A STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FARM YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAM IN MEXICO

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This is to certify that the

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Olen E. Leonard
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A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
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THESIS

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The research reported on in this thesis attempted to investigate the operation, problems, and effectiveness of the International Farm Youth Exchange Program in Mexico. This exchange program was one which operated on an international basis, exchanging rural youths between the United States and numerous countries in Latin America, Europe, and elsewhere. Only the Mexican phase was examined in this study.

The research problem was structured so that attention was focused on the following aspects of the exchange program:

(1) the administrative agency occupied with the implementation of the program in Mexico;

(2) the operation of the program in a selected rural community in Mexico; and

(3) the effect of the program upon this selected rural community.

The structure of the administrative agency and the activities with which it was charged were examined within a sociological frame of reference. All members of this agency were interviewed and an attempt was made to analyse the problems which confronted it in terms of their sociological implications in reference to group structure, definition of roles, communications, and ends or goals.

The selected rural community in Mexico was studied for a period of five months. The techniques of participant observation and use of informants were the principal means through which data was gathered. An attempt was made to examine as closely as possible the following aspects of the social organization of the community:

(1) social stratification system,

(2) religion and the church,

(3) family and kinship,

(4) education and the school, and

(5) voluntary associations.

Then an effort was made to attempt to trace the activities of the exchangees while living in the community. From an analysis of this data it was hypothesized that an understanding of problems related to effective dissemination of the IFYE program's objectives would follow.

Finally, an attempt was made to essay the effect of the exchangee's activities in the rural community.

The results of the study showed that certain characteristics of the structure of the administrative agency were associated with a low level of efficiency in terms of the carrying on of the administrative functions. The principal weaknesses in the administrative agency were isolated as follows:

(1) A generally ill-defined structure of the agency.

(a) vague delineation of roles

(b) lack of consensus on the delegation of authority to offices

(c) poorly developed communications system

(d) vague definition of ends or goals

(2) The voluntary nature of the agency. Participating members were bound by occupational and other institutional ties to devote the major portion of their time and energy to activities not connected to the administration of the IFYE Program. This factor detracted from the efficient administration of the program at crucial points.

Analysis of the rural community in Mexico showed that there existed numerous avenues for communication with the local inhabitants, yet these avenues differed somewhat from those ordinarily encountered in an American community of comparable size. A crucial difference in social organization between the Mexican and the community was found in relation to youth. Only elementary and highly limited formal organization of youth was manifest in the Mexican town. On the other hand, a complex structure of informal relations permeated the youth group as well as the adult group.

Furthermore, cultural differences as between the Mexican youth and the American exchangees worked to minimize the participation of the latter in the customary activities of the local youth group. Moral-religious values held by the American exchangees in reference to certain local activities were important in inhibiting behavior and restricting association.

By far the most important cultural difference between exchangees of Mexicans was the difference in language. This served as the greatest barrier to the implementation of the IFYE Program's objectives.

Stemming from this sociological analysis of the IFYE Program in Mexico were certain suggestions directed towards the more effective implementation of program's goals. The most important of these suggestions called for the following changes:

(1) Selection of exchangees on a priority basis in terms of possession of a working knowledge of the language of the country they are to visit.

(2) Lengthening of the exchangee's visit in the first foreign community and reduction of the total number of visits to not more than five.

(3) Establishment of a plan whereby evaluation of effectiveness of the IFYE Program at the community level may be precisely determined. This calls for the selection of one or more "experimental" communities upon which attention may be focused.

(4) The objectives which the program may be expected to achieve in the field need to be made more concrete.

(5) The establishment of a sponsoring agency in Mexico administered by conscientious persons of Mexican nationality might be expected to provide a more effective instrument for the administration of the program.

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Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION

This study is an analysis and evaluation of the operation, effect, and problems related to the International Farm Youth Exchange Project in Mexico. The study will attempt to provide a sociological interpretation to the processes connected with the operation of the program, and uncover factors which allow an explanation of the problems which the program has encountered.

On Exchanges of Persons in General

Since this study deals with an exchange of persons program, some words need to be said about exchanges of persons in general.[1] Exchanges of persons for educational purposes have a long recorded history, and were known to have occurred in classic times among the Romans and Greeks.[2]

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1. It is not the purpose here to examine the whole field of exchange programs. Nevertheless, it should be noted that exchanges of persons for educational purposes have been undertaken with a wide range of goals in mind. Prominent among these programs have been those whose goals were primarily those of accomplishing a higher degree of "international understanding." The IFYE project, the Japanese - U.S. student program, and many of the exchanges handled by the Institute of International Education have been of this nature.

Education, per se, has of course been a principal goal of many exchanges of persons.

The exchange of technicians, especially in recent years has been undertaken on a large scale, usually with the goal of contributing to social and technological change in economically "underdeveloped" countries.

Exchanges of persons for educational purposes have occurred under the sponsorship of such organizations as the specialized agencies of the United Nations Organization, the Organization of American States, through bilateral agreements between nations, and through other regional and political organizations. In addition, private and semi-public organizations, such as foundations and church missionary societies, have sponsored exchange programs. It is recognized that all of these would need to be considered were it the object here to render a comprehensive picture of the whole field of exchanges of persons.

2. Lloyd W. Daly, Roman Study Abroad, in American Journal of Philology, Vol. 71. pp. 40-58. 1950.

Probably not until the rise of universities in Europe in the Middle Ages did exchanges of persons become relatively widespread throughout that area and involve a relatively large number of individuals.[3]

It would seem that from the earliest times one principal function of cross-cultural exchanges has been "educational" in the largest sense of the term. Certainly, the exchange of university students may be seen as performing this function. The custom of "touring", begun in the sixteenth century, as a complement to formal university training is another example of how cross-cultural contacts were rationally conceived as serving an essential educational function.[4] This latter conception of the worth of foreign travel obtains even today, and is formalized in such programs as the "Junior Year Abroad" conducted by some American universities.

According to Metraux,[5] the establishment of the Rhodes scholarships was instrumental in re-directing attention in recent modern times to the values of cross-cultural education in the building of an appreciation and understanding of other peoples and their cultures. The worldwide movement, centered in western Europe and the United States, towards the establishment of world order, international law, arbitration and conciliation lent great emphasis to the belief that the achievement of these aims could be materially aided by the active support of institutions of higher learning. Cultural exchanges in line with these broad objectives were encouraged and supported after the First World War by the policy and grants of the Carnegie Endowment for Inter-

3. Charles H. Haskins, The Rise of Universities. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1923.
4. E. S. Bates, Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education. Constable & Co., London. 1911.
5. Guy S. Metraux, Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education. Pamphlet No. 9, Social Science Research Council. New York. June, 1952.

national Peace. The Institute of International Education, founded in 1919 through grants from the Carnegie Endowment, has also served as an instrument for the implementation of exchanges of students during the past 35 years.

The primary emphasis placed upon international exchanges between the United States and other countries was historically concerned with the academic field.[6] The education of students and the exchange of teachers was the main area of activity. Not until 1938 did the United States government begin to show some considerable official interest in the exchange of persons, at which time departments of the Federal Government were authorized to grant a variety of fellowships to nationals of the other American republics. Although the resulting exchanges occurring under federal auspices included many cases of an academic nature, attention was soon focused upon the exchange of technicians and specialists in various applied fields. During and immediately following World War II the exchange of technical personnel was stressed. Since the early post-war years, however, recognition has been given to the potentiality of the exchange of persons as a promising way of articulating certain aspects of United States foreign policy aims.

With the increasing interest being shown in this type of program as a way of furthering national aims--fostering "good will" and favorable attitudes towards the United States--many non-governmental organizations have either entered the field for the first time or have begun to expand already established programs. This study views the

6. Olen Leonard and Sheldon Lowery, International Exchange of Persons, in Rural Social Systems and Adult Education, Loomis, C.P. et al. Michigan State College Press, East Lansing. 1953.

IFYE program as a variant of this latter type of international exchange of persons.

Aims of Recent Exchange Programs

Metraux has made an especially crucial observation concerning the manifest aims of nearly all the public and private exchange programs covered in his survey.[7] These programs maintain that "their efforts are in part, if not wholly, dedicated to the development of mutual understanding, good will, and friendship among nations."

It is believed that by promoting "understanding" among citizens of different nations, through direct contact, that the psychological barriers which allow the arise of tensions and conflict due to ignorance and mal-comprehension will be reduced. Metraux contends that it is especially noteworthy to recognize these assumptions in that they are strong motivations for the pursuance of most contemporary exchange programs.

Although most exchange programs, public and private, lay considerable emphasis upon the process of creating better understanding with the goal of achieving a reduction in international tensions and strife, there appear two bases upon which to raise critical questions. First, one wonders to what extent these manifestations of concern with the achievement of international understanding actually do serve as basic motivations for implementing exchange programs rather than as a useful rationale. Certainly the government sponsored exchange programs are of an order the motivations for which are not principally concerned with international understanding per se.

The second question arising from these manifest motivations is concerned with the soundness of reasoning that through the achievement

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7. Guy S. Metraux, op. cit. pp. 17-18.

of objective understanding that international tensions and strife may be reduced. It seems fairly obvious that mere "understanding" from a disinterested point of view need not lead to a positive evaluation of the worth of another nation's customs, modes of thought, etc. The formula of direct contact--understanding--reduction of international strife presupposes a particular value system. It presupposes that the individuals involved in the exchange will hold positive sentiments in reference to foreign customs, and that the differences which they observe between their own and the other culture will be favorably considered. It implicitly assumes that by being confronted with a foreign culture the individual will not become less tolerant of divergent values, but will become more tolerant of them.

These questions have been raised here because they are relevant to exchange programs in general and to the IFYE program in particular. Should the answer to the first question be such as to portray exchange programs as not basically motivated by concerns over international understanding, but rather as using this currently acceptable theme as their legitimate rationale, then there is reason to believe that the whole exchange of persons movement might collapse when and if the "climate of opinion" is captured by some new scheme.

The second point raised concerns the consistency and the range of cultural applicability of the basic logic of the exchange of persons programs. The current belief that personal contact with a foreign culture leads to understanding, in objective terms, seems acceptable, although not inevitable. That some sort of positive evaluation of the whole or parts of the "foreign" culture must follow such contact is open to question. That objective understanding leads in some fashion to positive

evaluation may be only a convenient mode of thinking currently popular among those groups (especially American) concerned with carrying on exchange programs. There exists no logical basis for such assumptions, and there does exist at least some empirical evidence to the contrary.

The IFYE Program

The International Farm Youth Exchange Project (IFYE) is a type of international exchange of persons program the goal of which is achievement of international understanding. It was begun in the year 1948 under the auspices of the National 4-H Foundation and the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service. Since then it has organized the exchange of farm or rural young people between the United States and some twenty other countries throughout the world. It is principally interested in giving selected young men and women from rural farm areas an opportunity to gain personal knowledge and insight into rural life and farming in a foreign country. It is hoped that through this experience the participants will gain a better understanding of world problems, and will contribute to a better understanding on the part of the people among whom they live. No emphasis is put on the accumulation of technical knowledge nor upon the imparting of skills. The program is not conceived as an exchange of technical trainees.

The IFYE program is principally concerned with the role which youth, as a class or group in societies, can, and implicitly should, play in the determination of national and world affairs. Its official objectives are these:

A. To help promote international good will and an appreciation of the problems and possibilities of world peace through a better understanding of the problems, attitudes, talents and contributions to society made by people of all lands.

B. To help develop informed leaders among U.S. and other farm youth.

C. To help personalize or humanize the problems and issues of world affairs.

D. To help develop better understanding of the dignity and place of youth in the world and the contributions they can make to democracy and world peace.

To achieve these aims the official policy of the IFYE programs states that,

"selected farm young people are exchanged between the United States and cooperating countries for a period of from 4-6 months to observe and experience family and community life. Rural people in the U.S. and other nations share in these experiences and observations through reports of the participants on their return."

These young people, whenever practicable, go to live with rural farm families in the country which they visit. The length of their visits with families varies from two to six weeks. An attempt is made to place the exchangee in several distinct regions of the country so that he may observe local and regional differences.

During the visit in the community the exchangee is encouraged to take advantage of all opportunities for communication with persons and groups. He is counseled to leave the most favorable impression possible with the persons he contacts. Then, upon completion of the visit, the exchangee returns to his home. After returning home he is expected to communicate the impressions he gained through the exchange experience to audiences in his own country.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The basic questions posed by this study are the following: First, does the presence of an exchangee in a rural community have any ascertainable effect upon the members of that community? Second, what is

the nature of, and what are the significant problems involved in the administration of the program in Mexico? For analytic purposes the total process of the operation of the program is broken down into two component parts. First it attempts to explain some of the difficulties involved in the program's administration by analyzing the structure and function of the administrative agency. Second, it seeks to isolate and interpret factors associated with the impediment and facilitation of social or cultural change.

If the goals of the IFYE program are to be achieved, it is assumed that this must be done primarily at the community level and through the agency of the exchangee. Although the organizational structure--the administrative agency--which occupies itself with the selection, training, indoctrination, and placement of the exchangees is viewed by this study as a secondary aspect in the social processes of the exchange program, yet it is important to examine it because the responsibilities with which it is charged have a significant effect upon the program as a whole. The aspect of prime importance is that of the interaction of the exchangees in the local community. It is the situation wherein the exchangee lives with a host family and participates in its and the community's daily life routine. Even though the administrative agency is of secondary importance in the basic processes of the program it does nevertheless serve an essential function. This agency is charged with certain responsibilities related to the on-going program. Among these are the orienting of the exchangees, the selection of host families and the placement of the exchangees with these, the dissemination of information concerning the program and the exchangees to the host families, the selection of the Mexican exchangees and their orientation, and general interpretation of

the international policy of the program in terms of its application to the conditions within Mexico. The extent to which this agency coordinated the activities of the exchangees, interprets policy transmitted to it from Washington, and generally performs the tasks assigned it, may be expected to have a significant effect upon the overall operation of the program in Mexico.

How have the exchangees integrated their activities into the structure of the local community so as to work towards the achievement of the program's objectives? To answer this question an understanding of the social system of the local community is necessary. The various formal and informal associations, the basic institutions such as the school and the church serve--or may be manipulated--as avenues of communications with the inhabitants and as potential educational tools. It is essential, then, to recognize and to understand the nature of phenomena and to know to what extent they have been, or can be utilized. Much of the success of the program will depend upon the skillful use of these systems of human organization.

Conceptual Framework of the Analysis

The study attempts to analyze the social processes of the IFYE project not only in their structural aspects per se, but also attempts to relate these to the cross cultural situation in which they occur. The project is an international one. It exchanges persons between the United States and a number of other countries. In almost all cases this implies an inter-cultural exchange. The exchange between Mexico and the United States is manifestly such a case.

Nature of the Program. The program exchanges these persons with certain general purposes in mind. It is concerned with the trans-

mission of certain knowledge, beliefs and sentiments, and attitudes. It is not intended as a random exchange of culture items, but one consciously conceived and directed. Furthermore, the items which are the objects of the exchange program are not material things--such as farm implements--and neither are they in the form of technological processes, observable to the eye. On the other hand, they partly consist in the form of patterns of behavior. Principally they take the form of abstract concepts--attitudes and beliefs, etc.--as has been pointed out. The program is interested in developing a general awareness of the role which youth can play in the system of democracy and how contributions can be made by youth to the maintenance of world peace. It is interested in developing attitudes concerned with "personalizing" or "humanizing" the understanding of world problems. It wishes to develop informed leaders among rural and farm youth.

Culture Carriers--Potential Change Agents. The program proposes to carry on this exchange principally through the employment of selected farm youths who visit in countries for from four to six months. This means that the farm youths are made culture carriers and assume the role of potential change agents. In the case of any particular country cooperating in the program there exist, then, two sets of these agents. One set consists of the exchangees of that country who visit and are exposed to the foreign culture, and who subsequently return home bringing with them their newly acquired attitudes. The other set consists of the foreign exchangees who visit that country, and carry with them selected aspects of their native culture. Thus Mexico is in contact with two groups, local exchangees who visit the United States and exchangees from the United States who visit Mexico. The situation in the United States obviously is

the more complicated of the two since here change agents come from all of the nations participating in the program.

Segments of Culture. The aspect of the form or segment of culture which is conceived as the goal of the exchange program has been cited. Professor Linton suggests that there may be a ranking in the order in which segments of culture may be diffused and yet retain their original form.[8] Those elements which take the form of material objects--plow, hoe, gun--seem to be most readily adaptable to diffusion without alteration. A segment of culture which seems relatively well adapted to diffusion without alteration is that of observable processes or techniques. This area may be exemplified by manufacturing processes such as boat building, weaving, or land cultivation. A segment of culture which seems to be considerably less adaptable to "complete" diffusion is that comprehending patterns of behavior. These, although observable to the eye in part, are much less obvious than the foregoing segments. To a great extent they are covert patterns. The normative behavior regulating interaction between father and son, for example, is of this type.

The segment of culture manifesting least adaptability to diffusion without alteration consists in those abstractions such as attitudes, beliefs and sentiments, and emotional responses. Concepts, as for example those of "American democracy", religious beliefs, literary styles, and attitudes toward work illustrate this area of culture. They are probably less adaptable to diffusion without alteration partially owing to other

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8. Ralph Linton. The Study of Man, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1936. pp. 337-344. Although it is stated that these segments of culture vary in their adaptability to diffusion, and that the first mentioned are more adaptable than the latter, this is not meant to imply that owing to their relatively greater adaptability they may be easily or rapidly accepted by a receiving culture. On the contrary, they may well be rejected. In any case, acceptance, modification, or rejection depends on other factors than relative adaptability of the item.

cultural associations and partially owing to their abstractness. In example, although many of the structural elements of democracy, as a conceptual scheme in American culture, may be borrowed or diffused to another culture, to Cuba for instance, the result is quite different from the original pattern. The myriad associations, beliefs and sentiments related to this cultural complex do not become incorporated in the patterns of the receiving culture. Certain of the overt behavioral aspects of the complex may be diffused intact, such as the holding of election, voting by secret ballot, provision for universal suffrage, but the attitudes and beliefs accompanying them are apparently little adaptable to diffusion.

Phases of Diffusion. The process of cultural diffusion or exchange consists in three principle phases according to Linton. The first is that of contact between the two cultures, at which point the receiving culture is presented with a limited number of elements from the donor culture. This phase corresponds to the exchange of persons in the IFYE program. The exchangees are the culture carriers, and their visits with host families in rural communities constitute the contact phase of the cultural exchange. The extent to which they communicate their idease, the objectives of the IFYE program and its accompanying beliefs and sentiments, to the host families and the other members of the community may be expected to partially determine their eventual acceptance or rejection.

The other two phases of the diffusion process are those of acceptance of the given items, and their integration into the pre-existing cultural structure of the receiving society. These latter phases are usually out of the control of the donor culture. The elements of the item which are accepted, the meanings which become attached to them, the

uses to which they are put, and the functions which they eventually come to assume in the receiving culture are generally not controllable. As has already been stated, there is suggestive evidence that the acceptance of the items which are the object of diffusion, and their integration into the receiving cultural system will depend in no small part upon the extent to which they can achieve a harmonious relationship with the accepting culture's values.[9] If they are compatible with the receiving culture's basic values they have the possibility of being integrated into it. If they are incompatible with the receiving culture's basic values, then they run a high potential risk of being rejected, or of never "taking root". The exchangee, then, may be expected to do no more than present the cultural items which are the object of the exchange.

