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S I X

Cultural and Contextual Correlates of Obligation to Family and Community among Urban Black and Latino Adults

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This chapter examines social responsibility as it is manifested in a sense of obligation to and participation in two primary domains—family and community—among Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black men and women living in New York City. The data are drawn from a study of midlife experiences among urban ethnic minority adults in New York conducted as a companion study to the national MIDUS study. One objective of the chapter is to describe normative obligation to family and community, and associated behaviors, within this New York sample. The availability of comparable items in the national MIDUS study and the New York study provides an important opportunity to examine diversity across cultures and contexts in experiences of and attitudes toward caring and giving during the midlife period. An additional objective of the chapter is to examine the extent to which phenomena associated with living in urban neighborhoods diminish participants' feelings of obligation and their ability to participate in family and community life. In this regard, an important feature of the New York study is its emphasis on elucidating ways in which the social context of adults' lives shapes life patterns and well-being during the midlife period. As described below, the sample consists of ethnic minority adults of high and low socioeconomic status living in ethnically and socioeconomically diverse communities. The availability of both individual and neighborhood-level socio-structural indicators permits an examination of hypotheses concerning constraints on giving and caring associated with residency in economically marginal neighborhoods.

An examination of social responsibility as it emerges in the lives of urban ethnic minority adults in differing community contexts may be informative for many reasons. For one, scholars studying social responsibility and related concepts, such as generativity, have suggested that these are both culturally conditioned and deeply connected to external experiences, particularly as these experiences are defined by one's position in the social structure. In the work of McAdams and col-

leagues (McAdams and de St. Aubin 1992; McAdams, de St. Aubin, and Logan 1993; McAdams, Hart, and Maruna 1998) for instance, cultural demand occupies a prominent position, alongside inner desire, in the nomological network of constructs defining generativity: cultural demand is encoded in age-graded norms and expectations regarding the timing of particular role contributions throughout the life cycle and about the domains most important for generative expression (McAdams, Hart, and Maruna 1998). Thus, what is expected as socially responsible behavior, the age-related trajectories of such expectations, and the domains in which social responsibility is displayed vary across groups.

Family and community are two domains of social responsibility that may be particularly susceptible to the sorts of cultural norms and socio-structural influences that scholars have described. For instance, in middle-class America, young adults are expected to devote their energies to childrearing and career building. Contributions to social institutions and causes are expected later, when one's childrearing demands have diminished and one's career trajectory has peaked (Cohler, Hostetler, and Boxer 1998; MacDermid, Franz, and De Reus 1998; Rossi, this volume). However, Stack and Burton (1993) describe an operative timetable among African Americans living in rural communities that differs dramatically from that which previous scholars have described. Women expect to bear children during their mid-teen years, but their primary caregiving responsibilities are to their grandmothers who had reared them rather than to their own offspring. In turn, young women's birth mothers expect to have primary caregiving responsibilities for their grandchildren, as their own grandmothers had for them. Other studies, too, suggest that social and economic demands within African American families are managed by extended and nuclear family members (Jayakody, Chatters, and Taylor 1993; Tolson and Wilson 1990). Reliance on extended kin throughout the life cycle has been described in scholarly work on Dominican (Grasmuck and Pessar 1996) and Puerto Rican (Carrasquillo and Sanchez-Korrol 1996) families as well. Thus, in some cultural contexts, family obligations are not limited to one's own offspring or to particular periods of adult life. Moreover, phenomena such as the "empty nest syndrome" that mark phases of midlife are notably absent, with implications for adults' availability to involve themselves in community as well. To understand social responsibility as a critical component of suc-

cess in midlife, the domains of inquiry need to be extended to include the manifold ways in which it is experienced and expressed across groups.

In addition to variation in the meaning and correlates of social responsibility across cultural groups, scholars have suggested variation across social status categories, due to differences in constraints against and opportunities for generative behavior. Again, such variation may be especially likely to manifest itself in the family and community domains. For instance, Keyes and Ryff (1998) argue that socio-structural factors such as low income and education create alienation and decrease personal agency, thus diminishing generativity, other forms of social responsibility, and general well-being. Using data from two national probability samples, Keyes (1998) found that more highly educated adults' mean values on five indicators of social well-being, including social integration and social contribution, were higher than those of their less well educated counterparts. Again, however, the socio-economic correlates of social responsibility may differ across groups as a function of variation both in normative practices and in the incremental psychological resources (agency, self-efficacy) that socio-economic status may yield.

Finally, implicit in theoretical frameworks put forth in Keyes and Ryff 1998, Keyes 1998, and elsewhere is the notion that ecological and contextual factors may constrain the definition and enactment of socially responsible behaviors, due to feelings of alienation and dislocation that stressful environments promote. Katherine Newman (chapter 5, this volume), in particular, suggests that the expression of social responsibility may be uniquely tailored to the demands and stressors inherent in urban communities. When environments are risky, threatening, or treacherous to navigate, one's sense of obligation may be unlikely to extend far beyond one's own family and, possibly, one's narrowly defined ethnic group. In Newman's life history interviews with a subsample of respondents who participated in the New York study, references to volunteerism or donations to organizations and institutions were notably absent from participants' narratives regarding social responsibility. Thus, an empirical examination of family and community participation and obligation among adults living in different neighborhood contexts may provide important insight into socio-structural and psychological processes that promote or inhibit social responsibility.

FOCUS OF THE PRESENT CHAPTER

In focusing on family and community participation and obligation among urban ethnic minority adults, the present chapter attempts to address three major questions. First, to what extent do Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black adults in the present sample report obligation to and participation in family and community domains? In this regard, the goal of the chapter is a simple one: to present pertinent descriptive data for each of the three ethnic groups. Although many studies of minority adults' involvement in kin networks have been conducted (Hatchett and Jackson 1993; McAdoo 1980, 1981; Stack 1974; Wilson 1986, 1989), as have a few studies of minority adults' political participation and community involvement (Brown 1991; Cole and Stewart 1996; Milburn and Bowman 1991), studies of psychological constructs such as normative obligation and generativity have relied upon data from ethnically homogenous White samples (see Cole and Stewart 1996; McAdams and Azarow 1996; and McAdams, Hart, and Maruna 1998 for exceptions). Thus, little empirical information is available regarding ethnic minority adults' psychological sense of obligation or generativity, leaving room for theoretical speculation about the erosion of family and community values in inner-city minority neighborhoods.

Second, the chapter examines the extent to which patterns of relationships between social responsibility in family and community domains and socio-structural variables such as age and education in the present sample mirror patterns reported in the national MIDUS sample (Keyes and Ryff 1998; Rossi, chapter 3, this volume) and in other studies of generativity (McAdams, de St. Aubin, and Logan 1993). To the extent that the meaning and significance of socio-structural indicators vary across groups and social contexts, it is important to examine the extent to which linkages between these indicators and obligation and participation vary across groups as well. Age, gender, and socioeconomic status receive particular attention in this regard because previous studies have highlighted their importance in shaping profiles of social responsibility and generativity. As a proxy for adult development, age has been of considerable interest because it is thought to provide information about shifts in psychological processes during midlife, particularly in terms of culturally mediated conceptions of time and mortality. Education and gender have been of interest as markers of power and social location that, directly or indirectly, promote social responsibility.

A third and final question concerns the extent to which family and community obligation and participation vary across different ethnic, immigrant status, and religious preference groups, as well as across different economic and cultural contexts. The focus on ethnic markers (e.g., ethnicity, immigrant status) is embedded in the recognition that different minority groups in the United States have different histories and experiences and occupy different social spaces. American-born Blacks, for instance, constitute what Ogbu (1985) terms a "caste-like" minority, having been enslaved and transported to the United States involuntarily and encountering present-day racial bias and structural disadvantage relative to Whites in occupational, educational, and political arenas (Essed 1990; Feagin and Sikes 1994). Unlike Blacks, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans immigrated voluntarily to the United States, most often seeking economic opportunity and fleeing oppressive economic conditions in their home country. Dominicans and Puerto Ricans also encounter negative attitudes toward their group and blocked opportunity in educational and occupational domains; second-generation Dominican and Puerto Rican adults typically fare worse in this regard than do more recent immigrants (Grasmuck and Pessar 1996; Pessar 1995). In other ways, however, the two groups differ dramatically from one another. Historically, Puerto Ricans have been the largest Hispanic group in New York City and have developed a presence and degree of political clout that Dominicans have not yet developed (Grasmuck and Pessar 1996). Puerto Ricans' right to U.S. citizenship is accompanied by access to certain federal benefits, the right to vote, and transcontinental mobility. Compared with Puerto Ricans, Dominicans are a more recent, but rapidly growing segment of the population. In New York City, they are, on average, among the youngest, the poorest, and the least well educated of immigrant groups. The observation that Dominican New Yorkers have little political presence has been attributed to their commitment to native politics, their deep ties to the Dominican Republic, and a "transient mentality" focused primarily on their eventual return to their homeland (Grasmuck and Pessar 1996; Torres-Saillant 1989). Thus, differences in the history and circumstances of these minority groups may manifest themselves in differences in the origins and expressions of family and community participation and obligation. Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and Dominicans also differ from one another in terms of their religious affiliation and the strength of their ties to their religious beliefs and values. Because religion plays a central role in people's ideas about morality and responsibility (see

Rossi, chapters 3 and 7, this volume), it seems critical to untangle the influences of ethnicity, *per se*, from the influences of religiosity—to the extent that such disentanglement is possible.

The focus of the present chapter on neighborhood context is embedded in the view that ecological settings promote norms and behaviors that vary according to their social and economic attributes. For instance, Wilson's (1987) elaboration of the concept of social isolation emphasizes the importance of structural factors and neighborhood social networks, which link residents to opportunity structures and mainstream values, in shaping normative values and patterns of behavior. Mayer and Jencks (1989) have also argued that neighborhood characteristics influence individuals' behaviors by way of multiple mechanisms including contagion mechanisms (wherein individuals imitate normative behaviors of others in their neighborhood) and socialization mechanisms (wherein individuals internalize community norms). Social psychological theories concerning ambient environmental stress (Aldwin and Stokols 1988) suggest that low community resources or high community problems may promote disengagement from social life and an inward focus, resulting in low normative obligation and low participation in family and community. A neighborhood's ethnic makeup has also been hypothesized to influence neighborhood cohesion and the development of community-based norms. For instance, a high degree of ethnic heterogeneity is thought to erode the development of neighborhood-based social networks (Sampson 1992; Sampson and Morenoff 1997), which may, in turn, influence the nature of community-level transactions and residents' involvement in community social structures. Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower (1985) report less neighborhood attachment in heterogeneous as compared with homogeneous settings, suggesting that ethnic heterogeneity increases interpersonal conflict and inhibits the development of shared community norms. Accordingly, in focusing on the possibility that neighborhood contexts promote or constrain family and community participation and obligation, this chapter gives particular attention to neighborhood socioeconomic status, neighborhood problems, and neighborhood ethnic composition. An examination of aggregate-level ecological data in relation to family and community involvement and participation may promote increased theoretical understanding of processes underlying social responsibility and of ecological theories regarding contextual influences on values and behaviors.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The data presented in this chapter are drawn from *Ethnic and Racial Minorities in Urban Areas*, a study of midlife experiences among ethnic minority adults living in New York City and Chicago. The study was conducted by an interdisciplinary group of scholars as a companion study to the national MIDUS effort. It was designed to investigate a range of factors as they influenced midlife adults' experiences, including neighborhood context, discrimination, stressful life events, social network factors, and a range of intrapersonal constructs that overlap with constructs central to the national MIDUS survey. The sample was drawn from selected neighborhoods, or census block groups, in New York City and Chicago. For purposes of parsimony, I focus in this chapter on findings from participants in the New York study—Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black adults aged twenty-five years and older.¹

Eligible respondents were identified using a two-stage sampling procedure that combined identification of census block groups within preselected strata and quota sampling of qualified respondents. Thus, within a selected census block group, trained interviewers identified eligible participants by screening residents door to door. These adults participated in 1.5- to 2-hour structured interviews, conducted in English or Spanish (according to the respondent's language preference) by interviewers who had received more than twenty hours of training. Standard back-translation procedures were used to ensure the comparability of the English and Spanish protocols. The final New York sample consisted of 906 Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black participants who lived in sixty-four census block groups throughout New York City. With quota selection of respondents, the samples were not intended to make generalizations about a particular population but rather to test theoretical propositions regarding ethnicity, social context, and experiences during midlife.

