their children. However, one grandfather variable had a positive significant relation to one of the children's values of family connectedness. The correlations indicated that the mothers were likely to pass

on grandfathers' values of family connectedness (see Table 10) .

Table 10: Zero Correlations of the Variables

Child Values	Family	Spirituality	Racial Identity
<u>Mother Values</u>			
Perseverance	.36***	.40***	.40***
Self Image	.40***	.41***	.32***
Family Connect	.34***	.25**	.18*
<u>Grandmother Values</u>			
Family Connect	.47***	.34***	.30**
Self Image	.18*	.31**	.31**
Perseverance	.03	.03	-.13
<u>Grandfather Values</u>			
Family Connect	.24**	.16	.06
Assertive	.05	.15	.09
Self Image	.10	.17	.16

P < .001***

P < .01**

P < .05*

Path Analyses

Path analyses, using a series of multiple regressions, were conducted to determine possible transgenerational effects of the grandmother values on the values of the children. Only the variables that were significant in the correlation were used in the path analyses (Borg & Gall, 1983). There were two steps in the path analyses to determine the effects of the independent variables (see Figure 2). In step one, the children values of family connectedness, racial identity, and spirituality were used as the dependent variables, with the grandmothers' values of family connectedness and positive self image as independent variables in a regression model. In step two, the children's values were entered as a dependent variable with the grandfather value of family connectedness as the independent variable. The enter method was utilized in the regression analyses.

Hypothesis 8. There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the factor analyzed Grandmother Value Index and the factor analyzed Children Value Index.

Hypothesis 8 was not rejected. Table 11 shows the results of the regression analyses for the variables. In step one, the grandmother predictors, family connectedness, and positive self image accounted for 43% of the variance in the grandchildren outcome variable, positive racial identity ($F(3,119) = 8.99 = p = .001$). Additionally, the grandmother predictors, family connectedness and positive self image were found to be significant and accounted for 41% of the

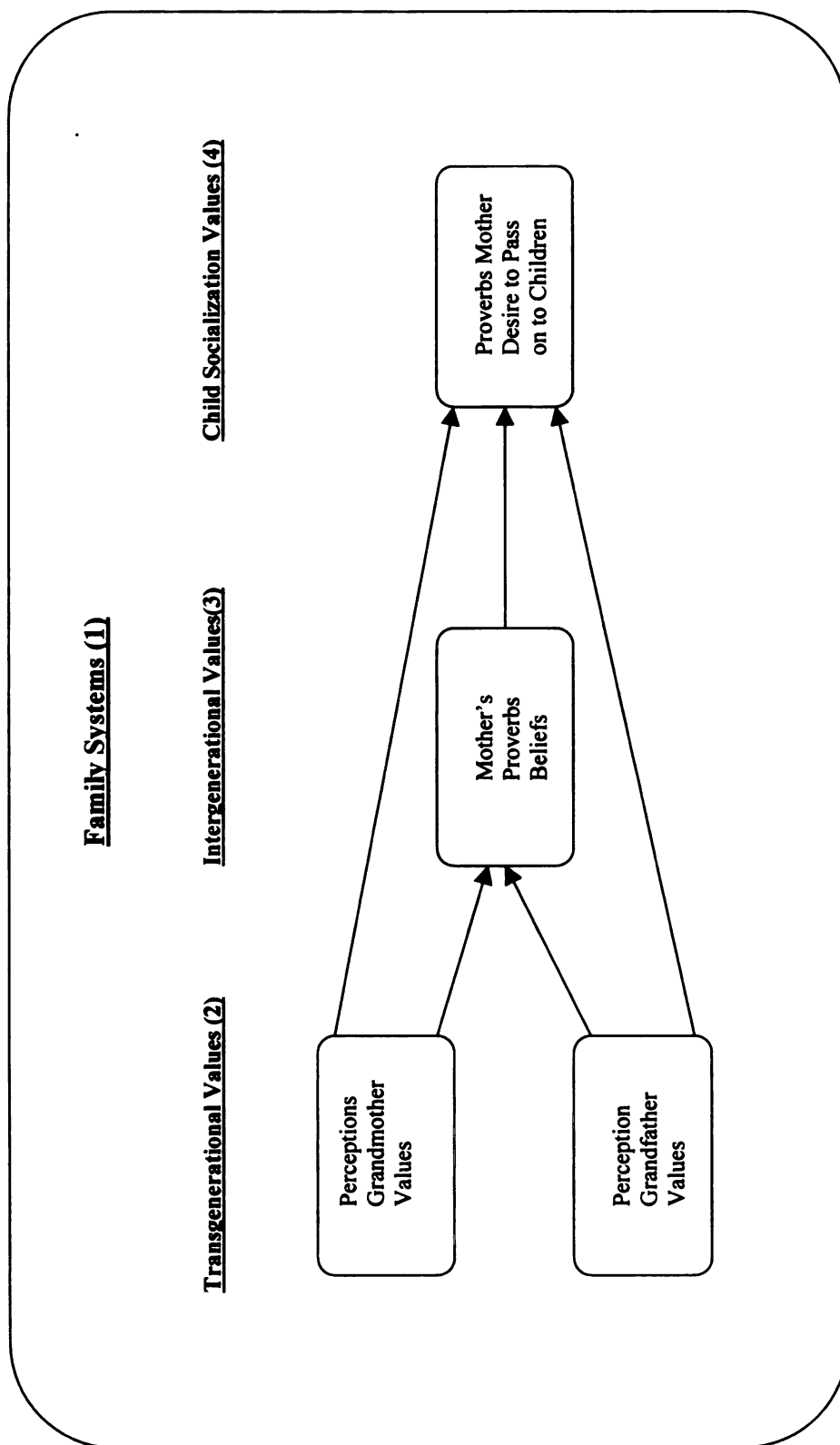


Figure 2. Ecological Conceptualized Model of Transgenerational Beliefs.

variance in the children value of spirituality ($F(3,119) = 12.07 = p = .000$) (see Figure 3). Also, in step 1, a transgenerational positive significant relationship between the grandmother value of family connectedness, and the grandchildren value of family connectedness accounted for 48% of the variance.