Role of Exchangee. The role of the change agent, in this case the exchangee, is of considerable importance in the diffusion process. He enters the foreign culture carrying segments of his own culture, and consequently, his behavior in the new culture setting will to a very great extent reflect this cultural heritage. With conscious effort he may learn to adapt part of his overt behavior to the patterns of the new culture, but only to a limited extent. To a lesser extent he will be able to adapt his emotional responses to those of the new culture. Hence, while visiting in the foreign culture the exchangee leaves general impressions of aspects of his own culture through the behavior which he manifests. These impressions are given, of course, in addition to those which he is consciously seeking to leave and which are the objectives

9. Much relevant material on this point may be found in Spicer, E.H. (ed.) Human Problems in Technological Change. New York, 1952.

of his mission. Furthermore, upon his return, the exchangee brings with him his impressions of the foreign culture. These are in the form of knowledge gained about the other country, its people, its ways of living, etc., as well as attitudes and beliefs formed in response to living in the new culture. Following the plan of the exchange program, the exchangee is supposed to convey these items to his own people. With this the cycle of the contact phase of the diffusion process is completed.

Other Variables to be Considered.

The extent to which the contact phase of the exchange process is successfully accomplished may be expected to depend upon a large number of variables. The compatibility between the behavior expectancies of the foreign culture and the behavior manifested by the exchangees will probably be of considerable importance. Part of the behavior manifested by the exchangee will not be culturally determined, but will be individual or ideosyncratic. It will, however, tend to be perceived by members of the foreign culture as typical behavior in the exchangees' culture.

The status of the exchangee in the community will be significant also. For example, if the exchangee is identified as a youth and the cultural pattern holds that youth is "to be seen and not heard", then this may be expected to have an important bearing upon the nature of contacts between exchangees and adult community members. The social status group with which the exchangee is principally identified will tend to bear a relationship to his range of effective communications within the community situation also. If he is identified with a low status group his chances of establishing contacts with high status persons may be expected to be considerably lessened, whereas the reverse may be expected if he is first identified with high status persons.

Another area of variables with which the exchangee, in his role as potential change agent, is confronted is that of the attitudes which the groups in that society hold towards the exchangees' country. The American exchangee will usually be confronted with a system of beliefs and sentiments concerning the United States and Americans. These will vary in their favorableness or unfavorableness according to the groups within the society which hold them. They may be expected to vary in their objectiveness, intensity, and scope. But there will usually be encountered some significant imagery of the American and of the United States. The extent to which this imagery is favorable or unfavorable will tend to influence the acceptance or rejection of the exchangees' objectives. The exchangees' objectives will be associated with the United States and with Americans.

Having now set forth the problem of the study, sub-topics of investigation, and the principal variables which will be considered some note should be taken of the significance of this type of study.

General Importance of the Study.

The importance of the study lies in its attempt to evaluate an action program, and as a result thereof, to suggest appropriate modifications in its policy and direction. It has attempted through a combination of sociological and anthropological techniques to investigate, and then, to describe and analyze some factors related to social change. The processes of social change and the factors accounting for resistance to change are a major area of concern to social scientists involved in both the "pure" and applied aspects of their disciplines. This type of study may have a direct disciplinary value in that social facts are examined and as a result

new hypotheses may be forthcoming concerning their interrelationships. Furthermore, it is believed that there is a need for this type of evaluative study on the basis of its potential contributions outside of the disciplinary bounds. This study attempts to relate knowledge accumulated in social science to solving problems confronted by a given organization. Specifically, this study and others of a similar intent may possess a value to interested organizations, policy formation bodies, and administrators by providing a more meaningful framework for policy determination and establishment of objectives to be obtained in any concrete situation in the field. The administrator may thereby, be able to plan a program which is more closely related to the conditions obtaining in the social matrix with which he is dealing.

A tenable position of the social scientist in regards to this kind of function in society is stated by Keesing when speaking of the role of the anthropologist in the applied field.[10]

> What has to be clarified here is that if the anthropologist makes judgements beyond the strictly scientific confines of his work, he is committing only himself, not anthropology. At most, in the scientific mood, he might apply general principles and hypotheses so far as they will carry him. In some situations he might venture to predict that, if a certain line of action is tried, such and such is likely to be the result, and if another, then something else. Again, if a definite goal or policy is set, he might try to anticipate what would or would not contribute toward its fulfillment. Here he would speak only of probabilities, and even this might be the acme of scientific foolhardiness because of the exceedingly limited ability of such a human science to predict as yet with any exactness.
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> Nevertheless, the fact remains that evaluations have to be made and factual knowledge translated into action. It seems justifiable,

10. Keesing, F.M., Applied anthropology in colonial administration, in The Science of Man in the World Crisis. Linton, R. (ed.) New York, p.384.

> therefore, that if the anthropologist is asked for advice, or is moved to volunteer his judgements, he should feel free to do so provided he makes it clear how far his comments are personal only.

The author recognizes this limited ability to predict with exactness, yet believes that, as Keesing says, "evaluations have to be made and factual information translated into action".

Research Methods.

The research methods used in this study may be classified as follows. The material dealing with the structure and function of the administrative agency was gathered in large part through personal interviews which were principally of an informal character. Members of the administrative agency, with one exception, and the four American exchangees present in Mexico at the time were interviewed individually. In addition, observations were made of the conferences at which the exchangees were reassigned to new host families. Further data were secured through the IFYE files in the Agricultural Counselor's office of the United States Embassy in Mexico City. Letters, official reports, and newspaper clippings were scrutinized for relevant data.

The material relating to the social structure of the community was secured by several methods. The author resided in the community continuously for a period of five months. Rapport was gradually established during the first month and expanded during the succeeding months. Contact was made with a relatively large number of community inhabitants holding widely varying positions in the social status and occupational structures. The principal technique used for gathering data consisted in following the method of participant observation. Information was,of course, collected by non-participant observation as well. At several stages of the

investigation informants were selected and interviewed with the aid of a simple field schedule. In addition, an attitude questionnaire was developed and used in connection with an attempt to gather data on the local imagery of the United States and of Americans. A questionnaire was administered to 106 inhabitants of the community, and a copy of it appears in Appendix A.

Selection of the Community.

Since a principal interest of the study was to investigate the effect which the exchangees had on a rural community it was deemed advisable to select one which had been subjected to the greatest amount of contact with the exchangees. The area of study suggested by the program's administrators as most appropriate was that of the state of Veracruz. The community in this state which had had most contact with exchangees was that of San Rafael. Here, two American exchangees had lived for brief periods early in 1952, and two others spent approximately two months there in the late fall of the same year. Furthermore, among the first group of Mexican exchangees to visit the United States, were two natives of San Rafael. At the time when the study was begun, the latter two American exchangees were still visiting in the community, and after approximately six weeks' lapse the two Mexican exchangees returned to their homes. The community, then, had contact during a one year period with four American and two local exchangees. No other community in Mexico had had as much contact with the IFYE program, and hence, this fact was the principal reason for selecting San Rafael for intensive study.

The field work for the study was begun in the middle of December, 1952, and completed about the middle of May, 1953. This phase of the

study comprehended the intensive investigation carried on in San Rafael as well as the interviewing of members of the administrative agency and exchangees in Mexico City.

Chapter II

Cultural Background of the IFYE Program

This chapter will deal with the cultural perspectives of the IFYE program. It will attempt to point out how the goals of the program are meaningful principally in terms of the cultural matrix from which they have arisen. It is relevant to examine this relationship between the IFYE objectives and certain cultural values owing to the cross-cultural situations in which the program operates.

The discussion of values in this chapter is dependent principally upon a work by Reusch and Bateson.[1] Although these authors are primarily concerned with "basic" American values as a framework of symbols for the interpretation of behavior at the individual level, their exposition makes the work highly appropriate to a discussion of social interaction. A number of other works have been published, some analytic and others useful principally as source materials. Gorer,[2] Mead,[3] Kluckhohn,[4] and Opler[5] are among those having concerned themselves with the aspect of culture variously referred to as values, themes, patterns, and configurations as elements serving to structure behavior.

1. Reusch, J. and Bateson, G. Communications: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry. W.W. Norton & Co., Inc. New York. 1951. In the fourth chapter is provided one of the most concise treatments of specific value-premises in American culture which the author encountered.

2. Gorer, G. The American People. Viking Press, New York. 1948.

3. Mead, M. And Keep Your Powder Dry. Morrow, New York. 1942.

4. Kluckhohn, C. and Leighton, D. The Navajo. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1946.

5. Opler, M. Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture. American Journal of Sociology, 51, 3:1945. pp. 198-206.

In the United States the IFYE program is primarily associated with the Four-H club movement. This study views the Four-H club movement in part as an ideological movement which has attempted to articulate some of the core values of American culture. The connection of the IFYE program with the Four-H clubs, besides having instrumental usefulness to the administration of the program, serves to legitimize it in the eyes of many rural Americans. These aspects are noteworthy because it is contended that much of the success of the United States phase of the program is directly dependent upon this association. It is further contended that the success with which the program meets in other countries will depend in large part upon the extent to which the goals of the program fit the other cultures' basic values and may be integrated into their social structures.

In order to examine the potential for problems arising from a cross cultural situation it seems highly relevant to note some of the basic values of traditional American culture. No effort will be made to present a complete profile of these values. However, such a task would be quite beyond the scope of this study. An attempt will be made to present certain of these values in an illustrative rather than a comprehensive manner. It is recognized that the values, or value-premises as Ruesch and Bateson treat them, are no longer arranged in the same configuration as they were at an earlier stage of the development of American culture. They are derived from an essentially static model, whereas the culture has undergone dynamic changes. Nevertheless, it is maintained that they still form part of the basic value-premises through which much of present-day American behavior may be interpreted. Admittedly, this will vary from one group to to another, and it is suggested by many writers that it is probably in rural

American culture that they have tended to retain more nearly the forms of the traditional configuration.

To begin the examination of American values the formative states of the society must be noted. American society was based upon what Bateson and Ruesch have termed the "Puritan and pioneer morality". The original group of religious dissenters who formed colonies on the New England coasts brought with them the values which had been formed in reaction to those of the society and culture which they had left. To a greater or lesser extent Protestantism throughout Europe tended to manifest the same values as those which the Puritans did. The reformation set up a whole new value system in opposition to the prevailing order. The Puritans formed one branch of this larger oppositional movement. In contrast to the prevailing order, which probably appeared to the Puritan as a state of disorder and injustice, the Puritan valued pietism, the deprecation of carnal passion, personal responsibility before God, and the exercise of self-control and will power. Associated with these essentially religious-connected values were others which together formed part of the core of Puritan morality, and which were salient elements of the oppositional movement. The Protestant ethic called for plain-living, industriousness, thrift, and consistency. Such principles fitted well the life with which the Puritans were confronted in the New World. Other elements of this core of values were an emphasis placed upon cleanliness, honesty, simplicity of worship, and cooperation with other members of the religious group. Historically it may be seen that such a core of values took form under conditions of opposition to the prevailing values of the time, and as a result of the functional need for solidarity upon the part of the oppositionists.

With the radical change in the physical and social environment resulting from the move to the essentially hostile New World there evolved a further set of core values, while at the same time the values brought with them were reinforced under the exigencies of a hard-won existence. Under the difficult conditions presented by a harsh climate, unfriendly Indians, and meager resources and technology the individual's survival came to depend to a large extent upon his relation to the group of which he formed a part. Being a member of a group tended to become both an instrumental and an end-value under such conditions. It derived, of course, not only from the exigencies of physical existence but also from the Puritan tradition of scrutinization of the individual by the group to see that he was not violating its sanctioned norms. To have permitted individual deviation would have tended to disintegrate the group which was based upon a strict moral code. One's status, and even membership, in the group was judged to a considerable extent by the degree to which one lived up to the complex of moral values describing sanctioned and non-sanctioned behavior.

Another element basic to the Puritan morality was that of individual success. Success, according to the Protestant ethic, was regarded not only as a sign of secular achievement, but as a sign of divine favor as well. As the new society developed and spread westward there evolved a system wherein success became an indication of the rightful position which was due a man. Under the conditions of pioneer society one's principal claim to recognition by one's fellows was the success which was manifested or achieved by one's own efforts. A lack of success, or failure, in Puritan society met strong criticism. This system seems to have derived from earlier Puritan morality in its close association with religious precepts.

A third element forming the core values of American society is that of equality. Equality, as manifested in the core of American values, may be seen to be associated with both the religious society of the Puritan and the frontier society of the pioneer. All men were equal before God, and had equal responsibilities to live up to in the religious sphere. Under conditions of the frontier society men were stripped of most of those differences which make for social differentiation. Furthermore, equality in American culture tends to connote likeness. Not only is it "good" and "natural" that people be equal, but conversely, it is "bad", and morally wrong that people be unequal. Inequality is abhorred. Since likeness tends to be equated with "equality", then one who is "equal" is "like" oneself, and one who is "unequal" is "unlike" oneself. Thus, there is manifested a tendency to deny or overlook the differences which exist between people or objects since, if they were to be admitted, they would tend to connote inequality and cause tension. The American value system, then, tends to minimize the importance of, or avoid the overt recognition of, such things as differences in social status and wealth. But when the differences must be faced, and cannot be fitted into the likeness-equality scheme, then the object perceived as divergent is subject to disvaluation. The eccentric is "nuts", the college professor is "absent minded", the wealthy are "snobs", and the scientist often works in an "ivy tower". The association of equality and likeness in America differs from the associations with which equality is linked in other cultures of Western European derivation.

Change is often perceived as a salient value in American culture. The American is ready for change, and in fact expects change. Change moreover, is associated with positive moral judgements. Readiness for

change at the level of the individual is customarily praised as "adaptability" or "adjustment", while at the societal level it is associated with material betterment. The popular belief in the concept of "progress" perhaps best illustrates this readiness for change. The conditions of the frontier with its rapid spatial movement westward, as well as the faith placed in change by the original religious dissenters, suggest factors contributing to the manifestation of this value in American culture.

The 4-H Club and American Values.

This study, then, views these values as forming a core part, but by no means all, of the value-premises upon which much of contemporary American behavior is based. In their terms the behavior of the American may be better interpreted.

As has already been indicated, the Four-H club movement may be better understood when seen in the light of these values. The significance which they hold in the Four-H club ideology may be illustrated by an examination of some of its features. The movement symbolized by four concepts which together form the derivation of its name, i.e. Heart, Hand, Health, and Head. The movement emphasizes religious morality as a standard of conduct of its youthful members. Attendance at church services, participation in church-connected activities, and personal comportment in terms of the principles of religious morality are encouraged by the ideological standards of the movement. The moral values which defined appropriate behavior in Puritan and pioneer society, although considerably modified, are stressed. The member should do more than merely attend the church service, and go through the ritual connected with it. He is expected to incorporate these moral values into his character structure and demonstrate them in his behavior.

The club stresses the values of industriousness, thrift, cleanliness, consistency, honesty, and cooperation with other members of the community, all of which are values basic to American culture. The deprecation of carnal passion and the manifestation of self-control and will power are inferred by the moralistic ideology of the movements. It is hardly conceivable in American culture that one can be industrious, thrifty, clean, consistent, and honest, and at the same time freely participate in the satisfaction of carnal passion. The values tend to form a cohesive congeries.

The salient position which the belief in change holds in the Four-H club movement is manifested in many of the club activities. This value is symbolized by the concept "progress". Members conduct experiments with crops and livestock with the idea of changing and at the same time bettering their methods of production. The club attempts to create attitudes of readiness towards change on the part of its members. This value seems to bear a close association with the technological order.

Sociality is manifested in the adherence to the group forming the local club. It is further emphasized in the millions of non-active members who still continue to be related to the movement. The club meeting itself is the most obvious manifestation of the value placed upon sociality, and it is felt that more can be gained through group experiences than can be gained through individual experiences. Although it may be contended that such attitudes may be accounted for by the rational attempt upon the part of administrators to introduce them, it is evident that they nonetheless exist at the level of behavior and belief.

Success is stressed and given recognition in the elaborate series of awards which may be won by the members who have performed in the

manner most appropriate to the goals of the movement.

Through the local club the individual member is tied to the other youth in the community on a face-to-face basis. Through the associations of local clubs in the state-wide organization the member is made conscious of being involved in a still larger group movement. The state organizations are in turn linked together at the national level, and the national conventions serve to emphasize this mass dedication to the ideological principles of the movement. Publications, radio broadcasts, and other means of communications serve to stimulate the idea that the members of the Four-H clubs are working together, as a group, towards the betterment of themselves and of their country.

The IFYE program has grown out of this social and cultural matrix. Its objectives are interpretable principally in terms of this background of cultural values and social organization. That they should fit into the rural American community and "take root" seems partially explainable on the basis of their relationship to the values which structure rural society. The program is conceived as a group venture, not as a conglomeration of individuals attempting to go their own ways towards achieving the objectives of the program. It is emphasized that the exchangees work towards the program's objectives as a group, and that the contribution is within the context of a group's efforts. For the American exchangee, participation in the IFYE program is more nearly an extension of his role in the group activities of the Four-H club.

The idea that leaders can be developed through training seems to bear a special relationship to the ideology of the rural youth program of the Four-H clubs under which it has received such emphasis. Still further

back, it can probably be traced to the various programs sponsored by state and federal government agencies for the developing of widespread technical knowledge among farmers. For these agencies leaders were often-times those individuals who practiced the most advanced farming methods, but who had little or no relationship to the social role of leader as conceived in a sociological sense. In rural America the leadership function which youth may serve is age-specific. Youths do not regularly function as leaders in adult activities. The extent to which youths function as leaders of their peers is limited by the social structures and value systems of the society in which they live. The existence of the Four-H club provides an acceptable social mechanism through which youth may lead youth.

The Exchangees and American Values.

The four American exchangees who visited Mexico during the time when the study was conducted were interviewed in order to gather data concerning their personal backgrounds and their activities in the communities where they stayed in Mexico. Since it was not the main focus of these interviews to gather data in considerable detail concerning their value orientations only incidental material of use in this exposition was gathered. However, at some points at least there is suggestive evidence that their behavior was based on some of the value-premises set forth in this chapter.

All of the exchangees manifested strong positive sentiments about health and personal cleanliness, as well as public sanitation. Among the principal negative reactions to Mexican culture was their preoccupation over its lack of concern with these values. The tendency to perceive

through a value structure characterized by the "likeness-equality" premise could only be inferred by indirect statements. For example, in their recounting of impressions of their experience in Mexico they usually tended to underline those aspects of the culture which they interpreted as most like the counter-part in America. They made obvious efforts to avoid criticizing Mexican ways, and stressed how they had come to realize through their contact with Mexicans that there were really only superficial differences existing between Americans and Mexicans. Those differences which they did note as significant were usually, although not always, assigned negative values.

Sociality seems to have been an important value for the exchangees. All of them had a history of membership in numerous organizations. Furthermore, not only did they belong to many groups, but they were active leaders of the group activities, as implied by the various offices held and the honors bestowed on them. In addition to their past activities, which strongly tend to support the idea that they placed considerable value on group membership, they also verbalized positive sentiments concerning the worth of group membership. They attributed both utilitarian and end values to the status of group membership. Positive gains for the individual member as well as the experience itself were cited as favorable reasons for belonging to their groups.

The exchangees' observations and comments on the religious life of the Mexican tend to bring out the different role which religion and moral precepts play in the two cultures. The boys' histories show that they were all brought up in Protestant homes in which the whole family customarily attended church services regularly. Moreover, the exchangees participated in the activities of their church's young people's clubs. They

had all held offices at one time or another in these church-connected groups. The boys felt that Mexican men did not take their religion "to heart". They observed, however, that Mexican women tend to be more conscious of religious responsibilities than men. Their reactions to certain behavior on the part of some Mexicans was manifestly one involving moral-religious judgements. For example, they tended to feel moral indignation when invited to participate in certain male youth sex-connected activities, and two of them refused to drink alcoholic beverages with the other young Mexicans. When questioned about their abstinence they replied that this had never been part of their "up-bringing" and that they viewed such behavior as a manifestation of "very lax morals." Other behavior, verging on the field of moral judgement also elicited some negative responses.

The foregoing are some of the points at which evidence is suggestive of the internalization of certain of the value-premises cited in this chapter as basic to an interpretation of a range of American behavior. Other points will be brought up in Chapter IV and compared and contrasted with the values held by members of the San Rafael community.