Demographic characteristics of each ethnic group of participants in the study are presented in table 6.1. As the table shows, there was substantial inter- and intragroup variation on these demographic variables. The Puerto Rican subsample of respondents was quite diverse. Just over 40% of them were married; about 27% were married with children under eighteen in the home; an additional 23% were single parents with children under eighteen in the home. Most Puerto Rican respondents were young (twenty-one to thirty-nine years old) or

TABLE 6.1 Sample Demographic Characteristics

	Puerto Rican (N = 284)	Dominican (N = 283)	Black (N = 339)
Family structure (%)			
Married with children under 18 in home	26.8	24.4	16.5
Married with no children under 18 in home	14.8	12.0	12.1
Not married with children under 18 in home	22.9	33.9	22.4
Not married with no children under 18 in home	35.6	29.7	49.0
Age (%)			
21-39	41.8	47.0	46.6
40-59	42.5	42.8	31.6
60+	15.8	8.5	16.2
Gender (% male)	51.8	46.3	50.7
Education (%)			
No high school diploma	41.9	46.3	19.5
High school diploma	29.2	25.8	31.3
Courses beyond high school	21.1	18.7	35.1
Immigrant status (%)			
U.S. born	50.7	9.9	91.7
Foreign born	49.3	90.1	8.3
Age at immigration			
0-17	53.9	31.03	2.2
18-25	27.0	24.7	21.4
26+1	9.14	4.3	46.4
Years in the U.S.			
Mean	33.7	19.1	25.8
SD	13.2	11.5	15.2
English language fluency (%)	62.3	24.3	100.0
Mean ^a	2.79	1.77	4.93
SD	1.29	1.0	1.34
Catholic (%)	72.2	84.8	14.5
Religiosity ^b	00.0	-.02	.03
Standardized values	.76	.75	.78
Median family income	\$22,000.00	\$14,200.00	\$27,000.00
Neighborhood context			
Median neighborhood income	\$25,351.00	\$21,595.78	\$31,250.00
Perceived neighborhood problems			
Mean ^c	1.71	1.90	1.67
SD	.66	.67	.62
Neighborhood ethnic density (%)			
High density (>30%) own ethnicity	60.9	56.2	61.7
Low density (<30%) own ethnicity	39.1	43.8	38.3
High density Dominican	28.8	—	13.1
High density Puerto Rican	—	77.4	39.2
High density Black	42.3	16.1	—
Ethnically mixed ^d	28.8	5.6	47.4

^a 1 = low; 5 = high.^b Religiosity is the mean of four standardized items, each with a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1.^c 1 = low; 3 = high.^d Ethnically mixed neighborhoods were defined as those less than 30% Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Black. On average, ethnically mixed neighborhoods were 14.0% Puerto Rican (range = 4-24%), .8% Dominican (range = 0-4%), 17.6% African American (range = 10-29%), and 29.6% non-Hispanic White (range = 11-62%).

middle-aged (forty to fifty-nine years old) adults. Half the Puerto Ricans had completed high school or the equivalent, a figure that is comparable to the high school completion rate for Puerto Ricans in New York City in 1990. The Puerto Rican sample was equally divided between those born in the mainland United States and those born in Puerto Rico. Among the latter group, almost 54% had immigrated to the mainland United States before the age of eighteen; on average, they had been in the United States for more than thirty years. Accordingly, almost two-thirds of the Puerto Rican respondents reported that they were equally fluent in English and Spanish. The majority of them were Catholic. Annual family income among Puerto Rican respondents was higher than that among Dominican respondents, but it was lower than that among Black respondents. Sixty-one percent of Puerto Rican respondents were living in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, defined as census block groups in which more than 30% of residents were Puerto Rican. These respondents were drawn primarily from Sunset Park in Brooklyn and various neighborhoods in the Bronx such as University/Kingsbrook Heights, Castle Hill, and Bruckner. Puerto Rican respondents living in low density neighborhoods (<30% Puerto Rican) were drawn from other ethnic minority neighborhoods in New York. Among them were Washington Heights (a high density Dominican neighborhood in northern Manhattan), Eastchester (a high density Black neighborhood in the Bronx), and Fort Greene and Cobble Hill (ethnically mixed neighborhoods north of Prospect Park in Brooklyn). Thus, notably absent from the sample were second- or third-generation Puerto Rican adults living in middle- to upper-income White neighborhoods throughout the city.

Dominican respondents in the sample were also mostly young or middle-aged men and women, but they were less likely to be married and more likely to be single parents than were their Puerto Rican counterparts. Dominican respondents were less well educated than were Puerto Rican or Black respondents, consistent with the overall low levels of education among Dominicans in New York City (Grasmuck and Pessar 1996). More than 90% of the Dominican respondents were foreign born, and of these, most (69%) had immigrated to the United States during adulthood. On average, Dominican immigrants had been in the United States for about nineteen years, although many of them (27.5%) had immigrated within the past ten years. The majority of Dominican respondents reported that Spanish was their dominant language: only 24% of them reported at least equal competence in English

and Spanish. More than 80% of Dominican respondents were Catholic. The annual family income among Dominican participants was comparable to that for the average Dominican family in New York City as of the 1990 U.S. census, but it was significantly lower than that for Puerto Rican or Black respondents in the present study. Approximately 56% of the Dominican respondents lived in high density Dominican neighborhoods, the majority of them in Washington Heights. It is important to note, for purposes of a later discussion, that Washington Heights is among the poorest neighborhoods in New York City. In the present sample, respondents living in Washington Heights reported significantly more problems in their neighborhoods than did respondents living elsewhere (mean number of major problems = 3.56 in Washington Heights vs. 2.33 elsewhere; $t(904) = -4.22, p < .05$). Dominican respondents living in low density neighborhoods resided in Puerto Rican neighborhoods in Brooklyn and the Bronx (e.g., Sunset Park, Borum Hill). Very few of them lived in high density Black neighborhoods or in neighborhoods that were ethnically mixed.

The Black subsample of respondents consisted primarily of U.S.-born African Americans; fewer than 10% of them were foreign born. Black respondents were much less likely than their Puerto Rican or Dominican counterparts to be married with children. They were much more likely than either Hispanic group to be unmarried with no children younger than eighteen years of age in the home. Blacks had more years of schooling than their Dominican and Puerto Rican counterparts. Sixteen percent of Black and Puerto Rican respondents were aged sixty or older, compared with 9% of Dominican respondents. Only one in five of the Black respondents had not obtained a high school diploma or its equivalent, compared with 42% and 46% of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, respectively. Black respondents were much less likely to be Catholic (15%) than were other respondents; the largest percentage identified themselves as Baptist (39%). More than 60% of Black respondents were drawn from high density (>30%) Black neighborhoods, which were primarily in Brooklyn surrounding Prospect Park (e.g., Fort Greene, Clinton Hill, Prospect Heights) or in the Bronx bordering Westchester. Unlike high density Puerto Rican or Dominican neighborhoods, these were primarily middle-income neighborhoods in which residents were professionals, students, and artists. Notably absent from the sample were Blacks living in high poverty, high density Black neighborhoods throughout New York, such as central Harlem, East New York, or the central Bronx. Thus, the sample of Black respon-

dents consisted of middle- to upper-income Black New Yorkers living in relatively stable areas throughout the city.

Assessing Family and Community Obligation and Participation

Indicators of family and community participation and obligation used in the study are listed in table 6.2. The measures vary considerably in terms of their similarity to measures used in the national MIDUS study and in terms of the texture and detail provided. In both the family and community domains, measures of normative obligation (e.g., normative family obligation, civic obligation, and altruism) were parallel to measures used in the national MIDUS study, a primary advantage being the opportunity to locate ethnic minority adults on these measures relative to the national sample. Principal axes factor analysis (available from the author) of the full set of items tapping normative role obligations yielded a factor structure that was comparable to that identified in the national MIDUS sample, reducing concerns about the equivalence of these measures across groups. As described in greater detail later, mean values on measures tapping normative role obligations in the present sample were also comparable to those reported for the national MIDUS sample (see chapter 3).

Measures of family contributions and community contributions used in the New York study were more global and less nuanced than were measures of similar constructs in the national MIDUS study. In the family domain, respondents were asked about contributions of money or material goods to family and friends but not about contributions of social support or caregiving. Moreover, respondents were not asked to distinguish the type of contribution (e.g., money vs. food) or the recipient of the contribution (e.g., parents vs. adult children vs. grandchildren). Nor were they asked about nonfinancial contributions of time or services to family or friends. Likewise, in the community domain, respondents were asked about contributions of money or material goods to religious or other organizations but were not asked to specify the type of contribution (e.g., money vs. goods) or the type of organization (e.g., local vs. national; ethnic vs. non-ethnic). Nor were they asked about contributions of time or services to organizations. Thus, in focusing exclusively on financial and material exchanges, measures of contribution in both the family and the community domains may underestimate respondents' participation, especially among less financially advantaged respondents in the sample for whom obligation and participation may be expressed in other ways. In addition to limi-

TABLE 6.2 Description of Measures Assessing Family and Community Obligation and Participation