Findings suggested that grandmother value of family connectedness and positive self image had a strong transgenerational influence on all three of the child values.

Hypothesis 9. There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the Grandfather Value Index and the Children Value Index.

The hypothesis was not rejected. In step two, the grandfather predictor values of family connectedness accounted for 32% of the variance in the grandchild value of family connectedness ($F(3,113) = 4.37 = p = .001$) (see Table 11). The path analyses indicated the grandfather predictor pointed to a transgenerational effect on the children values of family connectedness (see Figure 3).

Summary of Findings

The data obtained to test the hypotheses under consideration have been presented in this chapter. Each hypothesis was restated, and the results of an analysis of the responses to the items selected to determine the validity of the hypotheses were elaborated on. The findings were analyzed by using mean ranking, paired t-test,

Table 11 : Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses: Child's Values and Predictors, Grandmother, Grandfather, and Mother Values.

Outcome Variable	Step	Predictors	B	t	R ²	p
<u>Child Values</u>		<u>Grandmother Values</u>				
Family Connect	3	Family Connect	.47	5.58	.49	.000
Racial Identity	3	Family Connect	.28	3.20	.43	.002
	2	Self Image	.25	2.96		.004
Spirituality	3	Family Connect	.29	3.37	.41	.001
	2	Self Image	.24	2.84		.005
		<u>Grandfather Values</u>				
Family Connect	2	Family Connect	.51	3.36	.32	.001
		<u>Mother Values</u>				
Family Connect	2	Perseverance	.21	2.41	.49	.02
	3	Self Image	.26	3.03		.003
	1	Family Connect	.19	2.29		.024
Racial Identity	2	Perseverance	.32	3.56	.44	.001
	3	Self Image	.19	2.14		.03
Spirituality	2	Perseverance	.27	3.13	.49	.002
	3	Self Image	.28	3.18		.002