Summary

This chapter stressed the cultural perspectives of the IFYE program as relevant to an understanding of the manner in which it operates on a cross-cultural basis. It was pointed out that a congeries of values encountered in American culture serve to distinguish this culture from others. The values cited here, although by no means exhaustive, were presented to illustrate the relationships obtaining between three levels of

abstraction, i.e. culture, society, and the individual. The values treated in this chapter as most relevant to an understanding of the operation of the IFYE program were as follows: (1) the congeries of ethico-moral values comprised by the Protestant Ethic, and (2) the values of equality, progress, change and sociality associated with the pioneer society of the frontier.

The 4-H Club movement was shown to manifest many of these values in its teachings, policy, and form of organization. It was contended that this occurrence is significant to the operation of the IFYE program because of the program's dependence on these values as integrating and sustaining factors. If the values cited in this chapter were not basic to American culture, then those values stressed by the IFYE program and the 4-H Club movement would have little meaning to most Americans. On the other hand, since these values are important elements of the American value system their expression in the IFYE and 4-H Club movements provides them with an aura of legitimacy and frames their goals in the meaningful perspective of culturally shared values.

Since it is contended that the 4-H Club and IFYE goals are integrally related to American values, there arises the question as to the attraction which they may have for persons not sharing these values. No attempt was made to try to answer this question, but attention will be given to it in Chapter IV, wherein the operation of the program in a Mexican community is considered.

Chapter III

The Administration of the Program

In this chapter we shall be concerned with an examination of the administration of the International Farm Youth Exchange Project insofar as it concerns the Mexican phase. The general task will be that of describing the structure of the administrative agency, the responsibilities with which it is charged, and the isolation of some of the more important problems with which it must deal. To the extent that this is successfully accomplished the analysis should throw light on existent weaknesses and suggest the means for more efficient operation in Mexico.

The purpose of the IFYE field agency is to work out procedures for accomplishing the goals of the program in Mexico.

In any group or agency organized around a given activity or activities there are certain elementary conditions which must exist which allow it to operate.[1] The members' actions need to be controlled so as to achieve at least a minimum degree of coordination in reference to the group's activities. In a formalized group legitimate control is commonly referred to as authority, whereas in an informal group it is referred to as influence. Both may exist within the structure of a formal group. In order that a group may carry on its activities there must exist a system of communications. The system of communications may vary tremendously depending upon the complexity of the group and the activities in which it

1. See: Loomis, C.P. and Beegle, J.A. Rural Social Systems, Prentis Hall, Inc. New York, 1950. p.5. These authors describe a scheme comprised of seven conceptual elements. Their framework is, however, more appropriate to the analysis of a social system of the order of a community rather than of an administrative agency. Consequently, modifications in the definition of terms and the introduction of some new terms were deemed necessary here.

participates. If the activities are to be carried on as a group there must also be an assignment of rights and duties. These rights and duties together define the statuses or functional positions of the system which are occupied by given individuals. In many informal groups the assignment of rights and duties becomes gradually defined through the interaction of individuals during a period of time under varying circumstances. Thus, although it would be difficult to elicit a verbalization of the rights and duties of a boys' gang, one may, by careful observation of the gang's activities, discern that certain of its members are consistently assigned specific tasks or types of tasks, and that these vary in their importance to the total operations of the group. In a formal group many of these rights and duties are specifically defined and may be verbalized. There exists overt recognition of them, as in the rights and duties defining the statuses of employer and employee.

In order that the group may be held together while working towards its objectives there usually exists a system of positive and negative sanctions. Positive sanctions would be those which give recognition to a member for having performed well in his assigned position. Negative sanctions would be those which express dissatisfaction with status or position performance. The particular form which sanctions may take is variable and dependent upon the system of values and sentiments held by those in positions commanding authority.

Another concept for the analysis of group structure is that of interests. The nature of the attraction of an individual to a group, and to a given position in the group, may be overtly manifest or very difficult to determine. That which holds a member to a group may be the

result of forces or pressures upon the individual from sources outside of the framework of the group. The group itself may not serve as a positive attraction for the member. Thus, that which holds the soldier to his platoon may not be a personal desire to stay with it, but rather a fear of the consequences of deserting it. That which holds a member of a Rotary club to the organization may not be altruistic motives but may be related to economic or social advantages growing out of the association.

The ends or goals of the organization have been mentioned while considering the other concepts. Goals are here defined as the objects towards which the structure is directed. Thus, the goals of the administrative agency for the IFYE program in Mexico are the Objectives of that program as set forth in its official literature, i.e. the accomplishment of international understanding, etc.

These conceptual tools are believed to be sufficient for the description and analysis of the basic elements of the IFYE administrative agency.

Part of the total process involved in achieving the goals of the IFYE program concern its administrative phases. General policies are formulated by the directive board of the project in Washington. These policies in turn are reduced to the level of administrative actions. They serve as guides or norms under which action may be taken. Within the United States an Advisory Committee, working through such agencies as the Cooperative Extension Service, the state Four-H clubs, the Institute of International Education, and other groups, formulates plans for action. These agencies then take given measures to put into effect the details of the plans assigned to them, or to which they have assented. Through the Foreign Agricultural Service the general policy is transmitted to the

Office of the Agricultural Counselor of the American Embassy in the foreign country cooperating in the exchange program. The Agricultural Counselor's office is then charged with the task of setting up a field agency for administering the program in that country. Where pre-existing youth or rural oriented groups are at hand the Agricultural Counselor's task is to some extent made easier. This agency, then, is charged with performing the acts which will allow the program to operate in that country.

The process has both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Its vertical dimensions are described by the line of descent from the original policy-making agency through the Advisory Council to the series of organizations which constitute the field administration of the program. The horizontal dimension of the process is that described by the interaction of groups at particular levels with other groups not directly related through the chain-of-command. Thus, at the level of field administration in a given country, those groups with which and through which the Agricultural Counselor's office works provide the horizontal aspect of the administrative process at that level. We shall be primarily concerned with the horizontal dimensions of the administration of the program, but there will be need to make reference to the vertical dimensions also at relevant points.

Activities of the Agency.

The administrative agency of IFYE in Mexico is built around certain activities which may be separated into two categories in terms of their relative importance in the achievement of the program's goals. Those of primary importance include the following.

1. The selection of host families and the placement of the exchangees with them.

This is an activity of the agency of first importance. Comprehended by this activity are such things as the determination of the most appropriate characteristics of a host family, the physical accommodations available in the home, the host's probable social status in his community, the type of agricultural activity in which he participates, his knowledge of English, and other minor items. The placement of the exchangee with the family calls for a procedure of introduction and explanation of the boy's visit, as well as providing the host with the various data concerning the exchangee himself. It will then, be important to see the manner in which these and related phases of this major activity have been handled in the past, and from this arrive at suggestions for its improved handling in the future.

2. Selection of Mexican exchangees and their orientation prior to arrival in the United States.

This is of equal importance to placing American exchangees with host families. The characteristics of the exchangee selected, his activities in his home community, his social status in that community, his interest in and comprehension of the objectives of the IFYE program as well as his realization of the responsibilities which are implied upon his part must be carefully considered. This is another legitimate activity of the administrative agency.

3. Activities of returned exchangees.

A third activity of the agency is concerned with following up the activities of the Mexican exchangees once they have returned from the

United States. This is the counter-part of the work performed by the administrative agency in the United States.

4. Publicity.

Another important phase of the administration of the program is concerned with publicizing its purposes and achievements. This may supplement such dissemination of information about the program as the exchangee performs at the community level. The basic need for this activity springs from the fact that the administrative agency is in position to influence specialized groups through its access to press and radio.

5. Counseling.

A fifth area concerns the field direction of the exchangee's mission. The counseling of the exchangee's activities during his several months residence in the country is the responsibility of the administrative agency. Depending upon a number of conditions related to the exchangee himself and the situations with which he is confronted in the community this activity of the agency will vary in importance from one place to another.

These, then, are the major activities with which the agency in Mexico is concerned. The whole of these activities are in the nature of field policy, and the means of performing them must necessarily be determined at the field level.

Certain activities of the administrative agency may be considered of secondary importance to the achievement of the goals of the program. These include such activities as providing mail service for the visiting exchangees, a limited amount of diversion for them in

Mexico City during their periodic re-assignment visits there, as well as aiding them to solve various problems arising from the exigencies of administrative procedures of the numerous governmental agencies of the country. Although these problems may be considered as secondary, services do provide in many cases a great easing of pressure upon the exchangee during his experience in the country, and thus, diminish the number of disruptive factors.

Origin of the Administrative Agency.

The organizational structure of the administrative agency in Mexico took form in the Spring of 1951 as the result of negotiations between the National Four-H Foundation and the Foreign Agricultural Service. Negotiations between these two organizations served as the initiating step in the formation of the program in Mexico. Involved in the process were the services of the Agricultural Counselor's office of the United States Embassy in Mexico City which lent it official sanction in that country. Following this step the Agricultural Counselor's office, through its contacts with the rural organizations, communicated the nature of the proposed program to numerous businesses and business organizations. Among these was the National Association of Harvesters (Asociacion Nacional de Cosecheros). This association accepted the invitation, and thus, the second unit of the present structure was added. At approximately this same time a representative of the National Four-H Foundation who is associated with the Allis-Chalmers Company made a trip through Latin America to ascertain the possibilities and encourage the formation of IFYE programs in as many countries as possible. The result of this person's visit was to bring the offices of

the Allis-Chalmers Company's Tractor Division in Mexico to the service of the exchange program.

This now provides the general outline of the IFYE administrative structure as it has existed since its formation. The agency, then, consists in three cooperating entities. These are (1) the Agricultural Counselor's Office of the United States Embassy, (2) the Allis-Chalmers Company's Tractor Division in Mexico, and (3) the National Association of Harvesters (Asociacion Nacional de Cosecheros).

Interests of the Cooperating Units.

It has been indicated that the interests of the members of the agency may influence the performance around given activities. We need, then, to consider this aspect of the agency's structure.

Agricultural Counselor's Office. The interest of the office of the Agricultural Counselor in the IFYE program is broader than the concern with the goals of the program alone. It is conditioned by a desire to spread knowledge and information about the United States Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service. No attempt was made to determine if this interest is shared by officials of the Department of State beyond those members of the Agricultural Counselor's Office, although informal conversations with a few key embassy officials tend to indicate that there is some interest manifested beyond this office. Such interests are not difficult to understand in light of recent emphasis upon technical cooperation between countries and the enthusiasm which U.S. technicians have generally shown in regards to the efficacy of the Cooperative Extension Service.

Although the views of officials mentioned in the preceding paragraph may be of an informal nature and not incorporated in official

policy they are none-the-less important. Informally held views may under many circumstances strongly influence or modify the formulas set up by official policy. In such an organization as the diplomatic corps, where each official statement and exchange must be calculated in terms of its potential effects, informally held views may be very important. From the point of view of the Agricultural Counselor's Office, then, the IFYE program is an instrument which can be made to serve both its own (IFYE's) ends and those associated with the establishment of an extension-type service in Mexico. As conceived by them, the process of establishing such an organization in Mexico involves more than giving technical aid when it is asked for. It involves also creating "felt-needs" on the part of a large body of persons engaged in, and associated with, the field of agricultural production. The organization of rural youth, therefore, appears to them as an important sector to be taken into consideration when planning for the development of an extension-type service. Any advancement or progress in the direction of creating awareness in Mexico of the need of such a service is given favorable consideration.

Crucial factors structuring the behavior of all members of the Agricultural Counselor's Office are their occupational interests. They are full-time officers of the Foreign Service, and as such, have occupational responsibilities which bring heavy demands upon their time and energy. Thus, the effort which they devote to the performance of their roles as administrators of the IFYE program is essentially voluntary and secondary to that associated with their sphere of official duties. Since the IFYE program was begun a slow reduction in staff size has occurred in the office, with the result that additional burdens are put

on those remaining. The fact, then, that office members are primarily concerned with their occupational duties, and that their activities as administrators of the IFYE program are of an essentially voluntary nature is to be recognized as an important factor affecting the structure and operations of the IFYE program's administrative agency.

Allis-Chalmers Company's Tractor Division. The Allis-Chalmers Company's Tractor Division has assisted in the administration of the IFYE program in Mexico and in other cooperating countries. The company has a long record of participation in farm and rural directed agriculture-type programs, and has been especially cooperative in Four-H club work in the United States. It sponsors a national radio program in the United States aimed directly at farm and rural people. Its farm and radio commentator has been chosen as the chairman of the Builders' Council of the National Four-H Club Foundation which is charged with the task of expanding the International Farm Youth Exchange Project and of developing other specific objectives. In his capacities as Chairman of the Builders' Council and master of ceremonies of the farm radio program he has made extensive trips to both Europe and Latin America to observe the state of agriculture, rural life, and to help organize and expand the IFYE program. Thus, from observing the formal and intimate ties existing between the Allis-Chalmers Company and the National Four-H Club Foundation, it is clear why the Allis-Chalmers agency in Mexico is connected with the exchange program. The cooperation and active support lent to the program by officials of the Allis-Chalmers Tractor Division in Mexico, clearly shows an attempt to extend to this country many of the activities

and much of the policy sponsored by the company in the United States and in other parts of the world.

One of the officials of the Allis-Chalmers Company in Mexico holds membership on the board of directors of the Mexican Association of Machinery Importers, which, in turn, explains why this organization has nominally cooperated with the IFYE program. In the course of interviews it became apparent early that the Machinery Importers Association had not taken upon itself any considerable initiative or deep-seated interest in pursuing the activities essential to the successful promulgation of the exchange program. The manifest purpose which this organization serves is to provide the IFYE program with a domestic sponsoring agency. This is preferable, from a nationalistic point of view, to having a foreign owned business firm such as the Allis-Chalmers Company formally sponsor the program in Mexico. As the system actually operates, however, the largest part of the activities participated in by officials of the Machinery Importers Association is done on the initiative of one member and at his own expense.

Although the official rationale of the company stresses the altruistic values of American culture as the motivation for participation in the IFYE program, there is reason to doubt that these comprise the entire motivation. The extent to which personal sentiments of good will, patriotism, altruism, etc., which are essentially aspects of a Gemeinschaft system, may serve to determine the policies of a large-scale business organization organized on a Gesellschaft basis must necessarily be limited. Owing to the Gesellschaft nature of the large-scale business firm the suggested motivations of primary importance would

be expected to concern short-run or long-run economic advantages accruing from participation in the financing and administration of the IFYE program.

National Association of Harvesters (Asociacion Nacional de Cosecheros). This organization is an association of individual farm owners and operators who are among the relatively large or big producers of the country. It is represented by members in all of the major agricultural areas of Mexico. Its principal interests are those of organizing land owning agriculturalists into an effective economic block to represent the interests of this class of farmers. It organizes conferences on various technical and economic aspects of agriculture with the stated aims of aiding its members and generally bettering the conditions of agricultural production in the country. It acts as a powerful lobbying organization in reference to the determination of governmental agricultural policies. It publishes a semi-monthly bulletin which is distributed to members and which usually contains articles on the current activities of the organization, prices of agricultural products, and current practices and problems in agriculture throughout the country.

The president of this organization has cooperated in the administration of the IFYE program. The primary advantage of having this organization within the administrative structure is that it provides direct avenues of contact with agriculturalists who may act as hosts to the exchangees. Furthermore, since members are agriculturalists, it provides a ready list of prospective Mexican youth who may be selected to participate in the program.

This organization, through the efforts of its president, has provided the majority of host families for visiting American exchangees, has aided in gaining audiences for the exchangees with high government officials, and has to some extent taken over the task of explaining the nature of the IFYE program to its members through the medium of its bulletin. The fact that the organization is composed of an entirely Mexican group and bears considerable social prestige is of value to the administrative agency.

Although the field worker was unable to make personal contact with the president, data gathered from other sources seem to substantiate the impression that the National Association of Harvesters is a highly centralized organization so far as its administrative body is concerned. It seems to be highly dependent upon close and continuous contact with the president for the initiation and direction of activities. This seems to be clearly demonstrated in the early phase of the formation of the IFYE program when owing to illness on the president's part nothing could be accomplished in the way of preparing for the arrival and placement of the American exchangees. This was again demonstrated in the case of the 1952-1953 group of exchangees whose placement with host families near the end of their visit was delayed for some two weeks owing to his inaccessibility.

Owing to the centralized character of this organization it was difficult to analyze the factors which account for its continued association with the IFYE program. The president was not available for conference or interviewing during the field worker's visits to the capital. It seems evident, however, that occupational factors structure the relationship which members of this organization hold to the administration of the

IFYE program. This is particularly true of the organization's president from whom key support is needed. Thus, his value to the program, and that of the National Association of Harvesters, is controversial. Although occupying a position of major prestige with the association, which makes him a valuable asset to the program, at the same time it places limitations upon the active role which he personally may play in the actual direction of the program. His occupational obligations frequently have necessitated that he be absent from Mexico City, and as will be pointed out later, such absences have on several occasions coincided with a need for his presence there by the program.

Operations of the Agency.

The selection of host families and the placement of the exchangees with them has been handled by the president of the National Association of Harvesters. He has been assigned, through an informal procedure, the task of securing host families for each of the exchangees. The form of contact has been through the publication of articles about the project, of which there have been but few, in the association's periodical, and also through personal contacts with its members. The criteria judged most important for the selection of host families was variously described as (1) the physical conditions present in the home, (2) the type of agricultural production participated in by the host family, and (3) whether or not the host and his family actually lived on their farm or ranch. No other criteria concerning the selection of host families was discovered.

The concern with physical conditions in the host family's home was in the nature of providing a situation in which the exchangee might

live with a minimum degree of discomfort and in a situation relatively comparable to that with which he was accustomed in the United States. This also took into account the burden which the exchangee's presence might place upon the host family, i.e. space to lodge him, and expense of feeding him. The concern with whether or not the host family actually lived on its farm or ranch is, of course, related to the stated means of working towards the goals of the IFYE program, providing that the exchangee live with a family and thereby experience this important aspect of community life.[2]

In the beginning it appeared that there was considerable concern manifested in the type-of-farming engaged in by the host and in the general region where his farm was located. The concern with this aspect in the assignment process was the element with which the exchangees themselves manifested the greatest amount of interest. Each appeared to have a rather well formed idea of visiting distinct agricultural regions in the country on each of their assignments. Although this reason in itself is understandable when considering the rural background of the exchangees and their interest in farming, it has a broader significance when we consider the activities of the boys in the community situation. Here we shall not discuss this point further, but it will be more thoroughly explored in the next chapter.

No detailed nor written procedures were drawn up for describing

2. During the first year's program there was apparently encountered some difficulty in securing host families which actually lived on farms. This is, of course, a result of the fact that many large land-owners in Mexico do not reside on their property but live either in a nearby town or in a larger city. Their landholdings are then managed by a hired administrator. The custom of living in a population center and traveling back and forth between farm and town has been a traditional feature of Mexican and other Latin American land settlement patterns.

the criteria for selection of host families, nor did there exist any systematic plan for carrying out the process of selecting hosts. This phase of the administration of IFYE was delegated to the president of the National Association of Harvesters. It was, nevertheless, stated that the other members of the agency could secure hosts for the exchangees if they so desired. But, since this activity was defined as the duty of the National Association of Harvesters, the other two members did not wish to take on the responsibility themselves.