Domain	Dimension	Measure	Measure Description
Family	Obligation	Family obligation	Eight-item scale identical to that used in MIDUS. Respondents utilized an eleven-point (0–10) rating scale to indicate the degree of obligation felt toward children, parents, spouse, and friends, e.g., “to be in touch with your parents on a regular basis” or “to take a friend into your home who could not afford to live alone” (scale range = 0–80; alpha = .83; mean for the full sample = 63.74; SD = 13.37).
	Participation	Family contributions	Respondents were asked whether or not they currently contribute money, food, clothing, or other goods to a family member (including parents, in-laws, adult children, or grandchildren) or friends (0 = no contributions, 1 = contributes to family or friends, 2 = contributes to family and friends; mean = .96; SD = .94).
		Frequency of contact	Respondents were asked, “How often are you in contact with any members of your family—that is, any of your brothers, sisters, parents, or children who do not live with you—including visits, phone calls, letters, or electronic mail messages?” Respondents answered on an eight-point interval level scale (1 = never/hardly ever, 2 = less than once a month, 3 = about once a month, 4 = 2–3 times a month, 5 = about once a week, 6 = several times a week, 7 = about once a day, 8 = several times a day; mean = 6.44; SD = 1.70).
Community	Obligation	Civic obligation	Four-item scale identical to that used in MIDUS. Respondents used an eleven-point (0–10) rating scale to indicate the degree of obligation felt toward participation in civic affairs, e.g., “to vote in national or local elections” (scale range = 0–40; alpha = .91; mean for the full sample = 29.20; SD = 9.00).
		Altruism	Four-item scale identical to that used in MIDUS. Respondents used an eleven-point (0–10) rating scale to indicate the degree of obligation felt toward helping others at one’s own expense, e.g., “to collect contributions for heart or cancer research if asked to do so” (scale range = 0–40; alpha = .89; mean for the full sample = 26.49; SD = 10.83).
	Participation	Community contributions	Respondents were asked whether they contributed money, food, clothing, or other goods to a religious group or to any other organization (0 = does not contribute, 1 = contributes to religious or nonreligious organizations, 2 = contributes to religious and nonreligious organizations; mean = .71; SD = .86).
		Community attachment	Four-item scale utilizing the top-loading items from Buckner’s (1989) measure of neighborhood cohesion. Respondents indicated the extent to which they felt embedded in and loyal to their neighborhood, e.g., “Living in this neighborhood gives me a sense of community” (range = 0–4; alpha = .93; mean for the full sample = 3.31; SD = .88).

tations due to narrowness of coverage, any single-item measure is subject to greater error variance than are multi-item indicators. Nevertheless, respondents’ reports about *whether or not* they have given to any family member, religious group, or organization may be more accurate than their reports about the actual amount of money or value of goods given.

Frequency of family contact and community attachment were also assessed as indicators of family and community participation. As with measures of contribution, the single-item question concerning frequency of family contact provides little detail regarding specific non-resident family members with whom respondents maintain contact or regarding the vehicle for such contact. Because contact with any non-resident family member through any medium is included, the high level of contact suggested by the mean values in table 6.2 is not surprising. Indeed, most of the variance in the measure distinguished respondents who reported daily (59.7%) vs. weekly (24.2%) contact with non-resident family members. Thus, the measure may not be as sensitive as other measures we included to the sorts of predictor variables examined here. As a multi-item indicator, the measure of community attachment is more comprehensive and less subject to error variance than is the measure of frequency of contact. However, it focuses exclusively on respondents’ subjective sense of community, although other aspects of attachment, such as intention to remain in the neighborhood, may be important indicators of community attachment as well.

Additional variables examined in the chapter (not shown in table 6.2) were measured and coded as follows: In all multivariate analyses, family structure variables were statistically controlled, although such variables receive little substantive attention. Respondents were coded according to marital status (0 = not married; 1 = married) and parental status (0 = no children under eighteen living in the home; 1 = at least one child under eighteen living in the home). Age was measured in years as of the respondent’s most recent birthday. Respondents were categorized according to three age groups: young (ages twenty-one to thirty-nine); middle-aged (ages forty to fifty-nine) and older (ages sixty and older) adults. Education was assessed using a twelve-point interval level scale (1 = some grade school; 12 = Ph.D., ED.D., M.D.). As with the indicator of age, respondents were grouped according to three categories: no high school diploma; high school diploma or GED; and courses beyond high school. Annual household income was assessed as an interval level variable in increments of \$5,000 to \$10,000. Respon-

dents were asked to choose the category that best represented their total annual household income from all sources before taxes. The midpoint of each interval was used to estimate a continuous variable representing annual income in U.S. dollars. Respondents' ethnicity was represented in all multivariate analyses with two dummy variables representing Puerto Ricans (0 = no; 1 = yes) and Dominicans (0 = no; 1 = yes). In all analyses, Blacks served as the reference group. Immigrant status was a binary variable (0 = U.S. born; 1 = foreign born). English language fluency was determined by a single-item question in which respondents indicated on a five-point interval scale the language they usually think in (1 = Spanish only; 5 = English only). To represent differences in religious affiliation across ethnic groups, a dummy variable was included to distinguish respondents who were Catholic from those who were not (0 = not Catholic; 1 = Catholic). To assess religiosity, respondents were asked four questions concerning their commitment to religion (1 = not at all religious; 4 = very religious), frequency of church attendance (1 = never; 5 = more than once a week), reliance on religion to make decisions (1 = never; 4 = often), and reliance on religion to cope with difficulties (1 = never; 4 = often). Due to the different response formats for these questions, the mean of the standardized items was used as an indicator of religiosity ($\alpha = .79$, $M = 0$, $SD = 1$). Census block group data from the 1990 U.S. census was used to assess median neighborhood income. Neighborhood ethnic density was assessed using census block group data on neighborhood ethnic composition. Respondents were coded as living in high (>30% own ethnicity) or low (<30% own ethnicity) density neighborhoods based on the proportion of residents within the census block group who were of the same ethnicity (e.g., non-Hispanic Black, Dominican, Puerto Rican) as the respondent. Although there are limitations to using block group data to represent neighborhood-level phenomena (e.g., block group geographic boundaries may not correspond to neighborhood boundaries as perceived by residents), such aggregate-level data does provide some insight into the characteristics of residential areas. To assess neighborhood problems, respondents were asked to indicate on a three-point scale the extent to which eleven conditions (e.g., youth who have little respect for property; poor schools; violent arguments) were problems in their current neighborhood (1 = not a problem; 3 = a big problem). Respondents' ratings across these eleven potential problems were averaged.

RESULTS

In this section, results of analyses concerning participation and obligation are presented separately for indicators in the family and community domains. For each domain, descriptive data concerning participation and involvement are presented first. Then, findings regarding the extent to which participation and obligation vary as a function of individual-level socio-structural variables, ethnic markers, and neighborhood contextual variables are presented in turn.

Family Obligation and Participation

Table 6.3 presents means and zero-order correlations for indicators of family participation and normative obligation. The table shows extensive engagement with and obligation to family within the sample. Over one-half of the respondents reported contributions of money or material goods to family members or friends; more than 40% of them reported contributions to both. Contact with nonresident family members was also extensive. Additional analyses (not shown) showed that 55% of respondents within each ethnic group reported contact with nonresident family members on a daily basis. An additional 28% reported contact at least once a week. Consistent with their participation in family networks, respondents also reported relatively high normative family obligation, with scores on the 0–80 scale that were quite comparable to those reported by respondents in the national MIDUS sample (65.3, 63.9, and 62.3 for Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black respondents, respectively, vs. 60.0 for respondents in the national MIDUS sample [see chapter 3]).

Zero-order correlations presented in table 6.3 show that indicators

TABLE 6.3 Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlation Coefficients for Indicators of Family Participation and Obligation

	Mean	SD	1	2	3
1. Family contributions ^a	.96	.94			
2. Frequency of contact ^b	6.43	1.71	-.07*		
3. Normative family obligation ^c	63.74	13.37	.07*	.04	

^a0 = no contributions; 1 = contributes to family or friends; 2 = contributes to family and friends.

^b1 = less than once a year; 8 = several times a day

^cRange = 0–80.

* $p < .05$.

of family obligation and participation were only weakly associated with one another, with all coefficients below .10. Family contribution was negatively correlated with frequency of contact, indicating that respondents with less frequent contact with family were more likely to report financial/material contributions to them than were respondents with more frequent contact. To explore this relationship further, I examined whether foreign-born respondents with family living in the United States were less likely to make contributions to family and more likely to maintain frequent contact with them than respondents whose family members are largely living abroad. However, not only were respondents with and without family in the United States equally likely to contribute to family ($M_{\text{family contributions}} = 1.00$ and .95, respectively), but the negative correlation between family contribution and frequency of contact was significant in both groups. Thus, a more plausible explanation is that giving financial assistance to family diminishes contact (perhaps because such contact heightens demands for assistance), or that material contributions substitute for time given to family. Frequency of contact was positively correlated with normative family obligation, not surprising since both are expressions of commitment to family. Indeed, one might expect this correlation to be larger, since a general pattern of engagement with family is likely to include both frequent family contact and high family obligation. Thus, the relatively small correlation may be a function of the concentration of respondents at the upper tail of the distribution for both normative family obligation and frequency of contact.

To examine the extent to which socio-structural variables, ethnic markers, and neighborhood contextual variables were significant in predicting the three indicators of family participation and obligation, I estimated a series of ordinary least squares regression equations. Again, the primary goals here were: (1) to examine the extent to which relationships between socio-structural variables and indicators of obligation and participation mirror those reported for the national MIDUS sample; and (2) to assess whether family obligation and participation varied as a function of ethnic markers and neighborhood context variables once socio-structural variables were controlled. In the equations, I regressed each of the three criterion variables onto sets of conceptually linked predictor variables, in turn. I entered family structure variables (marital and parental status) as demographic controls at step one. Then, I entered sets of socio-structural variables (age, education, annual income, gender), racial and ethnic markers (ethnicity, immigrant

status, English language fluency, Catholicism, religiosity) and neighborhood context variables (median neighborhood household income, perceived neighborhood problems, neighborhood ethnic density) into each equation in three sequential steps. At the final step (step 5) of each equation, I entered two multiplicative interaction terms (Dominican $\times$ >30% own ethnicity; Puerto Rican $\times$ >30% own ethnicity). The interaction terms tested whether the slopes of the coefficient for neighborhood ethnic density among Puerto Rican and Dominican respondents, respectively, was equivalent to that among the reference group of Black respondents. I centered each of the interaction terms, and the main effects involved in them, around the sample mean to reduce multicollinearity between components of the equations.

Results of the regression equations are presented in table 6.4. In the table, ΔR^2 and F refer to the increment in explained variance at each step upon entry of the set of predictor variables. These coefficients provide information about whether or not the variables within each set contribute jointly to explained variance in the criterion. The standardized regression coefficients are from the final equations with all variables entered. Thus, they indicate whether each predictor variable in the model contributes to explained variance in the criterion, controlling for all other variables in the model including those contained within the set.