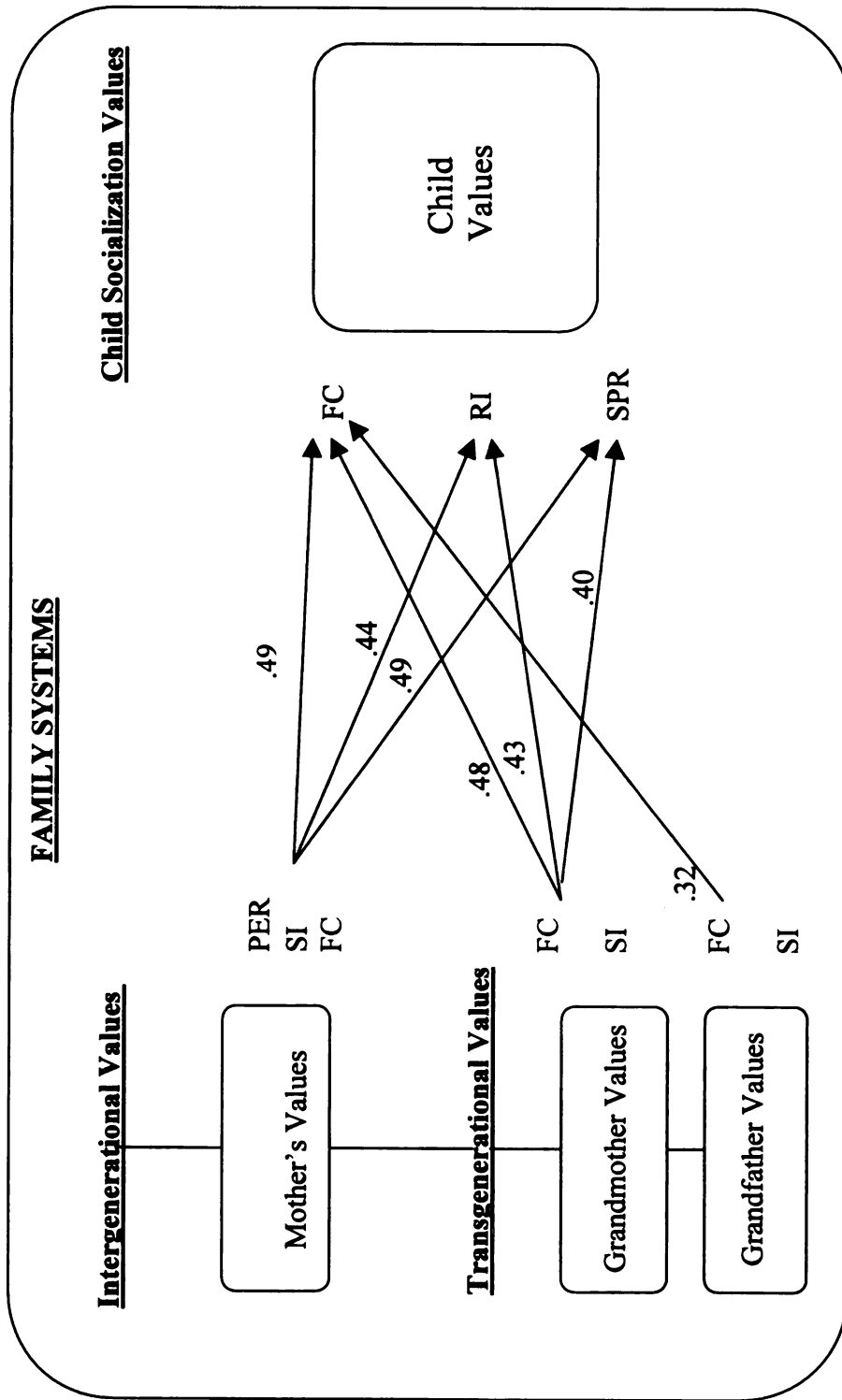


Figure 3. Statistical Results of Path Model. Note: Coefficient variance is shown.

FC = Family Connectedness SI = Self Image PER = Perseverance
 RI = Racial Identity SPR = Spirituality ASST = Assertiveness

Table 12. Summary of Findings

Hypotheses	Analyses	Findings
1. The mother's belief in proverbs will be similar to those beliefs found in the literature.	Mean Ranking	Not Rejected
2. The mothers' proverb belief will not be significantly different than their perception of the grandmothers'.	Mean Ranking Paired T-test	Not Rejected
3. The mothers' belief in proverbs will be significantly different than their perception of the grandfather's belief in proverbs.	Mean Ranking Paired T-test	Not Rejected
4. The mothers' proverb belief will not be significantly different than the proverbs she plans to pass on to her children.	Mean Ranking Paired T-test	Not Rejected
5. There are positive significant relationships between the Mother Value Index and the Child Value Index.	Correlations	Not Rejected
6. There are positive significant relationships between the Grandmother Value Index and the Child Value Index.	Correlations	Not Rejected
7. There are positive significant relationships between the Grandfather Value Index and the Child Value Index.	Correlations	Rejected
8. There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the Grandmother Value Index and the Children Value Index.	Regression	Not Rejected
9. There will be a positive significant transgenerational effect between the Grandfather Value Index and the Children Value Index.	Regression	Not Rejected

correlation, and regression analyses at the .05 level of significance.

Eight hypotheses were presented; seven were not rejected and one was rejected. Table 12 provides a summary of the findings as related to the specific hypotheses being analyzed.

The following results were determined in the analyses of the hypotheses and data testing:

1. The mothers' proverb beliefs are similar to the traditional African American beliefs found in the literature.
2. The mothers' proverb beliefs were not significant different between than their perception of the grandmothers' beliefs in proverbs.
3. The mothers' proverb beliefs were not significant different between than their perception of the grandfathers' beliefs in proverbs.
4. The mothers' proverb beliefs were not significant different between than the proverbs she plans to pass on to her children.
5. There are positive significant relationships between the Mother Value Index and the Child Value Index.

6. There are positive significant relationships between the Grandmother Value Index and the Child Value Index.

7. There are no positive significant relationships between the Grandfather Value Index and the Child Value Index.

8. There is a positive significant transgenerational effect between the Grandmother Value Index and the Children Value Index.

9. There is a positive significant transgenerational effect between the Grandfather Value Index and the Children Value Index.

Chapter 5

Discussion

A summary of the purpose of this study is reviewed, along with the contributions of the study. A discussion of the conclusions, limitations, and implications is also provided.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the mother's perception of (a) the intergenerational transmission of values; and (b) the transgenerational transmission of the mother's perception of the grandparents' values on the socialization of her children. Further, this study explored the usefulness of Ecosystems and Social Exchange Theory in understanding the influence of the proverb transmission process.

The conceptual model utilized in this study was Social Exchange Theory, within the Ecosystem perspective and the conceptual influences of the transgenerational proverb literature. Social exchange theory proposed that families will continue behaviors that were rewarding in the past. Proverbs are shared because they have special meaning to family members, and the reward system is linked to proverb transmission. Once the family has accepted the proverb, families are less likely to consider other proverbs.

The review of the literature provided an in-depth discussion of African American proverbs. Previous cultural relativity research focusing on African American proverbs attempted to address the issues related to the grandparents indirect influence on the socialization of their grandchildren. In early studies (Page & Washington, 1987; McAdoo, 1991) employing a social exchange model, attention was directed to the mother-daughter dyad when examining value transmission. Page and Washington's (1987) findings supported the notion that proverbs are transmitted intergenerationally and that values are inherent in African American proverbs.

McAdoo (1991) emphasized that the ability to successfully maintain social-cultural linkages in the socialization of children is dependent on parents' use of socialization tools that have existed for generations and rooted in African culture. McAdoo (1993) is further credited with focusing on parents, not only the mother's influence, but also the father's contribution on the influence of cultural values within the family system.

The intent of this study was to examine value transmission across the generations, from grandparent to parents, to children through the examination of the mothers value perceptions. Whether the grandparents are present or not, this researcher posits that proverbs have linked grandparent to grandchild as a parent used family proverbs in the socialization of their children.

The results of the present study clearly indicated that the mother's proverb transmission was influenced by the grandmother and grandfather's proverb use and transgenerationally influenced the socialization of their grandchildren. These findings supported Jackson's (1993) assumption that families repeat behaviors that were rewarding in the past. Researchers have both accepted and relied on family interactions as being critical in understanding the family system and the socialization of children. The mother's values, the grandparent's values and the children's values encompassed socialization features in African American family systems.