This phase of the administration of the program encountered difficulties when, on several occasions, host families were not immediately available for exchangees at the time when they were to be reassigned. Two of the 1952-1953 group had to spend some 16 days in Mexico City awaiting their re-assignments. In this case the member whose duty it was to secure hosts could not be contacted personally by the other members, and his office staff could offer no assistance. On other occasions the exchangees, after arriving in the host's town, found no one there to meet them. In one instance, after spending two days in a town awaiting his host, the exchangee was obliged to search him out and explain who he was and why he was there. It was necessary to convince the host that he was supposed to live with him for a short period of time. These, of course, are examples of severe breakdowns in the administration of the programs. Although they are exceptions rather than typical cases they do serve to highlight weaknesses in the administrative setup. In another type of case it was reported that an exchangee was sent to live in a sugar cane raising area, but instead of living with a Mexican family, as the objectives of the program call for, he spent most of his time with an American family, the head of which was an administrator of a local sugar mill.

From the point of view of experiencing what sugar can raising and processing was like this visit was probably quite profitable for the exchangee. However, the objectives of the program are not so much concerned with the exchangees' gathering technical knowledge about agricultural production as in observing and experiencing rural life in general, participating in the daily routine, in the surrounding of typical rural communities and living with Mexican families. A sugar mill and its attendant community, plus the experience of living with Americans, does not present the exchangee with typical life in rural Mexico. Furthermore the form in which the social life of such a community is organized does not lend itself readily to the types of activities in which the exchangee must participate if he is to work towards the accomplishment of the program's objectives. The same might be said of prolonged visits with any large corporate agricultural enterprises.

Some of the host selections have apparently been as excellent as others were poor. The assignment of the exchangees to host families living in San Rafael, Veracruz, were very well related to the program's objectives. Conditions here were such that social interaction with the townspeople was accessible and relatively easily so. This community situation will, however, be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

The lack of systematic procedure for the selection of host families was obviously a weakness in the program's administration. Although certain principles were spoken of repeatedly by the various interested organizations, nothing was found to indicate that this aspect of the program had received more than cursory attention. This is probably partially due to a vague conception of what the exchangees are expected

to do. This aspect of the program may be generally considered to be inadequate.[3] Problems are manifested in relation to this activity which arise from the structure of the agency and from lack of definition of field objectives. The selection of host families, for example, was defined at an early stage as a right and a duty of the National Harvesters Association, and since that time other members of the agency have not attempted to interfere for it was thought that such interference might be interpreted negatively by the president of the association. This duty was poorly performed, however, in several cases and generally lacked planning which would facilitate the achievement of the program's goals. The second major activity of the administrative agency is concerned with the selection of the Mexican exchangees. In order that this activity be performed efficiently and aligned with the needs of the program certain policy must be established and procedures for selecting the Mexican exchangees put into practice. There was manifested a lack of well defined policy for the selection of these exchangees, although it should be kept in mind that only one group of them had participated in the program. Hence, it is possible that through further experience and familiarity with the program and its objectives the agency might have

3. Part of the responsibility seems to rest with the Mexican administrative agency and part with the directing body in the United States as a result of poorly developed field procedure. Although Washington supplied general objectives plus some specific suggestions for field procedure, it did not supply sufficient instruction on how the objectives are to be worked towards. The general condition that an exchangee live with a host family does not provide sufficient direction to the process. Although the exchangee himself may be instructed before his departure from the U.S. as to what things he is to try to do, and in general ways of doing them, this is apparently not sufficient direction. The administrative agency could probably improve the situation by taking care to place the exchangees in sites where these field techniques may be implemented most easily, as well as giving encouragement and advice to the exchangees on the matter.

developed procedures more perfectly fitted to the needs of the program.

This phase of the activities was also partly a duty of the National Association of Harvesters. The association was charged with the task of selecting four boys from among the sons of its members. Criteria for selection included the requirements that (1) each be a high school graduate, (2) be between the ages of 20 and 29 years, (3) have some knowledge of English, and (4) show intention to be associated with agriculture as a future occupation. All of the boys met the age requirements and the educational requirements. But only one boy spoke English well, another considerably less well, and two had only the most elemental command of the language. All will apparently remain in occupations connected with agriculture. In addition to these requirements, the representative of the Allis-Chalmers Company indicated that he had assumed the task of interviewing the boys in order to determine if they were, as he phrased it, "good bets" in terms of the objectives of IFYE. Included among the characteristics given consideration were such things as the boys' social status, political ideas, and whether or not they would be apt to be adversely affected by the exchange experience. This latter point referred to whether or not the boy, upon returning to his home and community, would be apt to encounter difficulties of adjustment. This question arose in the Allis-Chalmers representative's mind owing to the experiences he had had with technical exchangees who, after receiving training in the United States, no longer easily accommodated themselves to the relatively low status and conditions of the job-situation to which they had been previously accustomed. This often resulted in a lost investment for the company since these employees

were more apt to leave it and enter into their own businesses.[4]

Several important aspects of the selection procedure, however, were neglected. Among these were (1) impressing the Mexican exchangees with their responsibilities, both before leaving Mexico and after their return from the United States, and (2) determining so far as possible the exchangees' leadership potentialities, organizational memberships, and understanding of the objectives of the program. These were given but little attention.

Too much reliance seems to have been placed upon the assumption that simply by exchanging persons between two countries better understanding will thereby be achieved, and good will and more friendly international relations established. As was shown in this chapter, this is neither an adequate thesis in its application to the exchangees themselves, not to that large group composing the exchangees' country. An exchangee who already manifests a degree of friendliness towards the other country, has a fairly well based knowledge of some of the problems which have led to the current tenor of relations between the countries will be likely to develop an even friendlier and more understanding attitude as a result of his foreign visit. On the other hand, an exchangee who has an underlying negative orientation towards the country he is to visit will tend to confirm the negative attitudes rather

4. This is, of course, only one aspect of an involved and complex social-psychological problem related to the field of cross-cultural relations. It is an area which, to the author's knowledge, has not received sufficient attention in training programs. More evidence of an awareness of this phenomena is now manifested in the "Point-Four" training programs. The Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences and the O.A.S. Technical Cooperation Project have shown the greatest awareness of this problem, and have adjusted their training activities so as to minimize its occurrence.

than shift to more tolerant ones.[5] It seems crucial then, that some means for selecting the exchangees be partially based upon a determination of pre-existing attitudes, and that final selection be partially based upon his holding relatively friendly ones. The lack of policy and procedure relative to this activity are the result both of the fact that the directive agency in the United States has not given the Mexican administrative agency specific techniques and procedures for determining exchangee selection, and to the loose structure of the agency. The voluntary nature of the agency, and the lack of training along these lines may be seen to account for much of the lack of attention given the subject.

The third activity of the agency must logically be concerned with following-up the activities of the Mexican exchangees once they have returned to their home communities. In the United States this phase of the program is attended to through the vigilance of the Four-H clubs and their state and national administrative organizations. This activity has been largely absent from the performance of the Mexican agency. The only contacts which have occurred between the administrative agency and the Mexican exchangees upon their return have been a reunion immediately upon their arrival, and a voluntary visit or two to the American Embassy by the exchangees. No provisions were made for following-up the activities of these boys systematically upon their return.

5. See: Loomis, C.P. and Schuler, E.A. Acculturation of Foreign Students in the United States, in Applied Anthropology, Spring, 1948 pp. 17-34. In the study reported on in this article there was indication that both positively and negatively "valued" attitudes held by a sample of Latin American technicians upon arrival were reinforced after a one year training period in the United States.

It is generally not known, for example, whether or not they have made speeches to groups of people, and if they have done so their content is unknown. Actually, the only available information on these attitudes consists of what could be gained from visits with administrators during reunions immediately following their return. Such occasions would not, likely reveal deviant or unfavorable attitudes except in unusual cases. Actually, it was discovered that the two Mexican exchangees from San Rafael made no public or group addresses after their return from the United States. They did talk informally to friends about their impressions, and this is a valuable and effective means of conveying information, but no utilization was made of the many group facilities for communication in the community. What is even more significant is that they manifested no comprehension of an obligation to communicate their experiences to others. They appeared to feel that their experiences had been generally interesting and informative, but that these were personal experiences and were not necessarily to be communicated to persons other than close friends and acquaintances. Such a situation reveals both faults in the administration of the program at the level of selection and orientation. But is perhaps has greater significance in that it underlines certain cultural differences occurring between the United States and Mexico. There was no evidence that the exchangees were consciously avoiding a duty. On the contrary, they seemed to have been completely unaware of any implied or explicit duty in this regard. The two exchangees in the community of San Rafael brought with them no publicity or propaganda material which might facilitate the dissemination of knowledge about the program's objectives in general or about relations between

Mexico and the United States. The only data with which they returned were in the form of notes on their impressions, and these were of a very scant and sketchy nature, lending themselves but little to easy communication.

This phase of the activities of the administrative agency deserves careful attention. Even agency personnel have made no effort to promote this phase of the program. The explanation for this seems to be suggested in the following points.

1. The agency is not organized in such a way as to facilitate any follow-up on the exchangees activities. As has been previously pointed out, members are occupied with heavy occupational demands. They are busy, and the work which is done for the IFYE program is done in addition to their professional work. The funds which would be necessary to allow a thorough and continuous follow-up procedure are not at present available, nor is the staff sufficiently trained in the best procedures of carrying on such an activity.

2. The field policy for the administration of the program is vaguely defined. Although this activity may have occurred to members of the administrative agency there was manifested no direct concern with it by the members with whom the field worker discussed the program.

3. The administrative agency responsible for direction of the program in the United States has neglected to give sufficient and detailed instructions to the Mexican agency as to the procedures which should be used to carry through the program from its inception to the termination. Undoubtedly the lack of such instructions arises from the type of cooperative arrangement existing between the IFYE project's

administrators and the federal government's departments of agriculture and state. It is difficult to see how the administrators of the program in the United States would be justified in such instructions if they would entail a relatively large expenditure of time, energy, and funds. Yet without such instructions, which break down the objectives into working activities, it is also difficult to see how the project can be controlled and effectively directed towards the accomplishment of its goals.

As has been pointed out, another of the activities of the Mexican agency is concerned with publicizing and in general making known to the public the work which has been and is currently being carried on. This aspect of the program has been handled relatively well. The press services of the American Embassy have been used effectively with the result that a number of articles have appeared in the large daily newspapers of Mexico City, and especially in the newspaper Novedades. The National Association of Harvesters has published a few articles in its official journal which have, of course, been directed towards a definitely rural and agricultural audience. In the author's opinion some of these articles have not given an absolutely correct nor a general enough interpretation of the program's objectives, but this is no fault of the agency. It would seem that there could be an expansion of the publication phase of the program, although any great enlargement of these activities would entail the expenditure of additional funds. Efforts have been made to secure short interviews for the exchangees with high officials of the Mexican government, and these seem to have been relatively successful. It would seem extremely desirable to increase this part of the program both in Mexico and in the United States, especially with reference to of-

ficials in the departments of Agriculture, Education, and Cultural Affairs.

Such publicity procedures on the part of the agency supplement the efforts of the exchangees working at the community level. The mass audiences of journals and newspapers are reached through this activity, and thus is accomplished a task which the exchangees could not do alone. Furthermore, copies of such materials could be used to advantage by the exchangees while in the local community. They may be shown to members of the host families and others, and thus serve both to acquaint them with what the program has done and to legitimize the exchangees' presence in the community. This may be of special importance in certain places where the American's presence or any foreigner's presence, is open to suspicion.

The fifth, and last, area of activities of the agency with which this study is concerned is that of the directing and counseling of the American exchangees during their visits. As was previously noted, the necessity of directing the exchangees activities and giving him counsel will depend upon a number of variables. If the exchangee before arriving, and during his orientation period, is instructed sufficiently as to the nature of his mission and what techniques he may use to achieve his goals, then the role of the field agency is minimized. If he is not adequately equipped to deal with these problems, then it becomes essential that the field agency give aid. Although the former course is preferable, it should not be assumed that there will be no need for counseling. It is safe to assume that the exchangee will nearly always be confronted with situations and problems for which he has not been

prepared owing to the fact that all situations can not possibly be predicted and allowed for by the orientation agency in the United States. In such cases the field agency should be prepared to act in the role of counselor.

The directing and counseling activity of the Mexican administrative agency appeared to offer no more than a bare minimum of the essential aid needed. Advice was given the exchangees on climatic conditions existing in given areas of the country, and books on the history of Mexico were suggested as general orientation materials. But no evidence of counseling was uncovered which would lead to the better integration of the exchangees' activities into the family and community situation. The techniques of getting acquainted with persons at different social levels and of communicating the IFYE objectives seem never to have been the object of counseling. It appeared to the observer that almost always the members of the agency assumed that the exchangees' presence in the community was sufficient to convey the objects of the program. Partial explanation of this is manifested in the failure at all levels to recognize and define situations as problem areas. There was a failure to recognize problems at all levels because the orientation process in the U.S. apparently did not sufficiently stress the ways of dissemination of information about the objects of the program. Nor did it reduce its goals to a level whereby innumerable associated beliefs and sentiments could be verbalized and so passed on to the host families and to community members. Furthermore, it did not impress the exchangee with the necessity of communicating these ideas. Oftentimes the exchangees themselves did not manifest any great concern

over the fact that they were unsuccessful in communicating their ideas. Likewise, the field agency failed to recognize the basic necessity for communicating the goals of the program to the hosts and to others in the community. What has been stated above concerning the American exchangees applies equally well to the Mexican exchangees. Since the situation was not recognized or defined as a possible problem there were no measures taken to resolve the matter.

The evidence gathered is suggestive of the following explanation. Owing partially to the vaguely defined field objectives and techniques for their implementation there was manifested a strong interest by the exchangees in agricultural products, methods of cultivation, and other aspects of agriculture. This over-emphasized interest in the sphere of agriculture seems likely to have been partially determined by the very vague nature of the field objectives. The fact that the exchangees had pre-existing interests in agriculture would be expected to account for the concentration of interest in this area rather than some other aspect of the culture. But by emphasizing agriculture, to the exclusion of other aspects, served to obscure the larger interests of the program.

Summary.

This chapter dealt with the structure and activities of the administrative agency and its mode of operations during the two years since it was established. The origin of the agency was traced to the activities of several distinct organizations, each with different basic interests. These organizations were (1) National Four-H Foundation, (2) Allis-Chalmers Company's Tractor Division in Mexico, (3) Foreign Agricultural Office of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, (4) Agricultural Counselor's Office of the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City, and (5) National

Association of Harvesters (Asociacion Nacional de Cosecheros).

The structure of the agency was essentially informal. A clear-cut authority structure was lacking, and instead was found a tenuous system based upon the influence each member could exert on the other members. No member had the authority to delegate tasks with the expectation that these be fulfilled. The member's roles were poorly defined. Even when duties were accepted they were not always performed. The system of communications showed poor elaboration, especially in regards to contacts with one of the key members of the agency. No regular meetings were held, and field objectives were not thoroughly determined. These conditions led to faulty field performance in much of the agency's activities, as well as lowered morale on the part of the exchangees and members of the agency. The voluntary nature of the agency, with its demands upon the occupational time of its members, was seen to account for a considerable portion of the lack of coordination in the administration of the program. The outside interests of the members were cited as important factors accounting for their association with the program, but did not appear sufficiently relevant to account for the actual manner in which the program was administered.

The agency's effectiveness in relation to the achievement of the program's goals was found to be considerably reduced by factors associated with its structure. On the basis of the description and analysis modifications of the administrative activities were suggested at relevant points. The following were among the more important points noted in terms of their relationship to the achievement of the IFYE program's goals in Mexico.

1. The over-all goals of the program need to be broken-down into a series of field objectives, simple and attainable.
2. The roles of the members of the agency need to be more precisely defined.
3. Modifications need to be made in the procedure of selection of host families and placement of exchangees with them.
4. Procedures for the selection and orientation of Mexican exchangees need to be elaborated, and special attention given to their attitudes towards the United States and their English language ability as criteria for selection.
5. More detailed direction and counseling of the exchangees' activities needs to be provided.
6. Provisions should be made for following-up the activities of the Mexican exchangees upon their return from the United States.

Chapter IV

OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

This chapter will be principally concerned with those aspects of the social system of the community, which, owing to their particular forms, may hinder or may be made to serve the interests of the exchangee. In any event, they will exist as conditions limiting the activities of the exchangee, and conditioning the effect of his actions. To accomplish most successfully the objectives of his mission the exchangee must, consciously or otherwise, bargain with the pre-existing forms of the community's social life. During his brief visit in the community he is obliged to work within the already established patterns of the group. He must put to work for himself the forces of the community which shape its opinions and actions if he is to work towards the implementation of the IFYE program's objectives.

1. IFYE Goals and the Community.

It may be well to re-state here briefly the nature of the exchangee's mission in the community as a frame-of-reference for the subsequent description of the social organization of San Rafael and the activities of the exchangees there. The exchangee, during his visit in any given community, is faced with a two-fold task: that of gaining as wide a knowledge as possible of the way of life of the people among whom he lives so that he may impart this to his own people upon his return; that of disseminating the information, ideas and concepts which comprise the goals of the program. The principal interests of this chapter, then, hinge upon the manner in which the community's life is organized, and, more specifically, upon the manner in which certain

aspects of it may hinder or may aid the exchangee in obtaining his goals.

Necessarily, the description and analysis must be hdle within the limits of this frame-of-reference, and consequently, examination of many other aspects of the community must be foregone. Much of what will be noted will be concerned with the avenues of communication provided by the organization of people into groups and of the values structuring the behavior of community members. It will be relevant to examine the extent to which these avenues of communication were actually utilized by the exchangees, the problems involved in obtaining access to them, and their relative importance to the exchangees in the perspective of the IFYE goals. Finally, points at which culture and character differences suggest explanations of the problems involved in the implementation of goals and the operation of the exchangees in the community will be examined.

2. The Geographical Setting of the Community

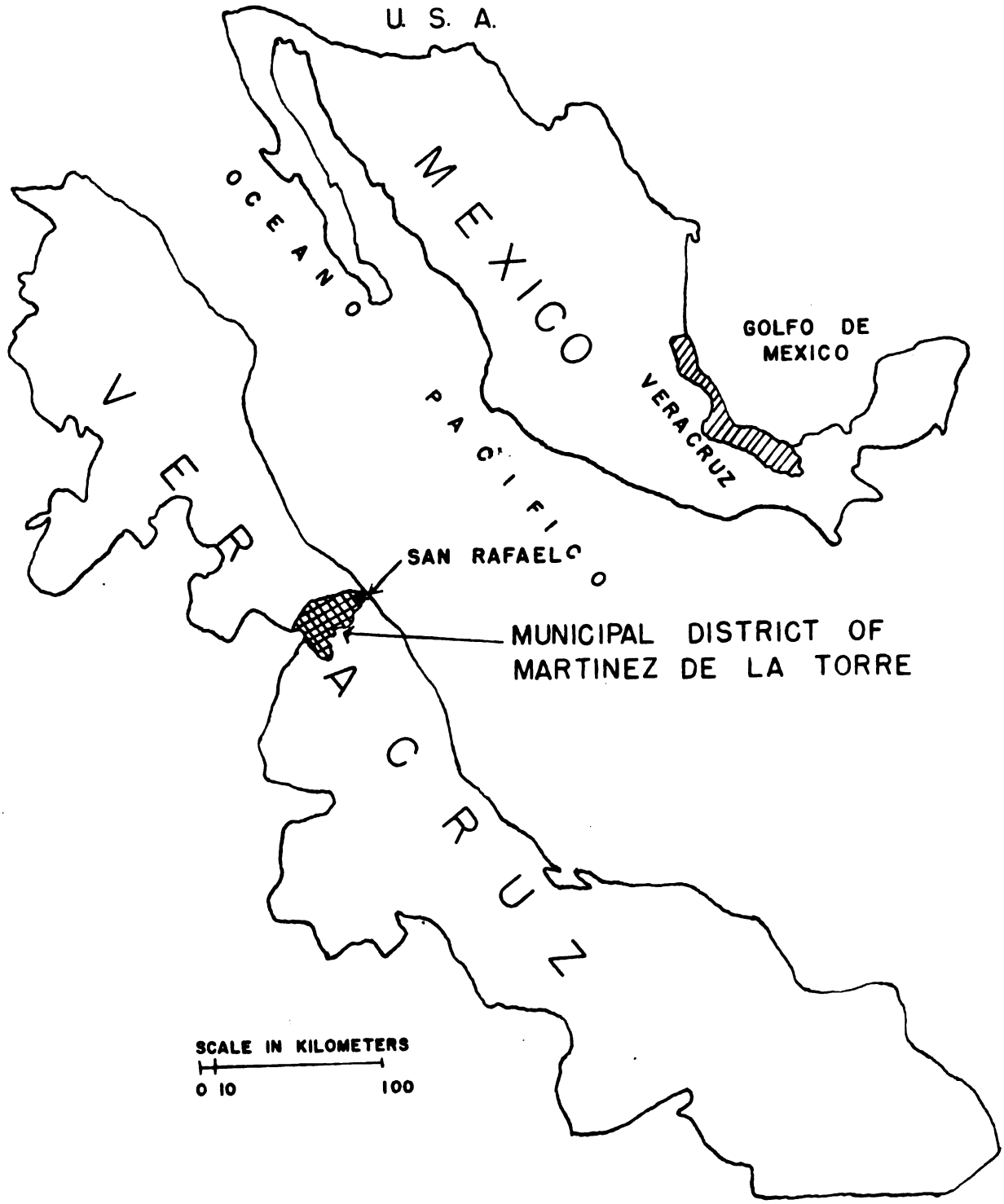
It is relevant to examine the geographical setting of the community owing to the manner in which the complex of geographic features have structured the ecological pattern.

a. Location.