I begin by examining relationships between socio-structural variables and each of the three indicators of family participation and obligation. Recall that in previous studies, social responsibility and generativity in the family domain have been found to diminish with age, due to diminishing family responsibilities, and to increase with income and education, due to the incremental resources these provide. As table 6.4 shows, entry of the set of socio-structural variables was not significant in the equation for family contributions but resulted in a significant, albeit small, increment in explained variance in equations for frequency of contact and normative family obligation. Correspondingly, few of the socio-structural variables were significant in the final equations. Beginning with age, table 6.4 shows that only one of the six coefficients representing age (two dummy variables $\times$ three equations) was significant in the final model: older (but not middle-aged) adults reported lower normative family obligation than did young adults. Gender was significant in the equations for frequency of contact and normative family obligation: women reported more frequent contact with family and greater obligation to assist them than did men. Respondents with higher annual household incomes reported more frequent contact

TABLE 6.4 OLS Regressions of Indicators of Family Participation and Obligation on Family Structure, Socio-structural Variables, Ethnic Markers, and Neighborhood Context Variables (beta coefficients)

	Family Contribution	Frequency of Contact	Normative Family Obligation
Family structure			
Marital status ^a	.05	-.03	.01
Parental status ^b	.00	-.02	.02
ΔR^2	.01**	.00	.01*
$F(2,888)$	5.02	1.10	3.75
Socio-structural variables			
Age ^c			
40-59	.02	-.04	-.06
60+	.03	-.03	-.13**
Gender ^d	-.05	.11**	.09**
Education ^e			
High school diploma	-.01	.04	.01
Courses beyond high school	.03	-.02	-.02
Annual household income	.08*	.08*	.06
ΔR^2	.01	.02*	.02**
$F(6,882)$	1.75	2.44	3.49
Ethnic markers			
Ethnicity ^f			
Puerto Rican	.26***	-.05	.05
Dominican	.04	.11	.01
Immigrant status ^g	.01	-.06	.01
English language fluency ^h	.04	.05	.05
Catholicism	-.14**	.03	.06
Religiosity	.06*	.00	-.02
ΔR^2	.04***	.02*	.01
$F(6,876)$	17.63	2.25	1.60
Neighborhood context			
Median neighborhood household income	-.02	-.04	-.15***
Perceived neighborhood problems	-.10**	-.00	-.15***
Neighborhood ethnic density ⁱ	-.11**	.04	-.02
ΔR^2	.03***	.00	.03***
$F(3,873)$	8.78	.69	10.56
Interaction terms^j			
Puerto Rican $\times$ >30% neighborhood ethnic density	.12**	-.09**	.02
Dominican $\times$ >30% neighborhood ethnic density	-.09*	.00	-.04
ΔR^2	.03***	.01*	.00
$F(2,871)$	15.50	3.25	1.15
Total adjusted R^2	.19**	.09	.07**

^a0 = not married; 1 = married.^b0 = no child <18 lives in home; 1 = child <18 lives in home.^cAge reference group = 21-39.^d0 = male; 1 = female.^eReference group = no high school diploma.^fReference group = Black.^g0 = U.S. born; 1 = foreign born.^h1 = Spanish only; 5 = English only.ⁱ0 = <30% own ethnicity; 1 = >30% own ethnicity.^jReference group = Black.* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

with family than did their less financially advantaged counterparts. Here, it is notable that educational attainment was not significantly associated with any of the three indicators of family participation and obligation in the final equations. In the national MIDUS study, both education and income were associated with financial contributions, time, and emotional support given to family (see chapter 3). To ensure that the nonsignificant relationship was not due to the shared variance between educational attainment and annual household income, I conducted supplementary analyses omitting annual household income from the model. Still, neither of the dummy variables representing educational attainment was statistically significant in any of the three equations.² As discussed in more detail later, the lack of a significant relationship between educational attainment and family obligation and participation in the present study may be a function of a high level of involvement and participation, even among respondents in the lowest education categories.

At step three of each regression equation, we can examine relationships between ethnic markers and indicators of family participation and obligation. As suggested earlier, family participation and obligation may vary across groups because of differences in cultural norms and in the social spaces groups occupy. As table 6.4 shows, entry of the set of ethnic markers resulted in a significant increment in explained variance in equations for family contributions and frequency of contact. Such ethnic markers were especially important in the equation for family contributions, explaining an incremental 4% of the variance in scores. In the final equation, coefficients for ethnicity and Catholicism were each statistically significant. Thus, controlling for all other variables in the model, Puerto Rican and Dominican respondents were each more likely than was the reference group of Blacks to report family contributions. It is not immediately apparent why ethnic group differences in giving should exist here, unless respondents of differing ethnic backgrounds also differ in their subjective construction of their own and others' financial situations. For instance, Blacks would be more likely than Dominican or Puerto Rican respondents with similar financial resources to feel financially squeezed if they maintain as a reference group better-off Black middle-class neighbors or Whites who live in the Park Slope or Westchester neighborhoods that border Black communities from which we drew the sample. Alternatively, it may also be that because Black respondents were more financially advantaged than were Puerto Rican or Dominican respondents, their families

may have been less likely than were families of Puerto Rican or Dominican respondents to need financial assistance. Respondents who were Catholic were less likely than the reference group of non-Catholics to report family contributions. Post hoc analyses showed that this difference was significant across each of the three ethnic groups. Again, the mechanisms underlying such a difference is not readily apparent. Perhaps Catholic respondents are embedded in families that are larger than those of non-Catholic respondents, such that at any given income level there are fewer resources to distribute. It may also be that Catholic respondents' families are less likely than other families to need financial assistance.

In the equation for frequency of contact, although the 2% increment in explained variance upon entry of the set of ethnic markers was statistically significant, none of the individual predictors within the set were significant—either upon entry or in the final equation. This is due, in part, to the shared variance between predictors within the set: zero-order correlation coefficients showed that Puerto Rican respondents reported less frequent contact with family than did others $r = -.10$, $p < .05$), whereas Dominican respondents reported more frequent contact with family than did others $r = .07$, $p = .08$). The final equation, however, suggested that such ethnic differences were not significant when other ethnic markers in the model were held constant.

Next, I turn to an examination of the main effects of neighborhood context variables, entered at step four of each equation. Examination of these neighborhood context variables permits one to evaluate hypotheses regarding the influence of ambient stressors and ethnic heterogeneity on giving and caring behaviors. Table 6.4 shows that neighborhood context variables were especially important in predicting family contributions and normative family obligation. In both equations, the set of neighborhood context variables accounted for a 3% increment in explained variance, after socio-structural variables and ethnic markers had been statistically controlled. Respondents who perceived more neighborhood problems were less likely to report family contributions and reported lower normative family obligation than did their counterparts who perceived fewer neighborhood problems. Respondents in neighborhoods with lower median household incomes also reported less normative family obligation than did their counterparts in more economically advantaged neighborhoods. Overall, respondents in high density neighborhoods were less likely to report family contributions than were their counterparts in low density neighborhoods.

However, as described below, significant interaction terms in the final equations indicated that the nature of mean differences between respondents living in high and low ethnic density neighborhoods varied across ethnic groups.

At step five of each equation, I entered the set of ethnicity $\times$ neighborhood ethnic density interaction terms. Significant ethnicity $\times$ neighborhood ethnic density interaction terms indicate that differences in predicted means for those living in high and low ethnic density neighborhoods were not uniform across groups. When significant interaction terms emerged, I estimated and plotted predicted means. These means are presented in figures 6.1 and 6.2. As shown in figure 6.1, Puerto Rican respondents in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods were more likely than were their counterparts in low density

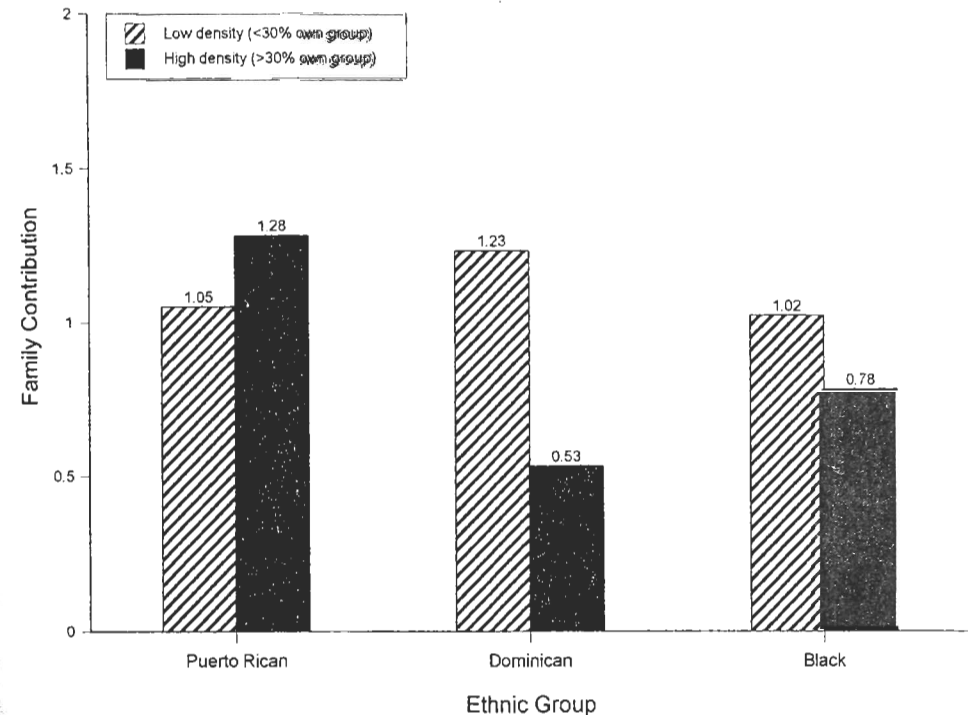


FIGURE 6.1. Predicted means for family contributions, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For family contributions, 0 = gives to no one; 1 = gives to family or friends; 2 = gives to family and friends.

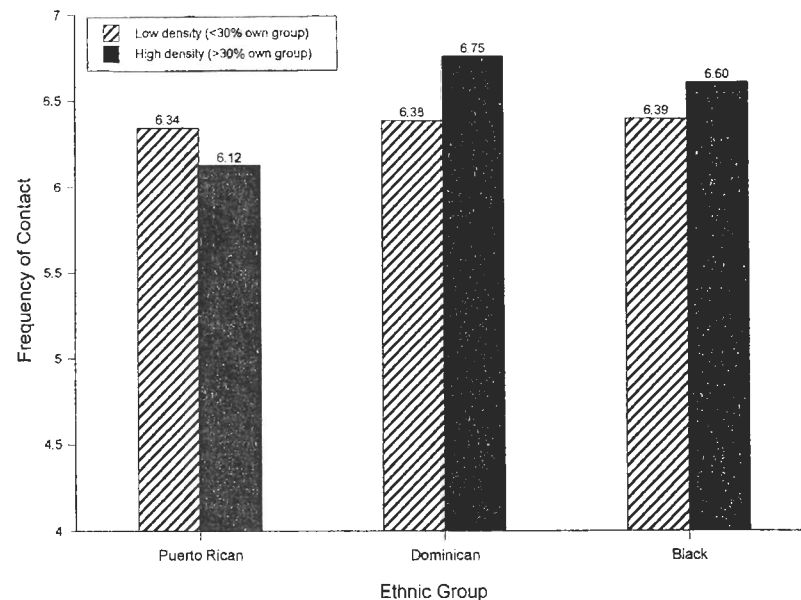


FIGURE 6.2. Predicted means for frequency of contact, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For frequency of contact, 1 = never or hardly ever; 2 = less than once a month; 3 = about once a month; 4 = two or three times a month; 5 = about once a week; 6 = several times a week; 7 = about once a day; 8 = several times a day.