Mothers' Proverbs Beliefs

The findings indicated that there were similarities between mother's belief and past beliefs of African Americans. The mothers expressed similar proverb rankings as those in the Page & Washington (1987) study: the values of family and fairness. However, the mothers' belief were very different from those in the McAdoo (1991) study. The parents in the McAdoo study reflected a worldview centered around self reliance, while the mothers in the current study and the Page & Washington study expressed a worldview of connectedness. These contrasts may be due to differences in the population samples. The McAdoo sample consisted of working and middle class parents, while the mothers in the other two studies were mostly impoverished and single.

Also there were similarities between the mothers' beliefs and empirically-based African American values. The mothers believed in family, spirituality, fairness, and self respect. These values represent African American values that are very similar to findings in the literature: strong kinship bond (Hill, 1971; Aschenbrenner, 1973; McAdoo, 1992; Christopherson, 1979), strong religious orientation (Hill, 1971; Gray, 1984; Hill, 1992; Sudarkasa, 1996), self respect (Royce & Turner 1980), reciprocity and fairness (Aschenbrenner, 1974; Stack, 1974; Royce & Turner, 1980; McAdoo, 1992).

The findings indicated there were no statistical differences between the mother's beliefs and her perception of the grandmother beliefs, the grandfather beliefs, and the proverbs she plan to pass on to her children. They all shared values of self respect, and family connectedness.

Mother and Grandfather Comparisons

The mothers and grandfathers' beliefs were similar and reflected a worldview centered around family connectedness and a higher being. The mothers' perception of the grandfathers' values are refreshing and contradicts numerous stereotypes about African American fathers.

These findings were contrary to previous standardized value research. Most of which was based on white, middle-class norms, and suggested that fathers value achievement, intellectual pursuits, and materialism while mothers value

love, family, and social affiliation (Rokeach, 1973; Stern, Dietz, & Kalof, 1993; McAdoo & McWright, 1994). The differences in the findings may be race related. Also the findings may reflect the limitations of the study. This study was based on the perceptions of mothers. The fathers were not interviewed for this study.

Mother and Grandmother Comparisons

Findings indicated that the mothers and grandmothers shared similar proverb beliefs related to caution, spirituality, mothers' role in the family, family connectedness, positive racial attitude, social recognition, and equality. However, there were significant mean differences between mothers and grandmothers for 8 of the 15 proverbs. The mothers more strongly believed in proverbs related to assertiveness, responsibility, perseverance, fairness, self respect, positive self image, spirituality, and family connectedness. The majority of these values were empowerment values and tended to focus on independence. These differences may reflect generational differences among the same gender and family structures. Most of the mothers in the sample have different family structures than the grandmothers. The majority of the mothers grew up in two parent households in working and middle class families. The majority of the mothers in this study were impoverished and/or working class and not married. However, a large percentage of the mothers had been married at least once.

The within group gender differences maybe reflective of the challenges facing these mothers that the grandmothers did not have.

Mother and Child Comparisons

Similarly, the mother's perception of the children's worldview was individually focused and centered around personal empowerment. These findings are similar to Page & Washington's (1987) study; the mothers intergenerationally passed on individual focused values related to independence. In view of the current economic situation, the mothers may be socializing their children for success by believing in themselves and relying on their personal attributes. Gender may account for the differences in the children's beliefs. Most of the children the mothers were passing the values on to were males, between the ages of 9 - 13. African American male children often face life and death challenges as they are growing up. Up to the age of 25, the mortality rate is greater for African American male children than female (Billingsly, 1992). By passing on the values of self respect, personal power, caution, and family connectedness, the mothers are establishing strong family infrastructures and personal mental safety nets as their children interface with other social systems (good and bad) within their communities.

The mothers' and children's factor analyzed values were the strongest and most stable of all of the factor analyzed

values. The mothers' values of perseverance, self image and family connectedness had a positive influence on the children's values of family, spirituality, and racial identity. These findings were similar to McAdoo's (1991) study and reflect a worldview of connectedness and group identity.

Grandmother and Children's Values

The grandmother and child values yielded different results when clustered. The dyad indicated a indirect transgenerational effect. The grandmothers' factor analysis of transgenerational value dimensions of family connectedness was influential in increasing the child's factor analyzed values of family, spirituality, and positive racial identity. Also positive self image was associated with the children's values. The more positive the grandmothers' self image, the more the children valued family, spirituality, and positive racial identity. These findings are similar to the literature. Grandmothers pass on values related to children's well-being (Stern, Dietez, & Kalof, 1998) such as spirituality and family connectedness (McAdoo, 1991).

Grandfather and Children Values

The results indicated that there were no significant relationships between the grandfather factor analyzed values and the child analyzed values. The only significant

grandfather value related to the children is family connectedness. These findings confirm results discussed earlier, that grandfathers were transgenerationally passing on values that promote family stability. Again, these mothers perceived their fathers as loving and family oriented.

Research Question

The major question of this study was whether there are relationships between the grandmother and grandfather values and the socialization values of their grandchildren? The path model indicated that there are indirect transgenerational linkages between the grandmother-child and the grandfather-child. Grandmothers and grandfathers who value family connectedness socialize their grandchildren to value family, and to have positive racial identification. These findings were congruent with McCoy (1985), grandmothers and grandfathers played an important role in linking generations even when they didn't take an active role in the child's life. Grandparents have been found to influence the family socialization experiences as children develop and formulate their values and beliefs (Roberto & Skosglund, 1996). The grandmother values of family connectedness and self image increased the child's racial identity and spirituality.

Cultural transgenerational socialization involved the transmission of certain messages and patterns that related

to personal and group identity, relationship between and within groups, and the ethnic groups' position in society (Marshall, 1995). The family socialization values seem to influence the child's group identity related to race and spirituality.