A warm and humid coastal plain stretches along the Gulf coast of Mexico. South of the port city of Tampico, at approximately 20 degrees 5 minutes North latitude, this plain is narrowed by the trajectory of the foothills of the Sierra Oriental to about twenty to thirty miles in width. The community of San Rafael is located in this area of limited extension of the coastal plain as shown on Figure 1. The town itself is

FIGURE I.

LOCATION OF THE STUDY: SAN RAFAEL, MUNICIPIO DE MARTINEZ DE LA TORRE, STATE OF VERACRUZ, MEXICO



no more than five miles from the Gulf of Mexico, and by the paved highway, approximately twenty-five miles from the slopes of the high Sierra Oriental. Jagged foothills arise before the mountains proper, and these features serve to give the community both a picturesque setting and an economic asset in the form of grazing lands. The lowland plain is cut by numerous rivers and streams, proceeding from the interior mountains, which empty their alluvial deposits into the Gulf of Mexico. The town of San Rafael is situated on the left bank of one of these many rivers. At this point in the river's course it is known as the Rio Nautla, although it carries other names further upstream.

b. Climate.

The climate of the area varies from season to season, yet may be generally described as semi-tropical. The rainfall is distributed in two periods, one beginning in September and lasting until about the end of December, and the other beginning in March and lasting through April. The fall rainy season provides the greatest amount of precipitation. Frosts seldom, if ever affect this area, and only occasionally have droughts been recorded. On the other hand, periodic innundations have occurred, but their effect has generally been less of a destructive force than a fertilizing one. The scrub forest which once covered the land has generally been cleared away, but from time to time a mahogany tree, or some other valuable hard-wood is encountered. The land is now mostly cleared, and used for cultivation or the grazing of cattle.

In the months of November and December the temperatures are low enough so that protective covering to the extent of a sweater, jacket or serapi are used by many of the local inhabitants. In March the temperature commences to rise, reaching uncomfortable heights in May,

June, and July. Relative humidity is high the year around, the average being about 80 per cent.

c. Soils.

Soils, of course, vary in quality in the general area as well as within the geographical limits of the community, but they are usually classified as among the most highly productive ones in the whole of the country. The fortuitous combination of high quality soils, flat land, high temperatures, and sufficient moisture serve to make the area excellently suited for the production of a variety of tropical and sub-tropical commercial plants.

d. Transportation and Communication.

A hard-surfaced paved highway connects the community with the capital city of the state and with the largest market for its products, Mexico City. The latter is some eight hours away by bus service. Local bus service connects the community with numerous towns located along the highway in both directions. Automobiles, jeeps, trucks, and "pick-ups" are the commonest modes of transportation, but horses are almost the exclusive means of transportation in parts inaccessible to motorized transport. The burro, so familiar to the rural scene in many parts of Mexico, is in this region conspicuous by its absence.

e. Population.

The town center of the community contains some two thousand five hundred inhabitants, and the surrounding farms and ranches, which are integrally related to the life of the center, add another thousand. San Rafael, in addition to services to its immediate population provides numerous goods and services for a considerably larger population.

It is, in fact, the service center for several thousand persons living in other nearby communities.

f. Agricultural Production.

The community is situated in an area where the principal agricultural products are corn, bananas, chili, beans, sugar cane, tobacco, coffee, and cattle. Directly inland from the community and no more than ten miles away there exists a large sugar cane area, almost entirely controlled by small land owners who hold ejidal titles. Directly across the river from the town's center are plantations of bananas which are also held by ejiditarios. Furthermore, past the banana plantations there stretch low plains, often swampy, called vegas. These provide grazing ground for numerous herds of cattle. In the area of the foothills more cattle are grazed. Tobacco is grown in an inland district near the political center and principal town of the municipio. Coffee is produced still further inland, on the slopes of the foothills and mountains.

The principal products of the farmers of the community are cattle, bananas, and corn. Cattle raising is perhaps the most profitable enterprise, some families owning herds of two hundred or more. This area was not a site of great infection by the hoof-and-mouth disease which broke out in Veracruz in epidemic proportions and necessitated the slaughter of many thousands of animals. Many of the farmers buy cattle and fatten them for sale in the Mexico City market. In this way there is a large turn-over in the number of cattle in the community at any one time. The other two products, corn and bananas, are those which all of the farmers raise to some extent, certain ones concentrating on the

production of corn and others on bananas. To a much more limited extent chili, papaya, beans, and tomatoes are grown, and these constitute a significant source of cash income. A few dairy herds are found which supply the fresh milk consumed in the town center. One farm specializes in egg and poultry production. Other livestock is raised in the community, especially hogs, chickens and turkeys for both home consumption by the farm family, and for sale in the local market.

g. Commerce and Services.

Numerous non-agricultural enterprises are to be found in the town center. There are some forty-five different shops and stores, and a central market place with permanent stalls. The stores vary from a large "general store" of the type found in the traditional rural American community of some fifty years ago to small grocery stores, barber shops, tailor shops, drug stores, ice cream parlors, restaurants, saloons, and hardware stores. In addition there are two large dry goods and clothing stores, and one smaller one. The number, variety, and merchandise of shops and stores attest to the town's service-center function in the local area. Further evidence of this function is the existence of four local medical doctors, two dentists, and five drug stores.

3. Historical Background

The origin of the community of San Rafael is believed to be unique among communities in Mexico. It began with the arrival at a nearby place of a group of French agriculturalists in the early 1830's. The original colony struggled along for a number of years under a communal type of social organization, cooperating in the clearing of land, planting and harvesting, and sharing the returns of the group labors. These first settlers, who came from the south of France, had sup-

posedly been induced to immigrate by exaggerated promises of wealth and ease of gaining a living. The colonists established their settlement across the river and upstream from the present location of San Rafael, at a point which came to be called Jicaltepec. This town still exists, although its social and economic importance have declined as those of San Rafael increased.

a. Economic Growth.

The first stage in the historical development of the colony was that of the foundation of a settlement and then its slow expansion. Gradually its economic importance came to be felt in two greatly separated areas. As a result of the production of the vanilla bean, a cash crop of high value and limited bulk, profitable European markets, centered in France, were successfully tapped. This product assumed such importance that one of the members of the community was appointed as a vice-consul of France in order to expedite the commercial relations between the colonists and their home country. The product was of high quality and produced in such a large quantity that it assumed a position on the French bourse, being known as Jicaltepec vanilla. Concurrently there developed important commercial and trade relations with the settlements in the hinterlands. This trade encouraged commercial exchange of the agricultural products of the low, tropical coastal region, manufactured products from Europe, and certain products from the highlands of Mexico. In the 1850's the colony is said to have experienced its most prosperous era.

b. Economic Decline.

In the early 1860's the area suffered a catastrophic innundation which drowned livestock, and damaged or ruined most of the crops,

houses and stores. Following the flood came a contagious disease, attributed to have been the plague. More than three hundred victims were claimed by the disease, and this, added to the calamities of the previous year's flood, left the community in a state of serious social and economic disorganization, resulting in the emigration of a portion of the survivors and leaving only a small group remaining. About this time the French intervention occurred, and as a result thereof a garrison of Mexican troops were installed in the community to guarantee order and to prevent the colonists from aiding the French. Following the intervention the construction of the Mexico City - Veracruz railroad completed a cycle of economic decline which began with the flood and epidemic, and the ceasing of export trade with France. With the completion of the railroad the former hinterland no longer looked towards trade and commerce with just the coastal communities, but began to look increasingly towards trade with the central plateau of the country.

c. San Rafael Founded.

With the promulgation of the new immigration and land tenure laws following the overthrow of the French, the colonists were no longer legally entitled to own land. At this point, however, a wealthy, and apparently beneficent, Mexican hacendado, who owned a large tract of land on the opposite side of the river from Jicaltepec ceded title for parcels of this land to the colonists. The result of this act was the establishment of a second colony, the forerunner of the present community of San Rafael.

During the late 1860's, early 1870's and 1880's the colony increased with the arrival of numerous French families. Houses sprang

up along the river, which was a principal avenue of transportation. Coffee and vanilla production increased, and by the end of the century the annual vanilla export totalled over two million pesos in value. The destination of the export was no longer France, however, but had changed to the United States.

d. Recent Changes.

The communities of San Rafael and Jicaltepec took on new economic importance with their increased trade with the U.S. During this time the town of Jicaltepec dominated the social and economic scene. Even as late as the middle 1930's Jicaltepec was of more social and economic importance in the region than San Rafael. After 1940, however, a modern hard surfaced highway was constructed which linked the area with the large centers of population and commerce -- Mexico City, Jalapa, Veracruz, and Puebla. With the construction of this highway, which passed along the left bank of the Nautla River, upon which San Rafael was situated, this center grew more rapidly than its neighbor. Jicaltepec, on the opposite side of the river from the highway, was never connected with this important means of transport by a bridge. Had a bridge been built the relative social and economic importance of the two towns might be quite different today. Actually, however, San Rafael rapidly became the center of social, economic, political, educational, and even religious life for the area. Trade, commerce, and services were transferred to San Rafael, new establishments founded, and much of the population of Jicaltepec (especially the French ethnic elements) moved to San Rafael.

This describes the history of the development of San Rafael.

It was founded by French agricultural colonists who gained control of the land resources in an originally sparsely populated area. The land holdings, however, were never large, and the commerce was never so great as to establish large fortunes in the area. In the earlier phases of development the land holders themselves worked the land. Now, however, the land owner hires laborers to perform most of the agricultural operations, and relatively few of the owners do actual work in their fields. San Rafael is now the center of a wide commercial area, and is a service center for a large population estimated to comprise upwards of five thousand people. It is a rich agricultural area and produces a variety of crops which are sold in the nation's markets.

4. Religion and the Church

Important among the basic social institutions of the community is the church and the religious configurations of the culture. Religion and the church in San Rafael deals with orthodox ritual and worship, although there exists another area of religious belief which is also concerned with the supernatural, but which in terms of the values of the dominant group may be considered as unorthodox. The latter is not widespread in the immediate community, and only very limited manifestations of it were found among a few persons with whom the exchangees had contact. In San Rafael, as in most parts of Mexico, orthodox worship is largely dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. In terms of the numbers of adherents, nominally or otherwise, Roman Catholicism outranks all of the other Christian sects combined, as well as Judaism. There exists a small group of adherents of the

Evangelical Church in San Rafael, but for the purposes of the IFYE study, the latter will be omitted from consideration.

In general form Roman Catholicism in San Rafael does not appear to differ significantly from that in other non-Indian communities of the country. All about one finds manifestations of belief in the dogma of the church, the Virgin Birth, the Holy Trinity, the Holy Sacraments, etc. The religious fervor of local Catholics has led in recent years to the construction of a new place of worship. A movement was begun some two years previous to the study to construct a church building where the faithful could go for worship.

a. Sex Differentials.

A major difference in religious behavior is manifested between males and females. In San Rafael religion tends to be thought of as a "woman's worry", yet not a man's. Attendance at mass, confession, religious celebrations, and activities performed for the direct benefit of the church are predominantly participated in by females of both adult and youth status. Men are conspicuously absent from the two celebrations of the mass on Sundays, as well as at week-day rosarios. Women, on the other hand, attend these with regularity, and furthermore exhibit a generally more "pious" attitude towards these activities. Whereas women rarely fail to kneel at the appropriate times in celebration of the mass, the men who are occasionally present kneel only at the elevacion del caliz.

Verbalizations by men indicate that they consider religion, or religious obligations, to be principally the responsibility of women. Men tend to protest against certain aspects of the ritual of confession,

basing their principal objections on the rationale that the priest is a man just as they. Essentially, they divest the priest of the orthodox supernatural powers ascribed to him by dogma of the Catholic Church. Males, however, do not object to the participation of females in religious activities, and some recognize the church's influence as a source of social control.

It would be incorrect to interpret the male attitudes and behavior as anti-religious. Men participate in certain religious activities. Baptisms, marriages, funerals, and to a lesser extent, participation in the Christmas and Easter ceremonies are cases in point. Nevertheless, women remain the active bearers and transmitters of religious precept and example for the community as a whole. Children's religious instruction, both formal and informal, is the task of women.

For women the church provides, in addition to its spiritual relationship with the orthodox supernatural, a situation within which access to recurrent social intercourse with other women in the community is available. Since women in the community ordinarily have less opportunity for social contacts with one another than do men, this social function of the church for them should not be underestimated.

On the basis of religious and social motivations, and with the active support of the priest, the adult women of the community have formed two religious-connected groups. The young women formed another. These constituted the only associations to which any large group of women in the community belonged. The adult women's associations are local adaptations of the Sociedad de Damas Catolicas de la Accion Catolica, a movement sponsored by the Catholic church

in the whole of Mexico. The young women's organization is a branch of this same movement, but concerned with youth. These organizations, respectively, are concerned with the solicitation of funds for, and the care of, the physical property of the church, and the instruction of children in the catechism.

In part, the adult males' attitude toward participation in the ritual of confession may be explainable in terms of the general avoidance of confiding "personal" information in anyone other than a very close friend. Since the priest is not considered as the exclusive, or even a necessary, mediator between the supernatural and the individual, but on the contrary is viewed as a man with common faults and virtues, these male attitudes fit into a larger pattern. The author suggests that one of the conceptual tools for analysis of this male behavior is that comprehended by the term dignidad. But this will be taken up further at a later point in this chapter.

b. Role of the Priest.

Spiritual leadership is vested in the priest who is the official representative of the church, and is charged with the care of the religious needs of the parochia. He is the only delegate of the church with whom the community has continuous and frequent contact. Moreover, his sphere of influence reaches beyond the social and geographical limits of the community of San Rafael for the parochia which is in his charge encompasses a number of distinct communities. Rarely are visits made to the community by other priests or by the bishop.

Owing to the existence of other communities which require his

ceremonial presence, the priest follows a fixed schedule which allows him to visit them on alternate Sundays. Mass, however, is always celebrated at least once each Sunday in San Rafael. In addition to celebrating the Sunday mass the priest officiates at numerous other socio-religious events such as baptisms, marriages, funerals, and special commemorative masses solicited by family members of the dead. From time to time he is asked to bless a new store or shop. In addition to the performance of his strictly ceremonial role, the priest also is active in the formation of groups for the propagation of the faith and support of religious works. It was due to his guidance and influence that the adult women formed the associations already mentioned. Furthermore, the priest's home is a gathering place, and its spacious porches serve for rehearsals of recreational plays performed by local young-people's groups.

c. Social Attitudes Concerning the Priest.

The priest's relations with youth were observed to be generally friendly and sociable. No instance was observed where the status of the priest as a religious leader was put in jeopardy. Deference to the priest is manifested by the youth in guarded language, the avoidance of the use of profanity, by standing while in his presence, by the use of the term "Padre" in address, and by certain postural gestures. During the rehearsal of plays the priest may coach and take part, and generally enter into the hilarity of the occasion.

The deference shown the priest by adult women generally is greater than that shown by youth, and considerably more than that

shown by adult males. The intimate joking relationship found in reunions with youth is usually lacking in relations with adult women, although it may exist in social intercourse with some men. Women generally present what may be described as "pious" and "devout" attitudes, while men's attitudes may best be described as "respectful".

d. Priest's Secular Interests.

The purely secular interests of the priest revolve around an economic enterprise which he owns. As a young man, and before entering the priesthood, he studied poultry raising during a year's residence in the United States. He has been able to successfully develop a large flock of laying hens, and chickens. The eggs are shipped largely to markets outside of the community, although the chickens are marketed locally. It was not discovered that he took any significant part in any other secular activity, with the exception of the establishment of a type of rural agricultural school in a community near San Rafael. So far as local initiation is concerned, all evidence points to the priest as occupying the role of leader in the movement for the establishment of this school. Owing principally to his interest, the women's church society proceeded to seek contributions for the project, and a group of young persons organized a series of plays, the proceeds of which were donated to the fund. The main problem was that of providing a building and equipping it.

Aside from the activities mentioned above the priest did not participate in any other secular activities of the community. This is perhaps due in part to the responsibilities of his office and his economic interests, as well as the short time which he has lived in the community. The history

of the church, both in the community and in the country, has not been such as to lend itself greatly to activities in the way of social welfare.

Of importance to our enquiry is the fact that the priest's interest in the construction or establishment of the new rural agricultural school was not grounded in religious values but upon utilitarian values. Emphasis in the campaign was not placed upon Christian or Catholic duty to support the new school project but upon benefits to the community and to the individual. It was reasoned that the education of the economically less fortunate youth (the children of economically well-off families would not be expected to attend the school) would equip the community with better skilled labor for the farms, and the youth themselves would eventually reap economic rewards for their efforts.

The relevance of these observations to the achievement of the IFYE program goals are viewed as the following. First, the fact that the priest, a relatively small group of youth and young adults, and an adult women's group, were active in the campaign to secure a rural agricultural school, has thereby: (1) established a precedent which is favorably oriented towards the IFYE goals and (2) shown that an active group of community members, including youth, can be mobilized by the priest for non-religious activities. Second, it appears highly doubtful that values derived from the moral-religious system may be expected to reinforce the goals set by the IFYE program.

5. Family and Kinship

It is through the family that the exchangee is introduced to the life of the community. He lives with, and participates in, the daily life routine of a particular family. Through this host family he is

introduced to a large segment of the cultural matrix of which the family represents a part. The exchangee has the opportunity of observing the interaction of family members among themselves and with their neighbors within the context of a wide range of social situations.

The individuals involved in the family and kinship system focused on San Rafael are mostly either descendents of the early French colonists, or of native Mexicans, or of a mixture of these two groups. Since the four American exchangees who visited the community lived with families of the French ethnic group, and the two Mexican exchangees from San Rafael belong to this group it will be most relevant to discuss family and kinship in terms of its manifestations among the French-descended group. This is not meant to imply that large differences obtain between the French-descended group and mestizo Mexican group. Admittedly there are observable differences between these groups within the community, but it is probably more accurate to attribute these differences to social class and status-related factors than to ethnic derived characteristics.

a. Basic Family Unit.

The basic family unit in San Rafael consists of parents and children. It frequently is supplemented, however, by one or more relatives who are kin of the husband. The elderly parents of the wife would ordinarily be expected to live with the wife's brothers. In one of the host families the unit consisted of husband, wife, and one unmarried son. The other host family consisted of husband, wife, and five unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. In neither of these families were there living any kin of the husband or wife. The married sons and daughters of these

families formed the nucleus of new family units in this kinship line. Through these marriages and blood relationships the members of the family units are related to other family household units and to other unmarried individuals. In example of this the Figure 2 shows in simplified form the partial kin structure of the two host families in San Rafael. From this figure it may be seen that the two host families are themselves related through the marriage of certain of their members, and that each of the families is related to a number of others in the community.