Puerto Rican neighborhoods to report family contributions. Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods were significantly less likely to report family contributions than were their counterparts in low density Dominican neighborhoods. Black respondents in high ethnic density neighborhoods did not differ from Black respondents in low density Black neighborhoods in reported family contributions. Post hoc exploration of this finding suggested that the contrast between findings for Puerto Rican and Dominican respondents is due largely to a low incidence of family contributions among Hispanic respondents living in Dominican neighborhoods, whether Puerto Rican or Dominican. Notably, almost one-third of Puerto Rican respondents in low density neighborhoods lived in high density Dominican neighborhoods. Thirty-two percent of Puerto Rican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported any giving to fam-

ily or friends compared with 70% of Puerto Rican respondents in other types of neighborhoods. Only 34% of Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported any giving to family or friends compared with 70% of Dominicans in other types of neighborhoods. The few Black respondents ($n = 23$) who lived in high density Dominican neighborhoods were slightly more likely to give to family than were other Blacks, perhaps because their families were less financially advantaged than were the families of other Blacks in the sample.

In the equation for frequency of contact, only the product term comparing Puerto Rican respondents in low and high density neighborhoods with Black respondents in low and high density neighborhoods was significant. As shown in figure 6.2, Puerto Rican respondents living in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods reported less frequent contact with family than did Puerto Rican respondents living in low density neighborhoods. Black respondents living in high density Black neighborhoods and Dominican respondents living in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported more frequent contact with family than did their counterparts in low density neighborhoods. Again, post hoc examination of means across different neighborhood types showed that extensive (daily) contact with family was more prevalent in Dominican neighborhoods than in other types of neighborhoods among both Puerto Rican and Dominican respondents. For instance, 89% of Puerto Rican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported daily contact with family, whereas only 49% of their counterparts in other neighborhoods reported such daily contact ($\chi^2 = 15.69, p < .01$). Sixty-seven percent of Dominican respondents in Dominican neighborhoods reported daily contact with family, whereas 56% of their counterparts in other neighborhoods reported daily contact ($\chi^2 = 3.66, p < .06$).

To summarize briefly, analyses so far have suggested a high level of participation in and obligation toward family in the present sample. Indeed, the majority of respondents reported giving money or material goods to family, most had contact with family on a daily or weekly basis, and most reported high obligation to help family. In contrast to patterns identified in previous studies, indicators of participation and obligation did not vary greatly as a function of socio-structural variables. Age and educational attainment were not highly related to any of the three indicators of family participation and obligation: the only significant relationship to emerge was that older adults reported lower normative family obligation than did the reference group of young

adults. A higher annual household income was associated with more frequent contact with family, but it was only marginally associated with contributions to family and was unrelated to normative family obligation. Consistent with other studies, however, gender was associated with family obligation and participation: women reported more frequent contact with family and higher obligation to assist than men did. After controlling for these sorts of socio-structural variables, the set of ethnic markers was quite important in explaining family contributions but relatively unimportant in explaining the other indicators. Blacks were less likely to report family contributions than were Dominican or Puerto Rican respondents. This may be because at any given income level they feel more disadvantaged than do Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. Alternatively, it may be that financial need was greater among Dominican and Puerto Rican families than among the families of their better-off Black counterparts. Catholics were also less likely to report family contributions than were non-Catholics, reflecting the high likelihood that Catholic respondents have larger families (and more financial obligations to meet) than do their non-Catholic counterparts. Contributions to family, and expressed obligation to assist them, also appeared to vary considerably as a function of neighborhood context variables, especially perceived neighborhood problems and neighborhood ethnic composition. Respondents living in neighborhoods where resources were low or problems were high (or both) were less likely to report family contributions and reported lower obligation to assist family. Moreover, family obligation and participation were expressed differently in different ethnic neighborhoods. Puerto Rican and Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods were especially unlikely to report financial or material contributions to family. In contrast, contact with family was especially high in such neighborhoods. In Puerto Rican neighborhoods, the incidence of giving was higher and the frequency of contact with family was lower than in Dominican neighborhoods. Later, I will discuss these sorts of findings from both a structural and a cultural perspective, both of which seem plausible. I turn now to an examination of community obligation and participation.

Civic Participation and Altruism

Only a few studies in the psychological literature have examined community participation among ethnic minority adults (e.g., Brown 1991; Cole and Stewart 1996; Milburn and Bowman 1991; Saegart

1990; Serrano-Garcia 1984). Saegart's ethnographic description of Black women's involvement in community housing efforts (1990) and Serrano-Garcia's description of women involved in empowerment movements in Puerto Rico (1984) suggest ethnic minority adults' involvement in local efforts. However, obligation toward the larger social good is likely to be quite distinct from participation in or obligation to one's family or local community. For groups who have historically been marginalized and, indeed, discriminated against, responsibility in service of a social system that has shunned them probably ranks bottom among entities to which they are likely to feel obligated. As noted previously, Newman (chapter 5, this volume) observed that few respondents mentioned obligation to community institutions or to larger social structures in their narratives regarding social responsibility.

Table 6.5 presents descriptive information on the distribution of community obligation and participation variables in the present sample and on the correlations between them. About 44% of respondents reported contributing money or material goods to religious or other organizations—significantly fewer than the 60% of respondents who reported contributing money or material goods to family members or friends. Respondents were more likely to report contributing to religious than to other types of organizations (39% vs. 30.9%, respectively). Only about one-quarter of the respondents reported contributions of money or material goods to *both* religious and nonreligious organizations. However, respondents reported a relatively high sense of community attachment, with mean values of 3.3 on a four-point scale. As in the national MIDUS sample, respondents' obligation to community was lower than was their obligation to family. Mean values for both civic participation and altruism were significantly lower than those for family obligation, a pattern that was consistent across each of the ethnic groups.³ Notably, respondents' mean values on measures of civic obligation and altruism were also similar to those reported for the national MIDUS sample: for civic obligation, $M = 29.9$, 28.8 , and 28.9 for Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Blacks, respectively, vs. 30.7 for the national MIDUS sample; for altruism, $M = 27.8$, 27.9 , and 24.3 for Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Blacks, respectively, vs. 23.4 for the national MIDUS sample.

Table 6.5 also shows that indicators of community participation and obligation were moderately to highly correlated with one another. All zero-order correlation coefficients were significant at $p < .01$. The weakest correlation was between community contribution and com-

TABLE 6.5 Means, Standard Deviations and Zero-Order Correlation Coefficients for Indicators of Community Participation and Obligation

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Community contributions ^a	.31	.46		.09**	.20**	.27**
2. Community attachment ^b	3.31	.88			.19**	.26**
3. Civic obligation ^c	29.20	9.0				.52**
4. Altruism ^d	26.49	10.83				

^a0 = no contributions; 1 = contributes to religious or nonreligious; 2 = contributes to religious and nonreligious organizations.

^b1 = low; 4 = high.

^cRange = 0–40.

^dRange = 0–40.

** $p < .01$.

munity attachment, $r = .09$); the largest was between civic obligation and altruism, $r = .52$). Thus, respondents who reported participation in community life in the form of financial contributions and high loyalty to their neighborhoods were also more likely to express obligation to participate in civic affairs and to help others, probably because norms regarding community contributions are likely to result in behaviors that are consistent with them.

As with indicators of family obligation and participation, an important objective of the analyses was to examine the extent to which socio-structural variables, ethnic markers, and neighborhood contextual variables were significant in predicting community participation and obligation. As in equations for family obligation and participation, I entered conceptually linked sets of predictor variables into each equation in five sequential steps. At step one, I entered marital and parental status, followed by socio-structural variables (age, education, gender, annual household income) at step two, racial and ethnic markers (ethnic background, immigrant status, English language fluency, Catholicism, religiosity) at step three, and neighborhood context variables (median neighborhood household income, perceived neighborhood problems, neighborhood ethnic density) at step four. I entered two multiplicative interaction terms (Dominican $\times$ >30% own ethnicity; Puerto Rican $\times$ >30% own ethnicity) at step five of each equation to evaluate the extent to which mean differences in obligation and participation for those living in high and low ethnic density neighborhoods differed across ethnic groups. I centered each of the interaction terms,

and the main effects involved in them, around the sample mean to reduce multicollinearity between components of the equations.

Results of the equations examining the four indicators of community participation and obligation are presented in table 6.6. In the table, the ΔR^2 and F shown for each set represent the increment in the proportion of variance explained at the step at which the set was entered. The standardized regression coefficients are from the final equations with all variables entered. Thus, they represent the unique contribution of each predictor variable when all other variables in the model were held constant.

I begin, again, with an examination of relationships between socio-structural variables and indicators of community participation and obligation. Recall that in previous writings, researchers have viewed age, education, and income as important contours of social responsibility and generativity in the community domain. Community obligation is thought to increase with age, due to the increased freedom from child-rearing responsibility that age carries, and with income and education, due to the increased feelings of agency that income and education provide. Table 6.6 shows that these sorts of socio-structural variables accounted for a significant increment in explained variance in equations for three of the four indicators of community participation and obligation, including community contributions, community attachment, and altruism. Older and middle-aged adults reported greater community attachment than did the reference group of young adults. Women reported less community attachment, and marginally higher altruism, than men did. Moreover, as in the national MIDUS study, education and income were generally associated with indicators of community obligation and participation. In the final equation, those with a high school diploma were more likely to report community contributions and reported higher community attachment and higher altruism than did the reference group of respondents with no high school diploma. Those with a higher annual household income were more likely to report community contributions than were those with a lower annual household income. As in the analysis of family obligation and participation, I conducted supplementary analyses in which income and education were examined separately because of the correlation between them. In these analyses, educational attainment was significant in each equation; annual household income was significant in all equations except that for community attachment.