Interestingly, racial identity was a value fathers passed on to their children (Rokeach, 1973). However, in this study, the grandmothers were passing on male-type values to their grandchildren. These findings may be reflective of cultural survival tools within African American families to adapt to adverse environmental factors. Lustig (1994) suggested that power structures, economic systems and traditions determine value formation. African American children are faced with the compounding effects of unemployment, underemployment, high divorce rates and constant negative portrayals of African Americans throughout the media. Despite these conditions, grandmothers continue to maintain flexible roles within the family to ensure positive identity development across the generations.

Limitations of the Study

Several caveats need to be considered when interpreting the current results. First, because this study involved secondary analysis, the variable measures were limited to those in the earlier data collection. Second, the sample did not include fathers or children as units of analysis in the research. Thus, the generalizability of the findings to

the larger population of children or fathers was unknown. Thirdly, the results were limited based on the indirect method used to assess grandparent and grandchildren values. The results were based upon the mother's perception of the transgenerational values. Fourth, the study did not assess the effects of the quality of personal relationships between the groups. Researchers suggested that intergenerational value transmission was related to the quality of the parent-child relationship (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988). The present study did not control for quality of relationship; however, the study did find a strong positive association between the mothers' values and the grandchild values.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to integrate a social exchange model with a family ecosystem in assessing transgenerational value transmission. Taken as a whole, the findings suggested the usefulness of incorporating propositions drawn from exchange theory into the examination of family values. To understand more fully the process of transgenerational value transmission and the socialization outcomes for children, more attention needs to be paid to the mediating factors, such as the age of respondents, the age of children, as well as education and social economic status of parents and grandparents.

The family values scale is a reliable instrument in assessing family socialization values. While it is

inappropriate to infer that perceptions of mothers are the sole or most important determinant of transgenerational value assessment, it seems appropriate to conclude that mothers are able to socialize their children based on proverbs that had served as coping mechanisms for African Americans since enslavement.

Implications

The results of this study are consistent with findings from earlier studies that indicated that contemporary African American mothers believe in the same values of their ancestors and that these values are being passed on to their children. As found in the earlier studies, this study emphasizes the importance of considering generational value transmission in the socialization of African American children. Such considerations are necessary so that researchers and family professionals can enhance their understanding regarding African American family functioning.

Additionally, this information may assist in the understanding of grandfathers in African American families. Findings from this study tended to suggest that values affecting family connectedness and security may be contributed to the grandfathers' role in the family. These findings are inconsistent with earlier value studies of fathers that used a predominately white sample. These studies indicated that fathers are conditioned to value

achievement and intellectual pursuits, while women are socialized to value love, affiliation, and the family.

Conversely, the grandparenting literature suggests that grandparents function as a family resource bridging the past, present, and future for younger generations, giving them a sense of security. Some possible reasons for these differences are that African American grandfathers may be more likely to assume the fathers' role in homes where the father is not present. Therefore, those working with families may need to consider the grandfathers' role in assessing families and understanding children.

Findings from the present study illustrate the importance of ecological research design in examining African American families. The information from this study may encourage family professionals to consider other tools in assessing socialization factors related to African Americans. Cultural issues are of particular concern for family practitioners, social workers and teachers. Professionals may find it helpful to integrate proverbs into the discussion when developing coping strategies for parents and children.

Suggestions for Future Research

The Ethnic Family Research Project (EFRP) data set affords an excellent opportunity for researchers to continue to examine factors related to value transmission and outcomes for children. Surveys of the EFRP assessed mothers

over a two years period, providing two separate databases. Some of the variables are the same in both data sets. Therefore, future researchers may wish to examine changes over time in the subject's value orientation.

In addition more research is needed to fully understand how proverbs and child characteristics combined with predictor variables such as parental stress, depression, self concept, parents' expectation and aspirations for the child, and parents health influence value transmission. Other contextual factors, such as neighborhood safety, housing situations, parent-child relationships, age and education of mother, family environment, and racial issues may be included in future studies.

Finally, future studies may also consider using the father, grandmother, grandfather and child as the unit of analyzes. The present study focused on the mother as the unit of analysis. The assessment of other family members may add to the information that shapes the development of African American children.

APPENDIX A

UCRIHS CONSENT

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

April 21, 1997

TO: Harriette P. Mc Adoo
106 Morrill Hall

RE: IRB#: 94-211
TITLE: AFRICAN AMERICAN AND MEXICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES
OF RETARDED CHILDREN: COPING WITH
SOCIAL-CULTURAL STRESSORS
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: 2-I
APPROVAL DATE: 04/19/97

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed above.

RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

**PROBLEMS/
CHANGES:**

Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517) 355-2180 or FAX (517) 482-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:bed

OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES

University Committee on
Research Involving
Human Subjects
(UCRIHS)

Michigan State University
246 Administration Building
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1046

517/355-2180
FAX: 517/432-1171

The Michigan State University
IDEA is Institutional Diversity:
Excellence in Action.

MSU is an affirmative-action,
equal-opportunity institution

APPENDIX B

FAMILY VALUES SCALE

PROVERBS

These are proverbs that one often hears. Please indicate your agreement with each of the following proverbs by scoring each proverb from 1 through 5 using the following scale:

A. Proverbs you believe in

5=strong agreement with the truth in the proverb
4=agreement
3=neutral
2=disagree
1=strong disagreement with the truth in the proverb

Traditional

1. _____ It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.
2. _____ You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.
3. _____ Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.
4. _____ The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.
5. _____ Pretty is as pretty does.
6. _____ Don't let no one make you ugly.
7. _____ What goes around, comes around.
8. _____ The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
9. _____ All people are created equal.
10. _____ If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.
11. _____ The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.
12. _____ Better be envied than pitied.
13. _____ Cleanliness is next to Godliness.
14. _____ Blood is thicker than water.
15. _____ One cannot live by bread alone.