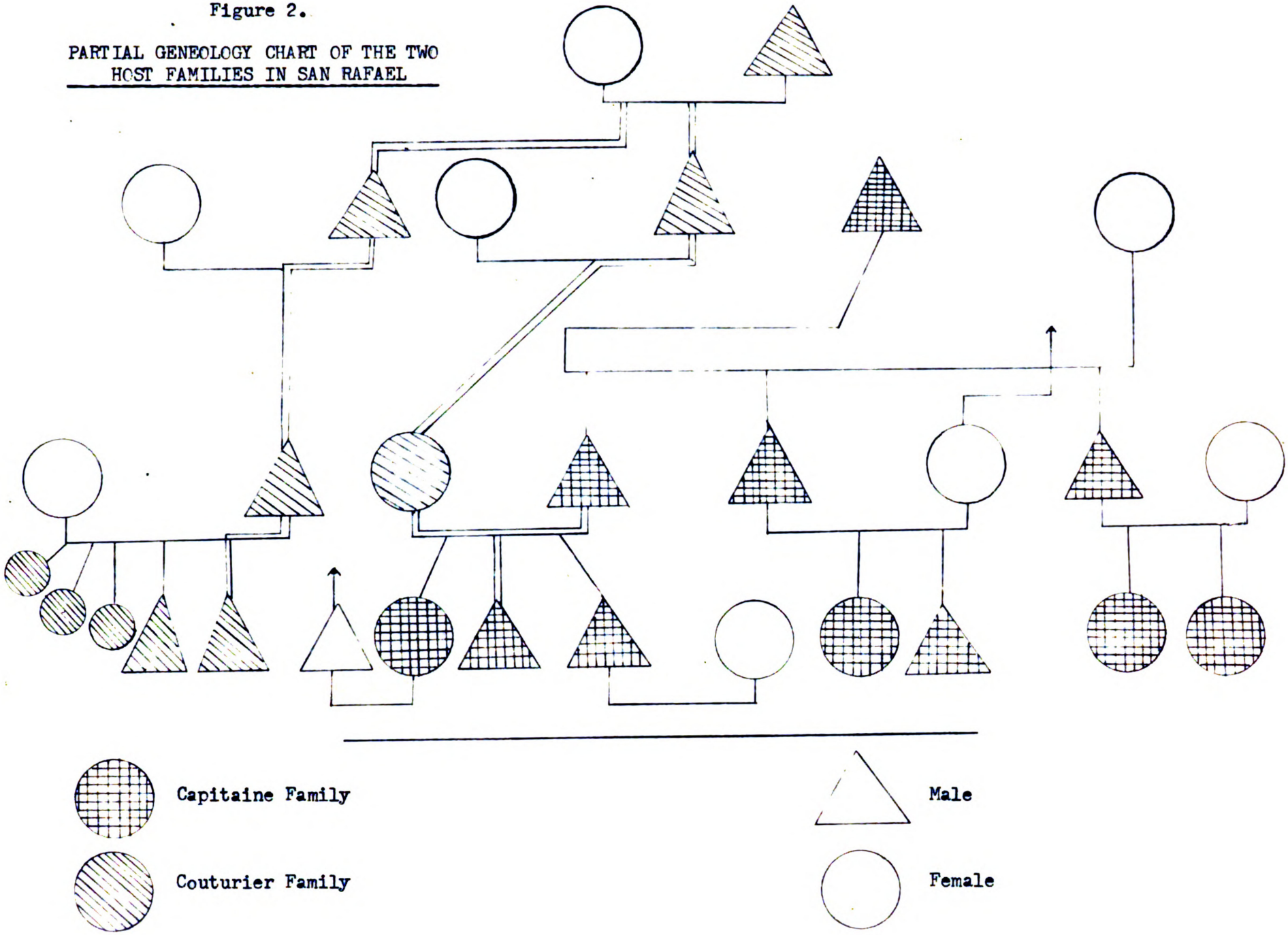
The significance for the exchangee of this complex of inter-relationships based upon blood and marriage is that it potentially provides him with a wide range of face-to-face contacts. By being accepted into the family life of one of the members of the kinship system the exchangee has potentially at his disposal a large fund of contact resources. He has the right to visit the family units, to talk with them, and to enter into considerable social intercourse with them should he so desire. The resource is not unlimited, however, and its importance as a tool to be used should not be exaggerated.

b. Affectual Ties Between Members.

The web of relationships defined by the kinship system is here stressed as an important aspect of the organization of the total social system of the community. Family members in San Rafael are tied to one another by strong emotional ties. The children look towards their mother as the source of comfort, carino, and refuge. The mother is revered beyond all other persons. On the other hand the father is the object of respect rather than reverence. He is the person from whom orders proceed, who provides for the family's physical needs, and generally directs its activities. He is referred to colloquially as the "chief"

Figure 2.

PARTIAL GENEOLOGY CHART OF THE TWO HOST FAMILIES IN SAN RAFAEL



(el jefe). The emotional relationship between father and son gives the impression of being more "formalized" or "austere" than that between mother and son. Discipline is ordinarily dispensed by the father, and he is often held up by the mother or other members of the family as a symbol of discipline when one of the younger members violates or threatens to violate a norm.

The degree of affection and the rights and duties of kinship status decrease as the distance from the family unit is increased. The system of rights and duties and the associated emotional content of the relationships become less stringent as one moves further away from the father-mother-child unit. Although obligations toward cousins, uncles, aunts, etc. are numerous and many are obligatory, they are ordinarily considerably less in number and have less intense emotional states associated with them.

An aspect of the family and kin relationships which is of considerable interest to the exchangee is that each of the members of any given kinship line are themselves involved in numerous other social relationships in the community. Thus, by establishing a high level of rapport with members of the host family and its relatives, the exchangee increases his potential contacts with other persons in the community who are not related by kinship to the family. Although there is nothing which guarantees that the contacts established in this way will be rewarding and fruitful, there does exist the probability that contacts made through the host family and its kin will be with persons amicably disposed towards the exchangee.

c. Father-Son Relationship.

The relations obtaining between father and son are generally congenial, but are customarily of a subordinate-superordinate nature. The father is the source of orders concerning the comportment of the son, and the son avails himself of recourse to the father when decisions are to be made. Although the son's behavior and activities are subjected to direction and censoring from members of the family other than the father, the father stands as the ultimate authority. The son's behavior is corrected by the father, and such correction is always at least nominally acknowledged by the son. In contrast to the modern American urban family, the father-son relationship here does not present features of equalitarianism. The father is deferred to by the son, and the father's decisions are binding, although this is not to say that his decisions may not be questioned. Symbolic of the father's status is the term applied to him in conversation wherein he is often referred to as mi jefe (my chief).

In the work of the farm or ranch the father-son relationship remains that of inequality, and subordination of the son, with the father giving orders and the son obeying these or passing them on to the hired farm laborers. The father provides the active leadership, and without his approval action is not legitimized. The son, on the other hand, serves as an active, trusted, and cooperative member of the system. The aid of the son in the farm enterprise is far more valued by the father than the aid of an equally intelligent or capable employee. This holds true even in the case of kin members such as cousins. As long as the son remains within the family circle and continues to work the land

owned by his father he is subject to the father's authority. This holds true even after marriage of the son. However, once the son has set himself up in an economic enterprise of his own--with which the father often helps by lending funds--the son remains relatively free from the father's authority. There is evidence to hypothesize that the father's authority is functionally specific to these activities, and those members, which perpetuate its stability. Since in the community of San Rafael there have existed abundant opportunities for a son to achieve economic independence he is not likely to be overly-long subordinated to the authority of the father. The system of inheritance in real property is such that upon the father's death it is divided equally among the surviving members of the immediate family, irregardless of sex. The form in which the father's authority is expressed is usually not harsh nor humiliating. In general the roles are so internalized that few occasions arise where the father's authority is questioned.

The son's training is directed towards his taking over the management of the family enterprise, be it a shop, a farm, or a ranch. He is made familiar with the enterprise through both working at numerous jobs which are entailed in carrying it on and through giving orders and organizing the work of the hired laborers. If he does not enter a profession or business it is very likely that the son will take over all or a part of the family enterprise, depending upon the number of siblings in the family. Historically, many sons have left the community to seek economic opportunities in other parts of Mexico, but their activities upon leaving, so far as the study could determine, have scarcely ever been in the field of agriculture or ranching. They seem to have usually gone to urban centers to practice a profession or take part in some

commercial enterprise.

d. Mother-Daughter Relationship.

We have chosen to discuss the Mother-Daughter relationship in lieu of the father-daughter relationship owing to the relatively greater influence which the mother exerts and the greater frequency of contact between mother and daughter. Although both son and daughter, during infancy and young childhood are under the care of the mother, it is the daughter who profits the most from such contacts since she is engaged in the process of learning many facets of her adult role. The son, on the other hand, has much less to learn from the mother in this respect. He is told, of course, that he should behave in certain ways and frequently cautioned not to act as his sister. The fact that the daughter begins learning and practicing her adult role early, from imitation of the mother, may explain the observation that young girls appear more "mature" than boys in this and other communities in which the adult male status requires longer and more specialized training before it may be achieved.

The treatment of girls by each of the parents differs from that accorded boys. In general, the girls are less indulged than are the boys, but nevertheless they receive a considerable amount of affection from both parents as young children. As the daughter passes infancy and childhood and reaches adolescence, more and more attention is paid to her moral and spiritual training. It is expected that she learn and take more seriously her religious training than her brother, while her formal training in school is considered less important than that of her brother. Families are often encountered in which a daughter may

have attended two or three of the six years of primary school course, whereas the son will have completed the full six grades. Or it may be that the son will have completed the secondary school whereas the daughter has gone no further than the primary school. The aspects of training stressed in the daughter's education are such as will prepare her to enter the adult female status with ease, and be able to function efficiently in such a role. In the most general outlines this role is that of wife and mother. To prepare her for such status, and to insure that she be able to fulfill the duties of it, she is trained in the elementary tasks which are perhaps best described as "home making". This includes such activities as learning how to sew, cook, knit, embroider, and care for the interior and maintain a house. Child care is also an important focus of attention, learned principally by taking care of younger siblings or other kin.

In contrast to the son's personal liberty to pursue youthful adventures alone or in the company of his peers, the daughter's activities are subject to a considerable degree of control. In general, girls are not allowed the freedom of movement outside of the house which boys are allowed, and are even expected to take part in. Even before arriving at the stage where they are considered old enough to participate in courtship and other cross-sexual social contacts they accompany their older sisters to dances along with their mothers. Thus they are made familiar with the socially sanctioned attitudes, gestures, beliefs, and sentiments associated with social intercourse between the two sexes during the courtship and precourtship stages. When they do arrive at courtship age, proper relations with males have usually been taught

thoroughly enough so that the girl at least overtly performs in accordance with the expectancies of her role.

The culture provides additional insurance that the role be performed appropriately through the institutionalization of chaperonage and the obligation of securing parental approval (father's approval) to participate in the relationship described by the term novia oficial. Under most circumstances a girl of fourteen years of age or more is not permitted to leave the home unescorted. During the daytime it is usually permitted that a girl be in the town center to make purchases if she is accompanied by one or more of her girl friends, and it is even permissible for her to leave the house unaccompanied during the day if her absence is to be brief. However, to leave the immediate community or to be out alone at night or even with her close female companions is permitted only under very unusual circumstances. To understand such restrictions placed upon the daughter's activity one must view it in its cultural perspective.

e. Female Status Related Values.

Numerous cultural values may be seen to focus upon these restrictions. Furthermore, the restrictions placed upon the girl's behavior are by no means entirely externally imposed. It must be realized that the effectiveness depends in great part upon the internalization of these values. Probably the single most important value sustaining the institutionalized restriction of a girl's behavior is that concerned with sexual purity or virginity. The culture strongly stresses that a girl, to be a suitable marriage partner, must have had no sexual intercourse before marriage. These values are internalized to a great

extent by the male. But even though a man may not acknowledge their validity the force of public opinion, through the medium of gossip, usually would be sufficient to deter him from marrying a girl who was known to have had sexual intercourse with another man. This may explain to some extent the infrequency with which one encounters divorced or widowed women who have remarried. Similarly, the gossip which would result from allowing greater liberty to the girl tends to act as a control over the girl's behavior. To some extent there probably exists some real threat to the girl's person under certain circumstances.

In general, then, the girl's contacts with boys and men are controlled and restricted to a relatively small number and variety of sanctioned situations. On the other hand, the girl is thrown together with other girls on numerous occasions and in varying situations, and close and abiding friendships frequently grow out of these intimate contacts. As has been mentioned in another part of this chapter, girls are the major participants in the campaign and fund raising activities surrounding the election of a queen of the annual carnival. Girls are trained to conceive of their status as distinct and generally subordinate to that of the male. Equality of status with the male is not encountered as a value permeating the local culture. This is suggested as an aspect of the local culture which is significantly different from the values in American culture defining the relationships between male and female statuses. It has considerable relevance to the implementation of the goals of the IFYE program in that it tends to preclude the association of the two sexes in the form characteristic of the Four-H club and other rural mixed-groups in the United States.

6. Education and the School System

The organization of people around the activity of education is, of course, one of the areas of prime interest to the exchangee. Its most formalized manifestation is the school. Thus it is important to examine the educational system and the real groups which are related to it. Although education as a social process may be perceived as a function of such other social institutions as the family, the church, and the play group, we shall here concern ourselves only with education in the school.

The school consists of six class rooms, six teachers, and approximately four hundred pupils distributed among six grades. Allied with the school is an association composed of the fathers of school children which contributes to its support.

a. Goals and Content.

The nature of education in the primary school is reflected in its major activities and their content. An examination of these activities reveals that they are primarily concerned with transmitting certain segments of cultural information, values, beliefs and sentiments to the pupil through the medium of the classroom lecture in which the teacher plays the leading role. The cultural items whose transmission are sanctioned within the social situation of the school are numerous, but may be generally classified under two headings. The first is that of the transmission of culturally approved behavioral norms. This is one of the large areas of activity with which the school is concerned. This area comprehends the transmission of such diverse items as social etiquette, health habits, cleanliness, rules of games, and especially the tules of social interaction.

The second area is concerned with the transmission of specific information, the content of which must be learned by the pupil if he is to progress from one grade to another. This area includes the mastering of technical processes associated with language, mathematics, sewing and handicraft techniques, as well as the memorization of the content of such subjects as history and geography. This second area is the one which occupies the greatest amount of time of both teachers and pupils, and it is this area with which most concern is manifested. In the conception of the layman as well as the teacher the second area is overtly recognized as the primary function of the school. The first area usually goes unacknowledged, although it is implicitly assumed by both parents and teachers.

Probably the most basic cultural items which are transmitted in this educational process are those associated with language (reading, writing, and composition) and with elementary mathematics. Frequently children are taken out of school after mastering these basic mechanics.

As has been noted in a different part of this chapter, education is differentially conceived as it applies to boys and girls. Generally education of the formal school type is considered more necessary and appropriate for boys than for girls.

b. Community Control of System.

The educational system is organized in such a way that considerable control over the local school resides within the community. The salaries of the school director and the teachers are paid by the state government which also appoints these persons. On the other hand, the

school building, its equipment, and maintenance are provided for by funds collected within the community. Through the association of parents, voluntary contributions are made for the care and maintenance of school property. The direction of this is in the hands of the local school staff. Although the parents' association is not active insofar as its individual members are concerned, the officers, and especially the president, exert significant leadership in the community. Owing to the many informal relations existing between members of the association and the political elements in the state the organization maintains effective control over the teachers. It is worthwhile noting that control exercised by the officers of the association is essentially "democratic", and arbitrary decisions are consciously avoided.

c. Status of Teacher.

The teacher's occupational status and the manner in which he plays his role in the educational system, as well as in the community, is pertinent to our examination. As has been noted, he is dependent upon two different groups for his status. The state government appoints him and pays his salary, and when promotions are at hand it is the state which selects those to be promoted. Promotion may take either of two basic forms. It may occur through the transfer of a teacher to a better school system, a larger one, which pays a higher grade of salary, or it may occur through the raising of the salary of the teacher by reclassification. Such promotions are dependent to a considerable extent upon the performance of the teacher in the local school system. This performance is judged by a number of criteria, not the least of which is the manifestation of constructive changes in the local school system during the year.

Thus the number of students enrolled, the size and interest in school celebrations, and the general support of the school by the community become objects of considerable concern to the promotion-conscious teacher. Since the parents' association is the organization which provides funds and through which community interest and support must be gained, the teacher is ever cognizant of its usefulness to him, as well as of its influence upon his career.

Awareness of their relationship to the association of parents is manifested in ordinary interaction between teachers and the officers of the association -- as well as with other members of the community -- by a show of deference. The community is praised for its "progressive" attitudes, allusions are made to how the people are open-minded, candid, and helpful, and how it is generally pleasant to be so fortunate as to live in the community. Open criticism of the community is avoided by the teachers. At public ceremonies conducted by the school at periodic intervals these views are made manifest. Only upon careful interrogation or provocation do critical attitudes come to the surface, and such circumstances are rare. The teacher's social status in the community will be discussed at a later point at which time the social status system structuring the whole community will be described in some detail. His status is such that considerable stress is brought to bear upon him, a good deal of which is derived from the relationships revolving around the job.

d. Teacher-Pupil Relationship.

The teacher-pupil relationship is also interesting to observe. In the classroom the teacher is an authoritative figure, alike in some

respects to the father. Yet observations lead the observer to the conclusion that his authority is oftentimes not taken too seriously by the students. Commands are frequently not obeyed immediately, and resort to the raising of the voice or the use of sanctioned threats is commonly encountered. Control over the pupils is then, achieved through linguistic means. Physical punishment is seldom used. Children are never struck, nor forced to attempt impossible tasks. The teachers' authority rests in no small degree upon the symbolic use of the father's authority. Thus, in cases where the pupil is especially recalcitrant, the threat of notifying the father is employed.

The relations between teacher and pupil are generally respectful and sympathetic. The pupil usually manifests a high degree of respect for the teacher, and even after finishing school the young boy or man who has not had extensive advance education continues to regard the teacher with considerable respect. Although the teacher's status in the community is not such that his counsel or advice is sought on general problems, there exists a certain kind of vague mixture of respect, awe, and perhaps, feelings of inferiority on the young adult's part when the teacher is viewed in the context of the school. On the other hand, the teacher usually stands in a superordinate, yet sympathetic relationship to the pupil.

Teaching techniques used in the classroom vary with the teacher, but in most cases teaching is based upon rote memorization. The subject matter (content) is more highly stressed than the principles which it illustrates, and no great attention is given to the development of individual capacities in academic work. During the course of the study

of the community it was observed that several of the teachers as well as the officers of the parents' association had a definite interest in organizing the school boys into athletic teams. Although their interests and efforts had not as yet been implemented, when the study was completed, such organizational interests are worth noting since they may serve as precedents assisting the introduction of the goals of the IFYE program.

e. Teacher, Community and IFYE.

The teacher's contacts with local parents are considerably limited both in frequency and content. Ordinarily the teacher has relatively little contact with them, and their wishes, opinions, criticism, etc. are made known either through the officers of the parents' association, or through the universal medium of gossip. The parents' association does not meet as a united body at frequent intervals, and does not at all resemble the American institution of the Parent-Teachers Association. Since the teachers form an essential link in the educational process, their aid in the dessemination of the information which the exchangee carries is essential to the achievement of the program's objectives. The school, as an avenue of communication with the youth of the community, is in San Rafael the unit most convenient and direct from the point of view of the exchangee. Here, six days a week, there are assembled almost four hundred children. Their ages range from six to fifteen years. Although all of the community's children of school age do not all attend during the full six year course, it is estimated that more than two-thirds of all of them were in attendance at the school during the period when this study was conducted. Since the IFYE program is

principally interested in developing the youth of the community, there appears no better unit upon which to concentrate than that of the school.