Step 3 of each regression equation examines the extent to which in-

TABLE 6.6 OLS Regressions of Indicators of Community Participation and Obligation on Family Structure, Socio-structural Variables, Ethnic Markers, and Neighborhood Context Variables (beta coefficients)

	Family Contribution	Community Attachment	Civic Obligation	Altruism
Family structure				
Marital status ^a	.01	.01	.03	.02
Parental status ^b	.04	-.02	-.01	.00
ΔR^2	.02***	.01*	.01*	.01*
F(2,888)	9.12	4.36	2.77	2.56
Socio-structural variables				
Age ^c				
40-59	.04	.08*	-.03	.03
60+	.07*	.14**	-.01	.02
Gender ^d	-.04	-.08**	.03	.06*
Education ^e				
High school diploma	.06*	.08	.06	.08**
Courses beyond high school	.04	-.01	.08*	.07*
Annual household income	.12**	.00	.06	.07*
ΔR^2	.04***	.04***	.01	.02**
F(6,882)	5.74	5.92	1.70	3.17
Ethnic markers				
Ethnicity ^f				
Puerto Rican	.14**	-.03	.06	-.03
Dominican	-.03	.02	.00-	.13*
Immigrant status ^g	.08*	.14**	.17**	.18**
English language fluency ^h	-.02	-.00	.11*	-.09
Catholicism	-.08*	.04	-.00	.12**
Religiosity	.27**	.17**	.11**	.19**
ΔR^2	.10***	.05***	.03***	.10***
F(6,876)	17.63	8.39	5.00	16.25
Neighborhood context				
Median neighborhood household income	.07*	.04-	.02-	.01
Perceived neighborhood problems	-.06*	.00-	.08**	.10**
Neighborhood ethnic density ⁱ	-.05	.00	-.05	.00
ΔR^2	.01**	.00	.01**	.01*
F(3,873)	4.17	.82	3.95	2.75
Interaction terms ^j				
Puerto Rican $\times$ >30% neighborhood ethnic density	.16**	-.09**	.09**	.06*
Dominican $\times$ >30% neighborhood ethnic density	-.06	-.02	-.08**	-.08*
ΔR^2	.04***	.01*	.02***	.02
F(2,871)	19.70	3.27	10.75	7.53
Total adjusted R^2	.19**	.09	.07**	.13**

^a0 = not married; 1 = married.^b0 = no child <18 lives in home; 1 = child <18 lives in home.^cAge reference group = 21-39.^d0 = male; 1 = female.^eReference group = no high school diploma.^fReference group = Black.^g0 = U.S. born; 1 = foreign born.^h1 = Spanish only; 5 = English only.ⁱ0 = <30% own ethnicity; 1 = >30% own ethnicity.^jReference group = Black.* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

dicators of community obligation and participation vary as a function of the sorts of ethnic markers included in this study. As table 6.6 shows, the set of ethnic markers accounted for a significant increment in explained variance in all four equations, but most notably in the equations for community contributions and altruism. In this regard, immigrant status and religiosity emerged as especially important and robust predictors; both were significant in each of the four final equations. Foreign-born respondents and those reporting greater religiosity reported more community contributions, greater community attachment, greater civic obligation, and greater altruism than did their U.S.-born and less religious counterparts. Ethnicity, per se, was not highly related to these criterion variables: only one of the eight (four equations $\times$ two dummy variables) coefficients were significant in the final equations. Puerto Ricans were more likely to report community contributions than was the reference group of Blacks. Catholicism remained significant in the equations for community contributions and altruism. Catholics were less likely to report community contributions than were non-Catholics, but they also reported higher altruism.

Turning to the set of neighborhood context variables, table 6.6 shows a significant increment in explained variance in the equations for community contributions, civic obligation, and altruism. Respondents who perceived more neighborhood problems were less likely to report community contributions and reported lower civic obligation than did respondents who perceived fewer neighborhood problems, supporting the proposition that ambient environmental stressors may promote an inward focus and disengagement from community life. Perceived neighborhood problems was positively associated with altruism, a finding that is paradoxical in the context of the ambient environmental stress framework. However, exposure to the sorts of neighborhood problems we probed (drugs, violence, crime) may heighten concern about issues that affect one's local community (e.g., health care, poverty) while diminishing one's obligation to participate in broader civic affairs.

Turning next to findings concerning neighborhood ethnic density, table 6.6 shows that living among one's own ethnic group was not significant in any of the four equations. However, entry of the set of ethnicity $\times$ neighborhood ethnic density interaction terms resulted in a significant increment in explained variance in each of the four equations, indicating that relationships between neighborhood ethnic density and criterion variables were not uniform across ethnic groups. As in the equation for family obligation and participation, when signifi-

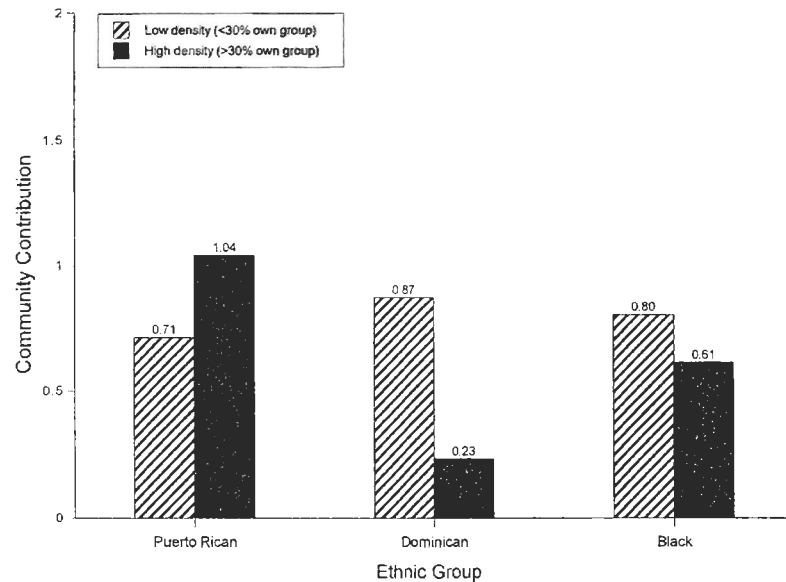


FIGURE 6.3. Predicted means for community contributions, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For community contributions, 0 = gives to no organization; 1 = gives to religious or non-religious organization; 2 = gives to religious and nonreligious organizations.

cant interaction terms emerged, I estimated and plotted predicted means, shown in figures 6.3–6.6. In figure 6.3, we see that Puerto Rican respondents in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods were more likely to report community contributions than were their counterparts in other types of neighborhoods. In contrast, Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods and Black respondents in high density Black neighborhoods were less likely than were their counterparts in low density neighborhoods to report community contributions. As in analyses for family contributions, post hoc analyses suggested that the neighborhood differential largely resulted from an especially low incidence of giving among respondents living in high density Dominican neighborhoods. For instance, 11% of Puerto Rican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods gave to an organization, compared with 59% of Puerto Rican respondents in other types of neighborhoods ($\chi^2 = 24.11, p < .001$). Seventeen percent of

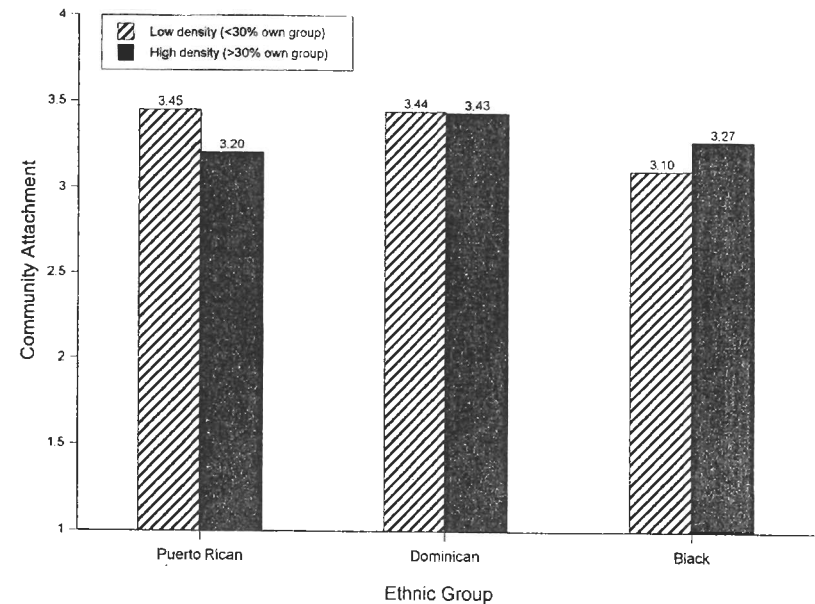


FIGURE 6.4. Predicted means for community attachment, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For community attachment, 1 = low; 4 = high.

Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods gave to an organization, compared with 51% of their counterparts in other types of neighborhoods ($\chi^2 = 36.75, p < .001$). Thirteen percent of Black respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods gave to an organization, compared with 47% of Black respondents in all other types of neighborhoods combined ($\chi^2 = 9.74, p < .01$), but the incidence of giving among Blacks in high density Black neighborhoods was also low (39%) relative to the incidence of giving among Blacks in Puerto Rican or ethnically mixed neighborhoods (65% and 57%, respectively).

Figure 6.4 presents mean levels of community attachment among respondents living in high and low density neighborhoods. In the equation for community attachment only the interaction term comparing Puerto Ricans with Blacks was statistically significant. As indicated by the predicted means, shown in figure 6.4, Puerto Rican respondents living in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods reported *less* attachment to their communities than did Puerto Rican respondents living in

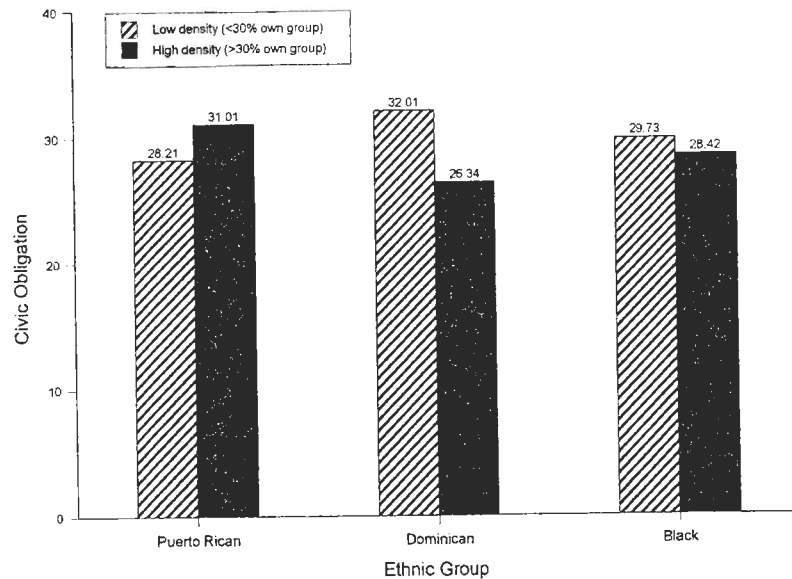


FIGURE 6.5. Predicted means for civic obligation, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For civic obligation, 0 = lowest; 40 = highest.

low density neighborhoods. However, Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods and Black respondents in high density Black neighborhoods did not differ significantly from one another in community attachment. Note that the low community attachment among Puerto Rican respondents in high density neighborhoods mirrors the less frequent contact with family among Puerto Rican respondents in high density neighborhoods that I reported earlier.