PROVERBS

Please indicate the proverbs your mother or an important female figure in your life told you, by scoring each proverb from 1 to 5 using the following scale:

A. Proverbs your mother believed in

You may use any number between 1 and 5:
5=Mother believed in and used frequently
1=Mother never used

Traditional

16. _____ It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.
17. _____ You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.
18. _____ Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.
19. _____ The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.
20. _____ Pretty is as pretty does.
21. _____ Don't let no one make you ugly.
22. _____ What goes around, comes around.
23. _____ The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
24. _____ All people are created equal.
25. _____ If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.
26. _____ The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.
27. _____ Better be envied than pitied.
28. _____ Cleanliness is next to Godliness.
29. _____ Blood is thicker than water.
30. _____ One cannot live by bread alone.

PROVERBS

Please indicate the proverbs your father or an important male figure in your life told you, by scoring each proverb from 1 to 5 using the following scale:

A. Proverbs your father believed in

You may use any number between 1 and 5:
5=Father believed in and used frequently
1=Father never used

Traditional

19. _____ It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.
32. _____ You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.
33. _____ Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.
34. _____ The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.
35. _____ Pretty is as pretty does.
36. _____ Don't let no one make you ugly.
37. _____ What goes around, comes around.
38. _____ The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
39. _____ All people are created equal.
40. _____ If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.
41. _____ The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.
42. _____ Better be envied than pitied.
43. _____ Cleanliness is next to Godliness.
44. _____ Blood is thicker than water.
45. _____ One cannot live by bread alone.

PROVERBS

Please indicate the proverbs you would like to hand down to your child/children:

A. Proverbs you would like to pass on to children

You may use any number between 1 and 5:

5=Will pass on

1=Will not pass on

Traditional

- 34. _____ It's a poor dog that won't wag his own tail.
- 47. _____ You can't see the valley if you don't climb the hill.
- 48. _____ Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.
- 49. _____ The blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice.
- 50. _____ Pretty is as pretty does.
- 51. _____ Don't let no one make you ugly.
- 52. _____ What goes around, comes around.
- 53. _____ The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
- 54. _____ All people are created equal.
- 55. _____ If you don't think anything of yourself, no one will.
- 56. _____ The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.
- 57. _____ Better be envied than pitied.
- 58. _____ Cleanliness is next to Godliness.
- 59. _____ Blood is thicker than water.
- 60. _____ One cannot live by bread alone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aschenbrenner, J. (1973). Extended families among black Americans. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 4, 257-268.

Allen, W. (1978). The search for applicable theories of black family life. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 40 (1), 117-131.

Baranowski, M.D. (1982). Grandparent-adolescent relations: Beyond the nuclear family. Adolescence, 17, 575-584.

Billingsly, A. (1992). Climbing jacob's ladder. New York: Simon & Schuster

Borg, W.G. & Gall, M.D. (1983). Educational Research: An introduction. New York: Longman.

Creasey, G. L. (1993). The association between divorce and late adolescent grandchildren's relations with grandparents. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 22, 513-529.

Cronbach, L.J. (1951). Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of test. Psychometric, 16, 297-334.

Daniel, J.L. & Effinger, M.J. (1996). Bosom Biscuits: A study of african american intergenerational communication. Journal of Black Studies, 27(2), 182-200.

Dellmann-Jenkins, M., Papalia, D., & Lopez, M. (1987). Teenagers' reported interaction with grandparents: exploring the extent of alienation. Lifestyles: A journal of changing patterns, 3-4, 35-46.

Dilworth-Anderson, P., Burton, L.M., Johnson, L.B. (1993). Reframing theories of understanding race, ethnicity, and families. In P.G. Boss, W.J. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W.R. Schumm, S.K. Steinmetz (Eds.). Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach. New York: Plenum Press.

Dodson, J. (1988). Conceptualizations of black families. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed), Black Families. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gray, L.E. et al. (1983). Stable black families: Final report. Washington D.C.: Institute for Urban Affairs and Research.

Hagestad, G.O. (1985). Continuity and connectedness. In V.L. Bengtson & J.F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Harrison, A.O., Wilson, M.N., Pine, C.J., Chan, S.Q., Buriel, R. (1990). Families ecologies of ethnic minority children. Child Development, 61, 347-362.

Hill, N.E. (1994). Mother-Daughter relationships and upward mobility in middle class African American women. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Hill, R.B. (1971). The strengths of black families. New York: Emerson Hall.

Hilton, J.M., and Macari, D.P. (1997, November). A comparison of the role of grandparents in single-mother and single-father families. Paper presented at the meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, Arlington, Va.

Jackson, V.R. (1994). Proverbs: A tool for work with older persons. In V.R. Jackson (ed.), Aging families and use of proverbs for values enrichment. Haworth Press: New York.

Johnson, L.B. (1988). Perspectives on black families empirical research: 1965 - 1978. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed), Black Families. New Bur Park, CA: Sage.

Kornhaber, A., & Woodward, K.L. (1981). Grandparent Grandchildren: The vital connection. Garden City: Doubleday.

Lustig, M. (1994). Value differences in intercultural communication. In G. Albert (Ed.), Service learning reader: Reflections and perspectives on service. North Carolina: Society for Experimental Education.