While it is the students of the school who are the objects of the exchangee's interest, they may be reached only by passing through the administrative group charged with the direction of the system. This group consists in an organization called the Sociedad de Padres de Familia, and it is headed by a president and a secretary-treasurer. These two men take the initiative in formulating the associations plans for aid to the school, and owing to the relations which they and other members hold within the political sphere, they have a considerable amount of control over the activities of the teachers and through the latter over the pupils' education. It was observed that the teachers were usually ready to cooperate in the plans set forth by the Sociedad de Padres, and that considerable deference was shown to the society's officers.

By establishing good relations with the teachers of the school and with the officers of the Sociedad de Padres, the exchangee may reach a large segment of the youth of the community. With the permission of these persons it becomes possible to move into the classroom and contact the assembled students. The field worker, by following such a procedure, was able to secure the cooperation and interest of the Teachers and the officers of the parents' association, and thereby use several hours of classroom time in which to discuss various subjects with the pupils. The class-room situation is an appropriate one for the dissemination of information, as well as for gathering knowledge about the way of life of the youth group. Both of these areas are of interest to the exchangee.

The exchangee's task in this area is divided into two principal phases. He must make contact and establish a high level of rapport with the administrative group and with the teachers in order to secure their active support and interest, and then he must present the material which he wishes to impart to the youth in a manner appropriate to the class-room situation. The first phase is but a segment of the larger process of establishing rapport with key persons throughout the community. It is an exceedingly important phase, however, for the success with which it is accomplished determines the degree to which he will have access to the class-room. The second phase, that of presenting IFYE material to the pupils, implies the preparation of a discourse or a demonstration, or whatever form deemed appropriate to the occasion. During the course of the exchangee's visit in the community there will occur various school festival days. On many of these days the exchangee will have the opportunity to speak before the assembled students, and on such occasions he may present such subjects as will tend to create favorable attitudes towards the relations of Mexico and the United States, on the value of youth in the struggle for the maintenance of world peace, and so on.

In addition to the existence of a primary school in the community of San Rafael, there exists a primary and secondary school in the neighboring town and county seat. The secondary school in this other community has an enrollment of approximately eighty students, both boys and girls. Fifteen of these are residents of San Rafael. Depending upon his time in the community and perhaps upon transportation available, the exchangee may also utilize these schools effectively in the furtherance of educational and informational goals.

7. Voluntary Associations

The prolificness of voluntary associations is certainly one of the more obvious characteristics of modern Western Civilization. The multiplicity of these organizations is probably accountable for in part by what may be considered an enlarged area in the cultural sphere for the allowance of alternatives. Of all the societies comprehended by Western Civilization the United States has provided the most fertile ground for their development. Undoubtedly the rise of such a phenomenon is related to more specific functions of a culture than the mere allowance for a wide range of sanctioned behavior. It seems likely that the development of voluntary associations is related to the "needs" of the particular social system and the values prevailing in the culture. This aspect of American culture has already been discussed in Chapter II.

In the social life of San Rafael are encountered both formal and informal associations, and the interests manifested by these associations fall into several different areas, or are related to several different activities. The major activities around which formal voluntary associations in San Rafael revolve are economic. There are some five associations which fall logically under the heading of sindicatos[1] and four which may be classified as producer or production associations. In the political sphere there exists one association, in the school there is another, and the church has three. All of these are formal associations, and for the greater part they are voluntary.

1. The Spanish term sindicato is in this reference most closely translated as English union. The term is customarily used in Mexico to designate craft and workers' organizations.

Significantly, no formal associations are organized around any other activities than these relatively few. On the other hand, there exist an almost interminable number of informal associations of the congeniality type. In San Rafael congeniality groups are interrelated through dual or multiple memberships which individuals hold.

Having touched upon the church and school-related associations in a previous section of this chapter, we shall here limit our discussion to the economic or occupationally related ones. Afterwards the informal congeniality groups will be examined.

a. Syndical Organizations.

Under the general heading of sindicatos fall four associations whose principal activities and interests are concerned with working conditions, wages, and protection against exploitation from other sources. These associations are essentially labor or craft type unions of working people.

(1). Sindicato de Trabajadores de ITSA

The association with the largest number of members is the Sindicato de Trabajadores de ITSA. This is a labor union comprehending the workers of a paper manufacturing plant located about a mile and a half from the community's center. It is composed of approximately sixty members, is formally organized at the local level, with a board of officers with rules and regulations governing the rights and duties of its members, and holds a sanctioned relationship under the Mexican industrial and labor laws with the manufacturing concern for whom the workers are employed. This union is associated with a national labor organization, and received support from this parent organization in its bargaining.

The organization holds periodic and frequent meetings. Its members pay monthly dues and elections are held to select officers. A generally "democratic" structure may be observed in its outward forms of organization.

This association, however, is not integrally related to the other institutions which form the basis of social structure and organized activities in the community. In fact, it is highly limited in its interaction with the community. Its primary activity is concerned with relations existing or projected between it and the industrial concern within whose structure it is incorporated. As would be expected, relations here are not carried on by free interaction of the union members and the management of the factory, but rather through negotiations between management and the union's officers. As an association, the members do not conceive of it -- nor do others in the community -- as a community organization in the larger sense of the word. It is a special interest group whose existence depends upon its relationship with the factory. Membership in the union requires that one hold a position as employee in the factory. Thus, although this group is the largest formal or ganization in the community, its significance to the goals of the IFYE program is slight.

(2.) Union of Cinemagraphic Workers

A second formal voluntary association of the syndicate type is the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Cinematografista (Union of Cinemagraphic Industry Workers). The size of membership is small, there being only nine members, but the work which they perform is integrated into the life of the community. A considerable amount of the recreational activity of the community revolves around the two

movie theaters, hence any difficulties between the theater operators and those workers leading to a cessation of work would have immediate repercussions among the populace. This organization is formally structured, elects officers on a regional basis rather than on a local basis, holds periodic meetings, and is related to the national union of cinemagraphic workers. Its interests and activities revolve around the conditions of work, hours, wages, and vacations.

(3.) Market Place Renters' Association

A third formal voluntary association is the Asociacion de Locatarios del Mercado. This organization is composed of persons who rent or own stalls in the town's central market place. It has a formal constitution with rules and regulations governing the behavior of its members so far as their activities in the market place are concerned. It also elects its officers, and holds periodic meetings. Unlike the other organizations mentioned, this one does not have as its central interests and activities the wages, hours, and conditions of work of its members. It does abide by some rules which allude to hours of work and conditions of cleanliness of the member's shop, but this is not the association's main interest or activity. The members of the organization are not employees, but are owners and operators of small businesses. The group took form in response to pressure from the community which was related to particular circumstances surrounding the market's establishment. It is a special interest group of small proprietors joined together to defend certain rights of a political order.

A certain amount of antagonism is manifested towards the members of the organization by the town's people. Most of the antagonism stems from two sources: First, the way in which the market was

established, and second, the fact that most of the shop keepers in the market come from outside the community. The political activities with which the organization is concerned are those of protecting its members from eviction from the market place, and of controlling the number of persons who might hold stalls or shops in it. These activities operate by means of a complicated structure of informal alliances existing between specific members of the association and politicians in the county seat. A manifestation of its power was illustrated when it successfully withstood a locally instigated movement to regain the property upon which the market is constructed. As a result of this struggle, plus the fact that most members are strangers to the community, and are occupied with essentially similar occupations, the group tends to stand apart from the rest of the community, even though the degree of its internal cohesion does not appear to be high.

(4.) Taxi Operators' Union

The twenty-two local taxi cab owners form still another association of some importance. This group has a formal constitution and rules governing the activities of its members in the occupations. It holds periodic meetings, elects a board of officers and is connected with a state-wide association of taxi owners. Its main interests are the regulation of competition, and the securing of favorable legislation concerned with taxes. The general importance of this association in the community is highly limited. A relatively high degree of in-group feeling is manifested by the members in relation to the public and to the local political authority, although disputes between its members and "hard feelings" occur from time to time. Most of its members are men who have lived all of their lives in San Rafael. They

often verbally express interest in the community. Many of them talk of ways in which the community could be made a more pleasant place in which to live, and as a group manifest "hurt feelings" at not being taken into the deliberations of the community's political group when decisions concerning the town are made. The evidence of community interest is not too convincing, however, when one observes that the association, as such, makes little or no attempt to take part in political or other community affairs. Of significance to our following discussion of social class behavior this association does not participate in the May Day and other civic ceremonial parades which occur in the town periodically, whereas the others previously mentioned do.

(5) Stevedores' Union

A fifth formal association in the community is that formed by the banana loaders or stevedores' union. This is composed of some forty men who load bananas and other products on trucks for transportation to market. This association has a lengthy history in the community, and in former times had a relatively large membership. During the early period of banana exportation when the river served as an outlet to the sea this association controlled the jobs of all men who took part in the loading of cargo on boats or ships. At the present time there is no loading along the river, and with the introduction of the truck for transportation labor has been simplified and reduced to the extent that fewer men are needed. At one time this association owned a combination meeting hall and dormitory for workers, and the largest building in San Rafael. This however, the association lost. At present its offices are in a small frame structure nearby, symbolizing its

declining power. Only a few of the members of the association are local men in origin, and they form a tightly knit group.

This organization has a constitution, elects officers, and has a body of rules covering the relations between worker and employer. Historically, the relations between the association and the community have been clouded by considerable antagonism. At one point some twelve years ago open violence broke out over the cession of plots of land to the members of the association. Although the members were finally successful in securing the land, at least one of their leaders was killed in the process. Now, much of the land has reverted to its original owners, or been sold to others. This event seems to have contributed toward reinforcing a popular stereotype of the group as "shiftless" and ignorant. The members hold low social status positions in the community, and they do not associate with persons in the middle or upper class groups.

(6.) Other Associations

Only one production type of association in the community, a cooperative of banana growers, has any local organization. The other associations, the cattlemen's, the landowners', and the farmer's have local members but no local organizational structure. These associations are organized on a regional or national basis. The banana growers' association, on the other hand, is organized locally. Presently, however, this association is inactive and holds no periodic meetings. It has become a residual social organism, a product of past economic and social conditions.

8. Political Organization

Political parties seem not to thrive in the social climate of

San Rafael. There was no locally organized party, although in the nearby administrative center of the municipio affiliates of the government party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) were found in the persons of the administrative workers and officers. The agente municipal and the local representative of the municipal treasury were also supporters of the government party. No evidence was observed of conflict or antagonism divided along party lines. People generally did not consider themselves divided along party lines.

a. Administrative Divisions.

The formal political authority of the community is vested in two separate organizations. Its form reflects an attempt to provide local initiative and responsibility in a general political structure which is highly centralized. The political organization of the state is, in turn, divided into numerous minor political areas called municipios. These divisions are womewhat comparable to the counties in the United States, although the autonomy granted the county is considerably greater than that granted the municipio. The municipio, in turn, is divided into congregaciones. These, in a rough fashion, may be thought of as comparable to the townships in the United States.

Each municipio has a body of administrative officers, headed by the presidente municipal, who are elected by the eligible voters residing within the geographic limits of the municipio. The congregacion in turn nominally elects an agente municipal. This latter officer is responsible to the head officer of the municipio. The agente municipal receives no salary or wages for his services.

b. Local Citizens' Groups.

The governmental party system, as it existed in Mexico at the

time of the study, tends to greatly restrict the possibility of effective opposition party competition. Hence, with a centralized governmental structure and a strong, almost one-party political system supporting it, little autonomy is possible at the local or community level. The delegation of a degree of political authority to locally organized citizen's groups provides a means to overcome, to a certain extent, limitations placed upon local initiative through the centralized governmental and political party structures, while at the same time conserving those structures.

These groups are called Juntas de Mejoras. They are composed of local citizens in a congregacion who are nominally selected by all of the inhabitants, but whose official status derives from appointment by the governor of the state. These Juntas are granted the authority to make voluntary solicitations of funds for the construction of various public works within the congregacion. Thus, in San Rafael, the Junta undertook the paving of several streets, the installation of a sewage system in parts of the town, aided in the construction of a new church building, and various other public works. To facilitate the works to which this organization is dedicated the governor of the state has granted the group the exclusive right to sponsor public dances and festivals for purposes of fund raising.

c. Local Authority and Power Structure.

Deriving from the authority delegated to it and resultant powers which demand compliance with its decisions, it holds the nucleus of political power in the community. Its decisions are not subject to referral to the local inhabitants, nor to the agente municipal, nor to the presidente municipal. It is directly responsible to the governor of the state.

Furthermore, since its members are not elected by popular vote of those it is assumed to represent, but are appointed through recommendations by local persons with political influence, the membership has the tendency to become a self-perpetuating body. The members are officially appointed for a period of three years. But reappointment is not unusual, and the outgoing incumbents can usually designate the persons who take their places.

The agente municipal in a congregacion possessing a Junta de Mejoras stands in a relatively weak power position. Such is the case in the community of San Rafael where the powerful and influential citizens have gained a partial monopoly over the membership of the Junta. Acting upon certain value premises the membership of the Junta is restricted to those persons in the community who may be "counted on" to act in accord with the wishes of the strongest economic class. The rationale for the restriction of membership to those persons who are economically "well off" and preferably native born residents of the community is partially based in the negative value placed on the assumed "radicalness", "irresponsibility", and "shiftlessness" of the lower social-economic classes. It is also based on their assumed ineptness and ignorance in the sphere of political and civic undertakings.

This organization's interests are widespread throughout the community, as has been noted. Through contributions of funds it helps to support the local school system. Control over the whole area of "public improvements" is in its hands. When streets must be repaired, river embankments improved, sewers increased, or similar questions arise, they must pass through the Junta for approval. Its powers to

build new projects imply authority over the disposition of private property. While the community was under study there arose a case in which the Junta prepared plans to construct a new market place on the site where a privately owned hotel was located. Without notifying the owner of the site, a full set of plans was drawn up, and the Junta in a private session made the decision to purchase the property at a fixed price. Only after a whole series of events in which the Junta deliberated alone and came to its independent decisions did it notify the owner of the desired site of its intentions. The Junta's influence is further felt in the sphere of public recreation and entertainment wherein its permission must be received to arrange to hold a public dance, festival, gambling, cock-fight, or any other remunerative sort of entertainment. In actuality the Junta controls nearly all public events. The main festivals, the Christmas and New Years dances, the campaigns, ceremonies and dances of the 14th of July, and the community's saint's day festival are all organized and executed under the Junta's direction, and the costs and proceeds are also taken care of by the Junta.

Of all of the organizations in the community, the Junta is the one which wields the most effective political power. The members of the Junta are selected from a limited segment of the population of the community through the decisions made by those who are already incumbents, and these decisions seem to be based in a class or status group ideology. They are based upon values held by the upper level status group, and tend to stand in contra-distinction to those of the lower status groups.

9. Social Status and Stratification

It is not difficult to observe and verify many evidences of the differential treatment given to individuals composing the San Rafael community. Some show distinct deference to others, and the various divisions based on this deference are seen to coalesce. People regularly frequent the same group of acquaintances. One seldom, if ever, sees the town's "leading citizen" sit down at the same table for a drink with a group of farm laborers, although he oftentimes may be invited to do so. Too, certain places are frequented by particular kinds of people. In casual conversations, individuals will speak of certain community members as belonging to *la sociedad*, or of being *ricos*. Those who are referred to as members of the sociedad or of being ricos, in their turn, speak of other people as being *pobre*, *clase baja* (with vocal intonation) and generally imply invidious distinctions which exist between these people and themselves.

Through verbal and postural behavior, one soon comes to understand that the community of San Rafael is no utopia of equality in the eyes of its own members. Clearly, the people manifest beliefs that some of their number occupy superior positions in society to others. Some feel that this superiority is justified, while others feel that their attributed inferiority is unjustified. People attribute the differentials of superiority and inferiority to personal or hereditary traits, to individual initiative, to economic fortunes, to education, and to a host of other factors. Undoubtedly all of these play roles of varying importance in the dynamics of the stratification system. It is interesting to observe, however, that those who occupy positions which are considered superior, in general, tend to hold different rationalizations for their superiority

than are attributed to them by those who occupy inferior positions. Likewise the superior positioned individual differently conceives of of the justification for being inferior than does the inferior person himself.

a. Major Strata in System.

At least three and perhaps four different strata may be identified in the community of San Rafael, and these may be considered as arranged in hierarchial form. In terms of the persons occupying positions at different strata levels, we are confronted with the problem of trying to identify them. Since the system operates in its most general terms without reference to the particular individual, but rather in reference to the criteria which define the status, our task becomes that of attempting to describe the status-relevant criteria. Thus, for example, a farm laborer is not brought into the intimate family circle of a farm owner and allowed to court the farm owner's daughter, no matter how pleasing a personality, he as an individual may have, or no matter how excellent a farm laborer he may be. However, for these very qualities he may be considerably more esteemed than his fellow farm laborers, and he may be accorded considerably more personal attentions, kindnesses, and so forth, than the others. He may receive advancements in jobs, and may even experience a degree of mobility within his own status group or across status lines.

b. Status Determining Criteria.

The most generally consistent status-determining criterion in San Rafael is that of occupation. In San Rafael, one's occupation cannot for long remain a secret. It becomes quite evident that a peon is not a landowner, and that a landowner is not a peon. These two

distinctions are, in fact, the most basic ones in the stratification system, and most easily identifiable. Generally speaking, then, the aggregate of persons engaged in farm labor, in menial tasks, such as those of domestic servants compose the lower stratum, regardless of any other criteria which may serve to modify social status. At the other extreme are to be found the largest land and cattle holders and the few professionals of the community. In terms of numbers this is a much smaller group than the lower one. Considerably above the farm laborer group is to be found a class of artisans, barbers, tailors, and butchers who, although of higher status than the farm laborers, do not occupy positions as high as the town's larger merchants, professionals or farmers.

c. Description of Stratification System.