In the equations for civic obligation and altruism, the neighborhood ethnic density $\times$ ethnicity product terms for both Puerto Ricans and Dominicans were significant, although in opposite directions. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show that Puerto Rican respondents in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods reported *greater* civic obligation and greater altruism than did Puerto Rican respondents in low density neighborhoods. By contrast, Dominican respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported significantly *less* civic obligation and altruism than did Dominican respondents in low density neighborhoods. Among Blacks, neighborhood ethnic density was unrelated to civic obligation or altruism. Post hoc analyses, conducted to explore such dif-

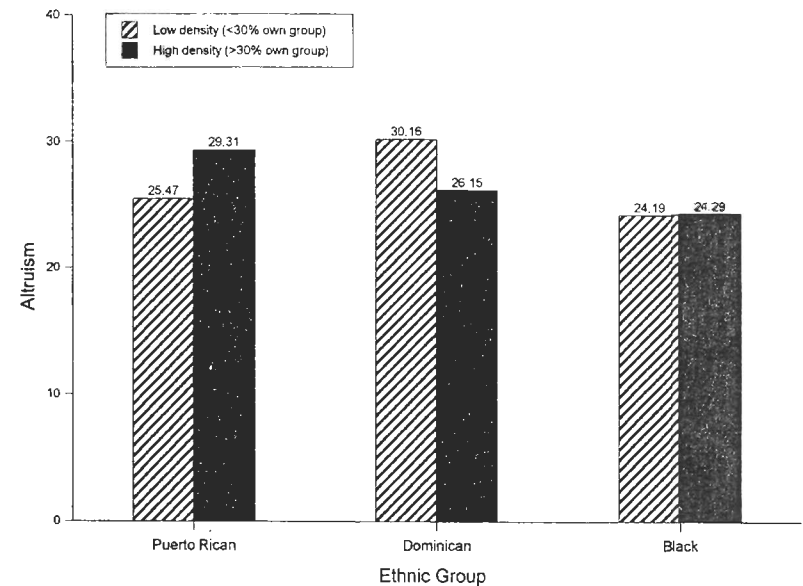


FIGURE 6.6. Predicted means for altruism, by ethnic group and neighborhood ethnic density. Predicted means estimated with all variables in the full model held constant. For altruism, 0 = lowest; 40 = highest.

ference further, indicated that (in concert with findings reported thus far) the patterns observed in figures 6.5 and 6.6 were largely a function of differences across neighborhood types in altruism and civic obligation, regardless of the respondent's own ethnic background. Specifically, respondents in high density Dominican neighborhoods reported *lower* civic obligation than did respondents in other types of neighborhoods.⁴ Respondents in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods reported *higher* civic obligation than did respondents in other types of neighborhoods.⁵ A similar pattern of relationships was identified when altruism was the criterion.⁶

In sum, participation in and obligation to community in the present sample was lower than obligation to and participation in family, as it was in the national MIDUS sample. However, such obligation and participation was by no means absent. A notable minority of respondents reported contributions to organizations, and most reported high attachment to their communities. Expressions of civic obligation and altruism were moderate, however. As in the national MIDUS sample, in-

dicators of community participation and obligation varied according to a range of socio-structural predictors. Community attachment was the only indicator of community participation and obligation to vary according to respondents' age category: older and middle-aged adults reported greater community attachment than did their younger counterparts. In general, more highly educated adults and those with greater financial resources reported more community obligation and participation than did their less educated and less financially advantaged counterparts. Although in the final regression equations, many of the coefficients representing socioeconomic indicators were not significant at $p < .05$, this was largely due to the shared variance between education and annual family income. The set of ethnic markers was important in explaining each of the indicators of community obligation and participation. Of particular note was the finding that foreign-born respondents and those reporting greater religiosity reported greater obligation and participation than did their U.S.-born and less religious counterparts in equations for each of the four criteria. Puerto Rican respondents were more likely to report community contributions than were Dominican or Black respondents. Catholic respondents were also less likely to report family contributions than were non-Catholics, which (as in the equation for family contributions) may result from a larger family size. Community participation and obligation also varied as a function of neighborhood context variables. Again, perceived neighborhood problems was an especially important predictor, with those in high problem neighborhoods reporting fewer contributions to organizations and lower civic obligation. However, those in high problem neighborhoods reported higher altruism than did their counterparts, controlling for other socio-structural and neighborhood indicators. Notably, community obligation and participation appeared to be expressed differently in different ethnic neighborhoods. Respondents in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods were characterized by high community contributions, high civic obligation, high altruism, and low community attachment. Those in Dominican neighborhoods were characterized by low community contribution, low civic obligation, low altruism and high community attachment. I turn now to a discussion of these findings in the context of the larger goals of the chapter.

OVERALL SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Social responsibility has been conceived as an integral component of well-being during the midlife years, reflecting close and positive ties

to family and community, commitment to working for others rather than simply for personal gain, and concern for social and moral issues. Although the concept has received growing attention from researchers, little is known about the expression of social responsibility among ethnic minority adults or among adults living in neighborhoods where normative family patterns are distinct and the exigencies that must be navigated loom large. If theories about social responsibility are to be useful, researchers need to elaborate its form and expression, and the processes that underlie it, across many cultural groups and ecological settings.

As a baby step toward this objective, the present chapter focused on examining social responsibility among urban ethnic minority adults. Data were presented to provide a portrait of family and community caring and giving and their correlates *within* a socioeconomically diverse sample of Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Black respondents. The chapter was structured according to several overarching goals, as follows:

First, it sought to describe family and community participation and obligation within the sample, simply because so little research has been conducted on social responsibility among ethnic minority adults. In this regard, findings suggested extensive participation and obligation in the family domain and moderate participation and obligation in the community domain—much the same as findings from the national MIDUS sample. For instance, the majority of respondents reported that they contributed money or material goods to family, although the measure of family contribution provided no information regarding the value of the contribution or to whom it was given. Contact with non-resident family members was also quite extensive, with the overwhelming majority of respondents reporting daily or weekly contact. Although no information was available regarding with whom contact was maintained or the medium for such contact, it is not clear that differentiating these recipients or mediums would provide additional insight into the *extent* of family ties. Consistent with findings from the behavioral measures, respondents also expressed high obligation to help family, with almost two-thirds of the sample expressing very high levels of normative family obligation (mean values of 9 or above on a 0–10 scale). The overall pattern of high family engagement is consistent with a wealth of previous ethnographic and qualitative studies, which have documented extensive networks of family exchange within ethnic minority communities (McAdoo 1981, 1983; Malson 1983; Stack 1974)

and extensive transnational and transcontinental family ties among immigrant families (Rumbaut 1998).

Respondents' obligation to and participation in community life was modest relative to their obligation to and participation in family life. Respondents were less likely to contribute money or material goods to organizations than they were to contribute to family, but a substantial minority of respondents reported at least some such contributions. Although respondents did not live in upscale or fancy neighborhoods, most of them nevertheless reported feelings of attachment to their communities. And, although normative obligation in the form of civic obligation and altruism was significantly lower than was obligation to family, it was far from absent. In fact, close to one-third of the sample expressed extremely high civic obligation (average values of 9 or above on a 0–10 scale) and about one-quarter expressed similarly high altruism. Although these descriptive findings are not generalizable to ethnic minority adults in New York City, due to the sampling strategy we used, their importance lies in addressing a significant omission in a broader research literature that provides little information regarding social responsibility among ethnic minority adults.

In addition to providing descriptive data, the chapter sought to examine the extent to which socio-structural markers that have commonly been viewed as important determinants of social responsibility and generativity during midlife were associated with family and community participation and obligation in the present sample. This inquiry was embedded in the notion that the definition and determinants of social responsibility may vary across groups, due to variation in normative family patterns and in the historical and present-day patterns of contact between these groups and the broader social world of which they are a part. Thus, whereas studies have consistently shown a downward trend with age in normative obligation to family (Keyes and Ryff 1998; Rossi, chapter 3, this volume), such trends were relatively weak in the present sample, with only one of three family-relevant criterion variables (normative family obligation) showing significant age effects. Even here, only the coefficient comparing adults sixty years of age and older with adults under age thirty-nine was statistically significant. The overall absence of relationships between age and family participation and obligation probably reflects respondents' ongoing involvement in the provision of social and economic support to extended kin throughout the life cycle. As noted earlier, in many ethnic/racial communities,

extended kin obligations continue throughout the life cycle, operating both within and across generations to ensure family survival. Attenuation of family obligation—an important marker of midlife among middle-class White Americans—is likely to be less pronounced among ethnic minority adults.

Age-related patterns in the community domain also differed from those found in the national sample (Keyes and Ryff 1998; Rossi, chapter 3, this volume) and in other studies of generativity (McAdams and de St. Aubin 1992; McAdams, de St. Aubin, and Logan 1993; McAdams, Hart, and Maruna 1998). For instance, whereas Rossi (chapter 3, this volume) and Keyes and Ryff (1998) found that altruism and civic obligation generally increased over the life course, especially among men, neither civic obligation nor altruism were significantly associated with age in the present sample. Although this finding may be a function of continuing family obligation, civic obligation and altruism among ethnic minority adults may also be constrained by disengagement from mainstream social institutions (e.g., the court or jury system) that do not serve their group's interests. Thus, even when the constraints of childrearing have diminished, such disengagement may suppress the expression of civic obligation and altruism. Older and middle-aged adults reported greater attachment to community than did their younger counterparts. Thus, the findings support the view that civic obligation and altruism may be depressed by a general disengagement from mainstream institutions, since community attachment, which increased with age, may be indicative of the sorts of "local caring" that Newman (chapter 5, this volume) described.

Relationships between socioeconomic indicators and family participation and obligation also diverged from patterns found in the broader literature. Whereas scholars have suggested that increasing education is associated with greater generativity, due to increased agency and other psychological resources that education provides, education was not associated with indicators of family obligation and participation in the present sample. Those with no high school diploma were as likely as their counterparts with more schooling to report high family participation and obligation. Annual household income was associated with frequency of contact only. Historically, reliance on extended kin has been an integral component of survival among ethnic minority families. The fact that low educational attainment and low income did not constrain family contributions or normative family obligation among adults who participated in the present study may be a function of the importance

of extended family support to the social and economic functioning of ethnic minority families. It is important to note, however, that the socioeconomic range within the present sample was somewhat limited. A relatively small proportion of respondents were college educated, and even those with relatively high incomes were not especially well off. The annual household income for those in the top income tertile was \$42,000 per year. Thus, we cannot rule out the possibility that a broader socioeconomic distribution would yield findings similar to those in existing studies.

In the community domain, relationships between socioeconomic indicators and civic obligation and altruism were similar to those reported in the national MIDUS sample. In general, more highly educated adults and those with greater financial resources reported more community obligation and participation than did their less educated and less financially advantaged counterparts.

In addition to examining variation in social responsibility as a function of age and education, the present study examined social responsibility as a function of gender. Previous studies have suggested that gender is critically linked to caregiving, emotional maintenance tasks, and concern for others, with women bearing the lion's share of these responsibilities. In the present study, no predictions were made regarding differential patterns of relationships between gender and indicators of obligation and participation in the present sample as compared with the national MIDUS sample. Indeed, women reported more frequent contact with family and expressed a greater obligation to assist them than men did, although they were not more likely than men to contribute money or other material resources to family. In the community domain, women reported greater altruism than did their male counterparts, but men reported greater attachment to community. The greater family obligation and altruism among women as compared to men is consistent with previous studies, which indicate that women are more oriented than are men to ensuring the welfare of others (e.g., Heimer 1996). The finding regarding men's greater attachment to community is more difficult to explain. One possibility is that women express less loyalty and less communion with others than men because the discrepancy between their standards for neighborhood quality and their actual neighborhood experiences may be greater. Alternatively, as Rossi (personal communication) suggested, women may simply be less involved with community than are men, either because their time is absorbed by family work and obligations or because, in dangerous neighborhoods,

they feel more threatened, less mobile, and less able to cope with neighborhood problems than do comparable men.