McAdoo, H.P. (1982). Stress absorbing systems in black families. Family Relations, 31, 479-488.

McAdoo, H.P. (1988a). Changes in the formation and structure of black families: The impact of black women. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

McAdoo, H.P. (1988b). Black Families. Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage.

McAdoo, H.P. (1991). Family values and outcomes for children. Journal of Negro Education, 60, 361-365.

McAdoo, H.P. (1993a). Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity. London: Sage.

McAdoo, H.P. (1993b). The social cultural contexts of sociological developmental family models. In P.G. Bars, W.J. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W.R. Schumm, S.K. Steinmetz (Eds.), Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach. New York: Plenum Press.

McAdoo, H.P. & McWright, L.A. (1994). The roles of grandparents: The use of proverbs in value transmission. In V. R. Jackson (Ed.), Aging families and use of proverbs for values enrichment. Haworth Press: New York.

McCoy, E. (1985, March). What's great about grandparents. Parents, 65-70.

Mitchell, E.P. (1986). Oral tradition: Legacy of faith for the black church. Religious Education, 81, 93-112.

Neugarten, B. & Weinstein, K. (1964). The changing American grandparent. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26, 199-204.

Nippold, M.A., Uhden, L.D., and Schwarz, I.E. (1997). Proverb explanation through the lifespan: A developmental study of adolescent and adults. Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research, 40, 245-253.

Nishira, K., Weisner, T., & Bernheimer, L. (1994). Ecocultural assessment in families of children with developmental delays: Construct and concurrent validities. American Journal on Mental Retardation, 98(5), 551-566.

Nobles, W. (1974). Africanity: Its role in black families. Black Scholar, 5, 10-17.

Page, M.H. & Washington, N.D. 1987. Family proverbs and value transmission of single black mothers. Journal of Social Psychology, 127, 49-58.

Prahlad, S.A. (1996). African american proverbs in context. Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi.

Roberto, K. & Skoglund, R. (1996). Interactions with grandparents and great-grandparents: A comparison of activities, influences, and relationships. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 43(2), 107-117.

Royce, D. & Turner, G. (1980). Strengths of black families: A black community perspective. Social Work, 25, 407-409.

Rokeach, M. (1973). The nature of human values. New York: Free Press.

Sabatilli, R.M. & Shehan, C.L. (1993). Exchange and resource theories. In P.G. Boss (Eds.), Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach. New York: Plenum Press.

Stack, C.B., (1974). All our Kin: Strategies for survival in a black community. New York: Harper & Row.

Stern, P.C., Dietz, T., & Kalof, L. (1993, May). Value orientation, gender and environmental concern, Reprint form Environment and Behavior, 322-548.

Sudarkasa, N. (1996). African American families and families values. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed), Black Families. Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

Whitbeck, L., & Gecas, V. (1985). Value attributions and value transmission between parents and children. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 50(1), 829-840.

General References

Aschenbrenner, J. (1978). Continuities and Variations in black family structure. In D.B. Shimkim, E.M. Shimkim, & D.A. Frate (Eds.), The extended family in black societies. Hawthorne: New York.

Aschenbrenner, J. (1979). Lifelines--Black families in Chicago. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

American Association of Retired Persons. 1992. A profile of older American: 1992, Washington D. C.: American Association of Retired Persons.

Apel, N.H., and Seitz, V. (1991). Four models of adolescent mother-grandmother relationships in black inner-city families. Family Relations, 40 (4), 421-429.

Barranti, C.R. (1985). The grandparent/grandchild relationship: Family resource in an era of voluntary bonds. Family Relations, 34, 343 - 352.

Barresi, C.M. (1987). Ethnic aging and the life course. In D.E. Gelfan & C.M. Barresi (Eds.), Ethnic dimensions of aging. New York: Springer.

Boyd-Franklin, N. (1989). Black families in therapy: A multisystems approach. New York, NY: Guildford.

Bureau of the Census (1991). 1990 Census of population and housing. Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census.

Burton, L.M. (1991). Black grandparents rearing children of drug-addicted parents: Stressors outcomes, and social service needs. Gerontologist, 32 (6), 744-751.

Burton, L.M. & Bengston, V.L. (1985). Black grandparents: Issues of timing and continuity of roles. In V.L. Bengston & J.F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1985.

Cherlin, A.J. & Furstenberg Jr., F.F. (1986). The new American grandparent: A place in the family, a life apart. New York: Basic.

Christopherson, V. (1979). Implications for strengthening family life: Rural black families. In N. Stinnett, et al., (Eds.), Building family strengths: Blueprints for action. Lincoln, Neb.: Lincoln University Press, 1979.

Cohler, B.J. & Grunebaum, H.V. (1981). Mothers, grandmothers, and daughters: Personality and childcare in three generation families. New York: Wiley.

Cunningham-Burley, S. (1984). We don't talk about it: Issues of gender and method in the portrayal of grandfatherhood. Sociology, 18, 325-338.

Fine, M.A., Schwebel, A.I., & James-Myers, L. (1987). Family stability in black families: Values underlying three different perspectives. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 18, 1-23.

Franklin, J.H. & Norton, E.H. (1987). Black initiative and governmental responsibility: An essay by the committee on policy for racial justice. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Frazier, E.F. (1939). The negro family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harris, L., & Associates. (1975). The myths and realities of aging in America. Washington, D. C.: National Council on Aging.

Hays, W. & Mindel, C. (1973). Extended kinship relations in black and white families. Journal of Marriage and Family, 35, 51 - 57.

Jones, F.C. (1973). The lofty role of the black grandmother. Crisis, 80, 41-56.

Kahn, R.L., & Antonucci, T.C. (1980). Convoys over the life course: Attachment, roles, and social support. In P. Baltes & O. Brim (Eds.), Lifespan development and behavior: Vol. 3. New York: Academic Press.

Kalish, R., & Knudson, F.W. (1979). Attachment versus disengagement: A lifespan conceptualization. Human Development, 19, 171-182.

Kivett, V.R. (1991). Centrality of the grandfather role among older rural black and white men. Journal of Gerontology, 46, SDA250-SDA258.

Kivett, V.R. (1993). Racial comparisons of the grandmother role: Implications for strengthening the family support system of older black women. Family Relations, 42, 165-172,

Kivnick, H.O. (1982). Grandparenthood: An overview of meaning and mental health. The Gerontologist, 22, 59-66.

Kornhaber, A. (1985). Grandparenthood and the new social contact. In V.L. Bengtson & J.F. Robertson (Eds.), Grandparenthood. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kornhaber, A. (1993). Raising grandchildren. Vital Connections, 14, 1-3.

Lee, G.H. (1980). Kinship in the seventies: A decade review of research and theory. Journal of Marriage and Family, 42, 923-934.

Lewis, D.K. (1975). The black family: Socialization and sex roles. Phylon, 36, 221-237.

Lyles, M.R. & Carter, J.M. (1982). Myths and strengths of the black family: A historical and sociological contribution to family therapy. Journal of the national Medical Association, 74, 1119-1123.

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 24(4), 377-396.

McAdoo, H.P. 1978. Factors related to stability in upwardly mobile black families. Journal of Marriage and Family, 40, 761-776.

McAdoo, H.P. (1981). Black mothers and the extended family support network. In L. Rodgers-Rose (Eds.), The black women. Newbury Park, Ca: Sage.

McAdoo, H.P. (1992). Upward mobility and parenting in middle-income black families. In, K.H. Burlew (Eds.), African american psychology: Theory, research, and practice. Newbury Park: Sage Publication.

McAdoo, H.P. (1996). Black Families. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Mead, M. (1978). Culture and commitment: The new relationship between the generations in the 1970s. New York: Columbia.

Mennen, F.F. (1988). The relationship of race, socioeconomic status and marital status to kin networks. Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 15, 77-93.

Minkler, M., Roe, K., & Driver, D. (1992). Brookdale Grandparent Caregiver Information Project gets underway. Brookdale Grandparent Caregiver Information Project Newsletter, 1, 1-6.

Pearson, J.L., Hunter, A.G., Ensminger, M.W. & Kellam, SDA. G. (1990). Black grandmothers in multigenerational households: Diversity in family structure and parenting involvement in the Woodlawn community. Child Development, 61, 434-442.

Peck, SDA. 1978. The road less traveled. New York: Simone & Schuster.

Rudle, D.N. (1984). Sex role development. In M.H. Bornstein & M.E. Lamb (Eds.), Developmental psychology: An advanced textbook. Hillsdale: NJ.

Stevens, J.H., Jr. (1984). Black grandmothers' and black adolescent mothers' knowledge about parenting. Developmental Psychology, 20 (6), 1017-1025.

Stevens, J.H., Jr. (1988). Social support, Locus of control, and parenting in three low income groups of mothers: Black teenagers, black adults, and white adults. Child Development, 59, 635-642.

Strom, R., Collinsworth, P., Strom, S., Griswold, D., & Strom, P. (1992). Grandparent education for black families. Journal of Negro Education, 61, 554-569.

Strom, R. & Strom, S. (1989). Grandparent development: Final report submitted to the American Association of Retired Persons. Washington, D. C.: Andrus Foundation.

Strom, R. & Strom, S. (1992). Achieving grandparent potential: A guidebook for building intergenerational relationships. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Thomas, J.L. (1982). The development of grandparents' relationships with the grandchild: An exploratory study. Dissertations Abstracts International, 43, 12B 4173.

Thomas, J.L. (1986). Age and Sex differences in perceptions of grandparenting. Journal of Gerontology, 41, 417-423.

Thomas, J.L. (1989). Gender and perceptions of grandparenthood. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 29, 269-282.

Timberlake, E.M. & Chipungu, S.S. (1992). Grandmotherhood: Contemporary meaning among African American middle-class grandmothers. Social Work, 37, 216-222.

Tolson, M.N. & Wilson, T.F. (1990). The impact of two and three generational black family structure on perceived family climate. Child Development, 61, 416-428.

Watson, J.A. (1994). Perceptions of the grandparent role among African American and Caucasian American grandmothers and grandfathers in the working class. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland.

Watson, J.A., and Koblinsky, S.A., (1997). Strengths and needs of working-class african-american and anglo-american grandparents. Aging and Human Development, 44(2), 149-165.

Wilson, M.N. (1984). Mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions of parental behavior in three generational black families. Child Development, 1984, 55 (4), 1333-1339.

Wilson, M.N. & Tolson, T.F.J. (1990). Familial support in the black community. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 19, 347-355.

Wilson, M.N. & Tolson, T.F. J., Hinton, I., & Kiernan, M. (1990). Flexibility and sharing of child care duties in black families. Sex Roles, 22, 409-425.

Wilson, N.M., Greene-Bates, C., McKim, L., Simmons, F., Askew, T., Curry-El, J., & Hinton, I. (1995). In M. Wilson (Ed.), African American family life: Its structural and ecological aspects. Jossey-Bass Publishers.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293016883575