A final objective of the present chapter was to examine the extent to which family and community participation and obligation varied according to ethnic markers and neighborhood contextual variables. Earlier, I noted that different ethnic groups have different histories and experiences in the United States, which may result in differing orientations toward family and community. However, in the family domain, the only indicator of family obligation and participation to vary as a function of ethnic markers was family contributions. In this regard, Blacks were less likely than were Puerto Ricans or Dominicans to report family contributions, although findings did not generally point to a larger coherent pattern that was consistent with prior research concerning cultural patterns within these groups. Moreover, Blacks in the sample were of a higher socioeconomic status than Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, which may mean that their families were less in need of financial assistance. Overall, the similarity across groups in family obligation and participation is more pronounced than these differences and is likely to reflect similarities in normative family patterns and in experiences of economic marginality that are commonly accompanied by high extended family involvement (Wilson 1986, 1989).

In the community domain, immigrant status and religiosity differentiated respondents' reports about community participation and involvement more so than did ethnicity *per se*. Foreign-born respondents reported greater community attachment, more civic obligation, and more altruism than did U.S.-born respondents. It is important to note that the significant coefficient for immigrant status represented incremental explained variance not accounted for by ethnicity *per se*. Thus, within each ethnic group, immigrant respondents generally reported more favorable orientations toward their local communities and larger social structures than did their U.S.-born counterparts. Several underlying phenomena may account for such differences. For instance, the more favorable community orientations among immigrant respondents may reflect the sort of "immigrant ethos" described by scholars studying Blacks (Waters 1997), Dominicans (Rumbaut 1998; Grasmuck and Pessar 1996; Pessar 1995), and Puerto Ricans (Morales 1986). This ethos is characterized by strong family ties, high aspirations among children, a strong work ethic, and identification with the "American dream." However, scholars have also documented that the ethos erodes over time as immigrants and their families encounter the

realities of blocked opportunity, of life in impoverished neighborhoods, of working long hours at low-wage jobs with little opportunity for advancement, and of discrepancies between the dream in which they invested and the actualities of their daily lives (Rumbaut 1998; Waters 1997). The higher community attachment, civic obligation, and altruism expressed by immigrant as compared with U.S.-born adults in the present sample, then, may be a function of immigrant adults' initial optimism regarding "American" ideals. It may also be that newly arrived immigrants maintain as a reference point the extreme poverty, hostile political conditions, and social disorganization they left behind in their homeland, compared to which their American neighborhoods may seem an improvement. Thus, they may still be in a position to dream—they are far better off than their reference group and expect to be better off in the future than they are in the present. Thus, they may not yet experience the disengagement, hopelessness, and disillusionment that is likely to characterize their U.S.-born Hispanic or Black counterparts.

Regarding neighborhood conditions, I suggested that particular ecological characteristics, such as the level of problems residents perceive and the ethnic composition of the neighborhood, influence community norms regarding family and community participation and involvement and, in turn, individuals' internalized values. For instance, high problem neighborhoods or those with deteriorated and dilapidated structures (as one might find in low income neighborhoods) may result in apathy among residents and an inward focus, resulting in low family and community participation and involvement. Although few significant *main* effects of median neighborhood income or neighborhood ethnic density were identified in the present study, respondents' perceptions of neighborhood problems were associated with lower obligation and participation in both family and community domains. The exception was that altruism increased as a function of perceived neighborhood problems. The importance of perceived neighborhood problems relative to other neighborhood-level variables supports the hypothesis that harsh environments depress giving and caring behaviors, possibly by promoting a narrow focus on oneself and one's family and by increasing the complexity of phenomena that must be navigated during the course of daily living. In the present study, there was little evidence that neighborhood heterogeneity per se was associated with low engagement in community. Thus, there was little support for the notion put forth by Taylor and colleagues (Taylor, Gottfredson, and

Brower 1995) and Sampson (Sampson 1992; Sampson and Morenoff 1997) that ethnic mixing increases conflict among neighbors and inhibits the development of neighborhood social networks.

Perhaps the strongest evidence that community characteristics influence norms regarding caring and giving behaviors is found in the interaction between neighborhood ethnic density and respondents' own ethnicity. These results, which were robust across family and community indicators, suggested that neighborhood ethnic composition influenced caring and giving behaviors regardless of respondents' own ethnicity. These relationships remained after controlling for other factors that were associated with neighborhood ethnic composition such as annual household income, education, immigrant status, neighborhood income, and neighborhood problems. Regardless of whether respondents themselves were Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Black, those living in high density Dominican neighborhoods (primarily in Washington Heights) were far less likely to report family or community contributions and expressed less obligation to assist family, to participate in civic affairs, or to help others than did respondents living in other types of neighborhoods. In contrast, respondents living in Puerto Rican neighborhoods were generally more likely to contribute to family and community and to express high civic obligation and altruism. However, residency in a high density Puerto Rican neighborhood was also associated with less frequent contact with family and less attachment to community.

Both structural and cultural explanations seem plausible in relation to such findings. As indicated earlier, high density Dominican neighborhoods were among the poorest and most problem-ridden neighborhoods in the sample. Washington Heights, in particular, is plagued by high crime rates, dilapidated housing, and drug trading. Although structural indicators, such as median neighborhood income and perceived neighborhood problems were controlled in the equations in which significant neighborhood differences emerged, these sorts of indicators are unlikely to capture all of the differences that exist between these Dominican and other types of neighborhoods. For instance, equations do not control for factors such as source of household income or family size, and aggregate block group-level data do not always correspond to perceived neighborhood boundaries.

A cultural/contextual explanation for neighborhood-level differences is also plausible, however. In previous writings, scholars have described both the strengths and the risk factors associated with living in

New York City's Dominican communities. For instance, Torres-Sailant (1996) describes them as socially isolated havens, due in part to spatial segregation and to the emergence of enclaves where learning the social codes of mainstream North American society is not vital to survival. According to her, Dominican New Yorkers see themselves as transient visitors who will return to the island permanently once enough money has been saved. This transient mentality, she argues, contributes to political aloofness, lack of investment in learning English or pursuing citizenship status, and notable indifference toward the immediate environment. Although these sorts of descriptions reference Dominicans as individuals, findings of the present study suggest that the norms and orientations that scholars have described may be extant in Dominican communities as well. As with most studies of neighborhood influences, teasing apart neighborhood influences and selection effects in the present study is not possible. Thus, it may be that individuals who, by choice or by circumstance, are living in particular neighborhoods chose them because they were compatible with their preexisting values and orientations.

In closing, it is important to emphasize that the present chapter was an attempt to take a first look at indicators of social responsibility among ethnic minority adults. To understand the process more fully as an important component of well-being among ethnic minority adults, measures and methods that are both broader, more comprehensive, and more textured will be needed. In addition, more complete specification of the rhythms of daily life among different ethnic groups in different neighborhood contexts are needed to delineate the mechanisms through which cultures and contexts may influence midlife well-being, in particular, and social responsibility more generally.

NOTES

1. The sampling procedure included (1) prestratification of 1990 census block groups according to racial/ethnic and economic characteristics; (2) random selection of census block groups within strata predefined by ethnic density and economic criteria (e.g., low density/high socioeconomic status Puerto Ricans); (3) random numbering of residential blocks within the selected census block groups for identification of respondents; and (4) quota sampling of qualified respondents. In this regard, the New York sample was designed to achieve sixty-six complete interviews with adults in each of twelve strata defined in a 3 (Dominican, Puerto Rican, Black) $\times$ 2 (high vs. low socioeconomic status) $\times$ 2 (high vs. low same-ethnicity neighborhood density) design. A thirteenth stratum, with a target sample of sixty-six adults, was added to examine Blacks residing in hypersegregated (>70% Black) neighbor-

hoods. For each race/ethnic group, further quotas were applied so that the age distribution of male respondents and the employment distribution of female respondents within a census block group were equivalent to those of the census block group as a whole, according to 1990 census data. Respondents who self-identified as being of a particular target ethnic group were included as cases for that group. Interviewers were allowed to complete thirteen to fifteen interviews in each high concentration census block group and up to five interviews in each low concentration census block group.

2. I conducted a range of analyses to ensure that the absence of a relationship between educational attainment and the three indicators of family obligation and participation was not a statistical artifact. First, I examined unadjusted means on each of the three indicators by education category and income tertile. There were no significant differences on any of the three indicators by educational attainment or income tertile. In addition, because education and income are typically correlated, I also estimated the same equations presented in the chapter with each of these variables entered separately. Still, education was not associated with any of the three indicators of family participation and obligation, and income was associated only with frequency of contact.

3. In the present chapter, analyses of indicators of normative role obligations were based on the sum of respondents' answers to items tapping each domain in order to compare average values to those of the national MIDUS sample, which were reported as the sum of respondents' answers across relevant items. However, in order to examine the relative importance of normative family obligation, civic obligation, and altruism, the mean values (rather than the sum) on a 0–10 scale were computed ($M = 8.63, 6.63, \text{ and } 7.30$ for measures of normative family obligation, civic obligation, and altruism, respectively). Comparison of means using independent samples t -tests indicated that the mean for the measure of normative family obligation was significantly higher than the mean for civic obligation [$t(901) = -19.77, p < .001$]. The mean for the measure of normative family obligation was also significantly higher than the mean for altruism [$t(901) = -22.52, p < .001$]. The mean for the measure of civic obligation was also significantly lower than the mean for the measure of altruism [$t(901) = 8.18, p < .001$].

4. The pattern was evident within the subsample of Puerto Rican [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 30.23$ and 26.79 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(281) = 2.15, p < .05$], Dominican [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 32.01$ and 26.34 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(278) = 5.71, p < .001$] and Black [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 29.32$ and 23.61 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(336) = 3.15, p < .01$] respondents.

5. The pattern was evident within the subsample of Puerto Rican [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 28.21$ and 31.00 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(281) = -2.69, p < .01$] and Dominican [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 27.50$ and 31.40 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(278) = -3.63, p < .001$] respondents but not within the subsample of Black respondents [$M_{\text{civic obligation}} = 28.84$ and 29.43 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, n.s.].

6. The pattern of lower altruism among respondents living in high density Dominican neighborhoods was evident within the subsample of Puerto Rican

[$M_{\text{altruism}} = 28.44$ and 21.96 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(281) = 2.75$, $p < .01$], Dominican [$M_{\text{altruism}} = 30.12$ and 26.13 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(278) = 3.451$, $p < .001$], and Black [$M_{\text{altruism}} = 24.59$ and 19.61 in low and high density Dominican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(336) = 2.25$, $p < .05$] respondents. The pattern of higher altruism among respondents living in high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods was evident within the subsample of Puerto Rican [$M_{\text{altruism}} = 25.43$ and 29.31 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(281) = -2.69$, $p < .01$], Dominican [$M_{\text{altruism}} = 26.80$ and 29.98 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(278) = -2.59$, $p < .01$], and Black [$M_{\text{altruism}} = 23.75$ and 27.10 in low and high density Puerto Rican neighborhoods, respectively, $t(336) = -2.15$, $p < .05$] respondents.

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III SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