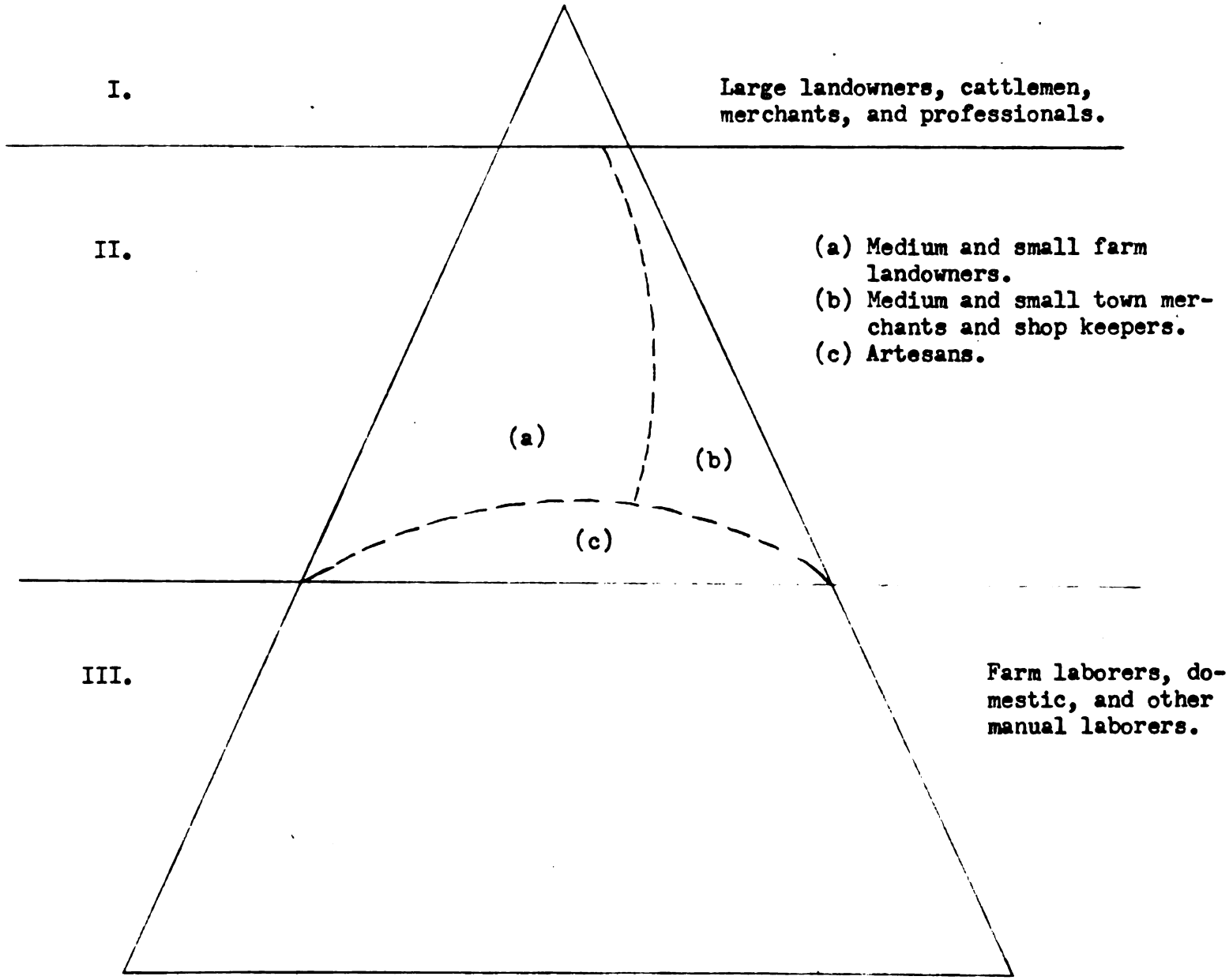
If we conceive of the stratification system of the community as being composed of a hierarchy of strata, and arranged in the form of a pyramid, it will perhaps aid in the following discussion. In the Figure 3 we have attempted to show graphically the position of the strata and their hierarchical arrangement.

The highest stratum (I) shows the position of the large landowners, cattlemen, a few of the town merchants, and the community's professional men. This group includes the conjugal families of the man also. All of these persons and their families occupy the uppermost status positions in the community.

The next stratum (II) has been divided into three parts by dotted lines. Part A symbolized the position of the community's farmers who are less prominent, prosperous, and active. It includes all of the farm and ranch families of the community who are land owners, from the

Figure 3.

THE MAJOR SOCIAL STATUS DIVISIONS IN THE COMMUNITY OF SAN RAFAEL



least "well off" to just below the very wealthy group in the stratum above. None of these people fall in the status group below. Included at this same general status level are to be found the town's smaller merchants, the owners of the grocery stores, the hardware stores, the moving picture theaters, etc. They are, however, to be distinguished from the farm group for numerous reasons which will be discussed shortly. This distinction is shown by the dotted line separating A from B. Still within this middle status group (C) are to be found the community's artisans, the shoemakers, barbers, tailors, motion picture machine operators, and others. These are shown in the figure to be associated with the town center where their basic life activities are carried on, and their position in relation to the rest of Stratum II is shown as generally subordinate to the town's merchants and the farmers.

Below Stratum II is found the largest number of people in the community. Stratum III is composed of the farm laborers, domestic help, servants in public places, vendors, etc. Although no distinctions of rank are indicated in the figure within this stratum, it is not to be assumed that this is one mass of undifferentiated persons.

Certain distinctions in relative status were discovered to be present among members of this stratum. For instance, the tractor operator generally held a higher status than the farm laborer who worked with a hoe. But his higher status in relation to the other farm laborers was not such that it raised him above the general level of this group. Neither he nor his fellows pictured him as occupying the status level of his farmer patron. At the very lowest level of this status group, or perhaps forming still a fourth status group, are to be found the prostitutes residing in the com-

munity. They are mentioned here for they form a significant number in terms of population, there being more than thirty, and around them are performed a number of important social activities. They occupy the lowest level of the social strata, but they are the focus of various social activities.

In the case of some persons it is difficult to place them exactly in the stratification system without expanding it to a detailed ranking of each and every individual in the community. This is believed neither desirable to attempt for our purposes, nor does the author believe that highly detailed categorizations are possible in a community like San Rafael. An instance of this inability to place precisely certain occupations is found in the case of the gambler. Such an occupation holds considerable prestige, yet owing to other cultural values impinging on it, it does not fit comfortably into the middle group, nor into any of the others.

d. Interaction Between Strata.

In general, contacts of an intimate nature tend to occur within the limits of status groups. Members of status group II tend to participate in informal and leisure time activities with other members of the same status level. Similarly, the same rule holds for each of the status groups, as well as for those sub-divisions which have been noted as existing within the status level II. The rural people tend to interact more with other rural people of their own status level than they do with the town's people of the same level. The tendency is also manifested at the level of the community's highest status level. However, at this level the number of persons involved is restricted and there is considerable interaction and contact between these persons and those of status level II. These upper

level status people are also involved in a large number of personal contacts with persons living outside the immediate community. The professionals especially have numerous contacts with other professionals in nearby communities and in distant urban centers.

The agriculturalists and merchants who fall in status level I also interact with numerous persons and groups outside of the community. The two most prosperous families in the village have close personal relations with national political figures, are members of national organizations, and generally are known to associate with persons of relatively high prestige outside of the community. The members of status level II, however, tend to have a large proportion of their inter-personal contacts within the community. This is even more characteristic of those in status level III. A further characteristic of status level I is that its members tend to isolate themselves from the rest of the community in various ways. They tend to enter into contact with persons of lower social status with an attitude of reserve. Much of the behavior of the professionals could be characterized as "aloof" and manipulative when in contact with persons of other status levels. This does not hold true in contacts which involve feelings of friendship or kinship.

It was stated that the members of the three status levels manifest a tendency to interact in those activities which may be described as involving "intimate" contacts with other members of the same status level. What is meant, then, when referring to contacts of an "intimate" nature? One means of explanation is to examine some of the commonly occurring situations or events in the community, after which some of the important aspects of this type of contact situation will be examined.

(1) Contact-type Situation A.

One of the important social situations or events of the community is the public dance sponsored by the Junta de Majoras. At these dances, which nominally are open to the general public, large numbers of the community's young people are in attendance. Upon first glance one's impression of interaction at the dance is that people mingle freely with one another with no reference to discrimination other than personal preference. However, upon closer scrutiny it may be observed that certain definite patterns of differential interaction exist. This pattern is discernible at all of the public dances in the community. No individual male is free to ask any girl for a dance, but only certain boys may ask certain girls. Sons and daughters of the upper status level agriculturalists, merchants and professional men dance with one another, sit at one anothers' tables, and restrict the majority of their social interaction at the dance to themselves. Sometimes, of course, the beauty or attractiveness of a girl from the lower ranks of status level II will attract the attention of upper class young males.

Although these dances are sponsored by the Junta with money collected from the community at large, and are considered to be open to the public, members of social status level III participate on only very special occasions. Hired farm laborers are especially conspicuous by their absence since they form a numerically significant segment of the population. Their absence may be partially explained, and often is, in terms of such rationalizations as the prohibitive cost of the entrance fee, high cost of drinks, and even the lack of appropriate clothing. These, however, do not explain their absence entirely.

It is found upon investigation among this lower status group that their inattendance is accounted for partially by the attitudes they themselves manifested towards the upper status groups and by the attitudes that the upper status group manifested towards them. They perceive the dance situation not as a public social occasion, but as an event to which only los ricos are welcome. They seldom or never conceive of the dance as open to themselves. Young males have offered the information that if they were to attend the dance that they would not be able to dance with the girls who please them. They "think" that they are the equals of anyone at the dance, but they know that they would not be treated as such. The dance, then, provides one of the most readily observable situations where social discrimination occurs.

(2) Contact-type Situation B.

Another type of social situation, to illustrate our point further, in which participation is based upon one's status level is that of the informal drinking or card playing group. In situations where men sit at a bar during the evening, one may also observe the operation of the selective mechanism of social status. Similar patterns to those of the dance are to be observed here. Only men of approximately the same social status sit down to drink together. Even more strictly, only men of equal social status ever play the game of cubilete together while drinking. This rule tends to be modified under certain conditions. For instance, when an upper status person is accompanied by a lower status person who is his personal friend, the lower status person will be invited to participate in the group gathering. Ordinarily, however, the lower status person will tend to retire and not fully enter into the group's activities.

The essential similarity of these two types of situations, the dance and the drinkers' group, is that access is gained to full participation in either on the basis of equality of social status. Interaction and contact is preferably restricted to social equals where patterns of behavior are mutually understood and may be anticipated. For the young women and men attending the public dance a significant part of the pattern of behavior and expectancy revoles around courtship and prospects of marriage. For the other group, expectancies are related to the exchange of emotional and other experiences.

(3) On Interaction in General.

A further observation concerning the contacts between people of different status levels is that while upper status level groups tend to reject lower status people from entrance into contact with them, lower status level groups tend to welcome, to a limited extent, participation of upper status people in their activities. This was observed in the drinking group. Upper status persons usually tried to prevent a lower status person from participating and the reverse was ture of a group of lower status persons. An interesting observation of this situation is not only division of the group into strata but also that a single and integrated social status system encompasses the members of the community.

Interaction between members of different status groups, especially in the context of economic activities, is essential to the operation of the social system of the community. Contact between persons of different social status levels occurs continuously through employer-employee economic relationships. The farmer must maintain contact with his workers or the farm enterprise will suffer. The store owner must

have contacts with his customers irregardless of their social status if his business is to prosper. The professional, the doctor or the dentist, must have contacts with people of all social strata in a community the size of San Rafael. These things do not of course hold true for all communities, for we may witness exclusive catering in urban centers by doctors, dentists, merchants, and others. The majority of contacts occurring between people of different status levels are within the patterns dictated by other institutional arrangements of the community. Daily life in the small town of San Rafael, of course, precludes that one be completely isolated from any status group. Women must do their marketing, men do business, trade, and commerce.

e. Status-Related Ideology and Knowledge.

One of the most revealing aspects of the stratification system of the community is that many people know the names of only a small number of the population. Names of the highest level status group are, of course, known most widely while, moving to the other end of the scale, few of the farm laborer group are known by name beyond their own circle of friends.

(1) Status Group III: Self-Conception.

How do the members of the different status levels conceive of themselves, and how do they conceive of the others in the community? We shall try to illustrate some of the rationale of status differentiation as encountered in San Rafael. Those persons who rank at the bottom level of the stratification system--farm laborers, vendors, servants--conceive of themselves generally as gente humilde (humble people), with little education and training who have to work hard and long hours

to earn a meager living. They usually credit themselves with being religious, honest, and exploited by the upper classes. Members of this level tended to find difficulty in verbalizing the distinctions which they actually make in real situations of contact with persons of higher status. They tended, at the verbal level, to consider all those above them as being massed into one large group.

(2) Status Group III: Conception of Others.

Those persons who are recognized as ranking above them are commonly referred to as *los ricos* or as being members of *la sociedad*. Other terms, such as patron, agricultor, ganadero, also conveyed a status symbolism. These latter terms are part of the local terminology used to designate particular statuses in the economic system. The first two terms, los ricos and la sociedad, are fully charged social status terms. Many of the lower status persons manifest both envy and antagonism toward the upper status persons, although this manifestation occurs principally at the verbal level of expression. As noted above, however, even though those of the higher social status level appear to be grouped together in the verbalized imagery of the lower status member, differentiation is observable at the level of interaction. More deference is accorded those persons who occupy the highest status level in the community than is accorded persons in the middle group.

(3) Status Groups I and II: Conception of Others.

From the point of view of those persons occupying higher status positions in the community, the members of the lower status level are viewed in a variety of ways. They are thought of as being unclean, shiftless, uncultured, *gente baja*, *gente de la calle*. Similar to the farm

laborer's use of the terms patron or ganadero the terms peon and mozo also carry social status reference. When one asks a middle or upper status person who a farm laborer is, and receives the response, Es un mozo de Fulano de tal, this response is descriptive of more than the farm laborer's position in the economic structure. It is also indicative of the man's social status. While the members of the lower status group tend to envy those of the upper status groups, the members of the upper status groups tend to manifest the polar opposite point of view. They tend to disdain the way of life of the lower status group members.

The members of the middle status group tend to conceive of persons existing both above their positions in society and below them. They make clearer distinctions between persons as to the status positions which they occupy in comparison with their own. Their view of the lower status persons has been described above. They disdain them, and to a limited extent manifest a degree of fear of them. Their attitudes towards those who occupy the upper status positions in the community are considerably different. The professional men are thought of with a great amount of respect and are considered as being more fortunate in life. On the other hand, the few large farmers, ranchers, and merchants are thought of to some extent as usurpers, and are not considered as their "betters". This attitude is especially often encountered among the farmers who, from the fact of long residence in the community, can remember that both they and their fathers were not so long ago on a much more equal plane. On the other hand, the merchant group--relatively recently arrived--tends to more overtly acknowledge the superordinate status of the large farmer and rancher. The ordinary middle status merchant has never known the upper status farmer or rancher in

any other context. This, then, completes the brief outline of the social status system encountered in San Rafael.

10. Imagery of the United States and Americans

Part of the objectives of the IFYE program are concerned with the development of "better" and "friendlier" international relations. It is expected that the exchange program will contribute to the furthering of "good" international relations through the medium of the exchangees. The American exchangees are supposed to set a prime example of American society and culture before the eyes of the rural inhabitants of the countries which they visit. Likewise, the exchangees coming from foreign countries are supposed to contribute to the rural American's understanding and appreciation of other peoples and cultures.

a. Collection of Data.

It was suggested that the American exchangee visiting a foreign country will usually encounter pre-existing attitudes towards the United States and Americans. Here we shall describe the composite of these attitudes as encountered in the community of San Rafael. The data on which the following material is based were collected principally through informal conversations, in which the Mexican participants often became highly affectually involved, and also through the use of several informants from the different social strata.

An attempt was made near the end of the author's visit in the community to obtain "objective" corroboration of the material collected through conversations and informants. Thus, a questionnaire was designed which was based principally upon the aspects of the imagery of the American and the United States as encountered in the data previously collected. This questionnaire was submitted to 106 inhabitants

of the community of San Rafael. Care was exercised to collect a proportion of questionnaires from each of the three principal status groups, but for operational reasons it was not possible to secure a sample accurately based upon the distribution of population among these three groups. It is believed that the data collected in this study by the questionnaire have rather tenuous value so far as revealing a more accurate picture of the imagery than the conversations and interviews yielded. Among the important reasons accounting for the belief in the tenuous value of this questionnaire data are the following: (1) There was indication that many people consciously tried to give answers which would be least offensive to the American; (2) Linguistic differences tended to reduce comprehension of the questions on the part of the less educated; (3) Unfamiliarity with answering questionnaires tended to disrupt some person's continuity of thought; and (4) Suspicion of the motive for trying to gather answers to such questions, and of the ultimate disposition of the questionnaires was evidently existent on the part of some of the respondents, and it is believed that on many questions this resulted in a tendency to modify the "true" expression of attitudes. Nevertheless, the data gathered in the questionnaire are presented in Appendix A, and are believed to be somewhat useful as suggestive of the climate of opinion in San Rafael in May, 1953. It is certainly worth noting that the questionnaire data tend to corroborate the data gathered through informal conversations and informants.

b. Contacts between Mexico and U.S.

The historical contacts between the United States and Mexico have been numerous and their effect apparently has been important in the

formation of a composite image of the American. Some of the factors which seem to have influenced the Mexican's imagery readily come to mind. Mexican armies have been defeated in battles by American armies. Large expanses of territory have been ceded to the United States by Mexico as the result of wars and purchase. The United States has intervened in Mexican internal affairs by the use of military forces. The expanding American economy has tended to give the impression of dominating specific aspects of the Mexican national economy. By its geographical proximity to Mexico the generally larger, wealthier, and more powerful United States has contributed to the formation of an imagery which is in many respects not "favorable" to her. The many cultural differences existing between the two countries have probably played major roles in the formation of the imagery.

It seems likely that the internal development of Mexico, and especially the rise of strong nationalism during and since the Mexican Revolution, has had a significant effect upon this imagery. There is ready evidence that the imagery is continually reinforced by means of the newspapers in their manner of treatment of relations between the two countries. The primary school plays a major role in introducing the child to the sanctioned (by government) climate of opinion and interpretation of "facts" concerning relations between the two countries. Probably the existence of elements in the population which are highly nationalistic serve as perpetuators of, especially, the negative attitudes. Our attempt here is not to exhaust the examination of factors accounting for the existence, and kind, of imagery obtaining in Mexico, but merely to preface our remarks on the attitudes encountered among persons

residing in San Rafael.

c. Part Image: (1) Technique, Organization, Wealth.

The inhabitants of San Rafael tend to think of Americans as persons highly versed in technical skills and organization, and as an orderly and efficient people. This is generally encountered throughout many parts of the world as an aspect of the imagery of the Americans. They are imagined as wealthy people, and most believe that the American is a harder worker than the Mexican. Many also conceive of Americans as primarily motivated by economic considerations. These aspects of the imagery may probably be evaluated as favorable in terms of Mexican premises. They are positively evaluated by Mexicans and many feel it would be advantageous for Mexicans to adopt such traits.

(2) Religiosity.

Certain other aspects of the image of the American are unfavorable. They are thought to be less religious than Mexicans, and Protestantism is not highly respected. Negative attitudes toward Protestantism are shown in frequent verbalizations concerning the few who live in the local community. They are referred to jokingly as crazy people (locos), and their religious ceremonies are considered ludicrous. Jokes which depreciate Protestantism are also encountered.

(3) Emotional Expression.

Many people believe that Americans do not have the capacity to experience a deep emotional life. They feel that Mexicans live much more intensely than Americans. It is thought that Americans do not develop or experience intense emotions of love, anger, and hatred, that they are "an easy going people". It is thought that Americans do not develop deep attachments in their personal relationships, and the relatively higher

frequency of divorces in the United States is cited in example. The experience of deep emotions and lasting personal attachments are very highly valued in Mexican culture. The image of the American as lacking in this regard is a negative evaluation of American culture.

(4) Feelings of Superiority.

Americans are thought of as aloof, reserved, and disdainful of Mexicans and their culture. This is especially interesting since Americans tend to consider themselves as out-going and condescending. It is believed that they feel themselves superior to Mexicans, and this produces a strong reaction of resentment. Owing to this belief they are extremely critical of behavior which tends to connote superiority on the part of Americans. Since aloofness or reservedness is closely associated with superiority, a person acting with reserve runs the risk of having his behavior interpreted as superior or disdainful. The exchangees' limited interaction with persons in the community, and their reserved behavior in certain face-to-face situations tended to be interpreted as a manifestation of feelings of superiority.

Suspiciousness of strangers is manifested in the community. This is accentuated when the stranger is an American. There exists a general feeling that Americans are apt to try "to put something over on us". This aspect of the image seems to be especially associated with Americans in the abstract, as a group of people "north of the border", who avail themselves of opportunities to profit from the Mexican's lack of foresight.

(5) Dominance and Interference.

It is thought that the United States dominates, or trys to dominate, Latin America in general. People believe that the United States holds

colonies in different parts of the Americas, and Cuba and Panama are often pointed to by educated people as American colonies. Those who admit that the United States does not participate in direct political domination believe that through economic manipulation she achieves a comparable effect. The United States is believed to have fomented and supported revolutionary movements in Mexico in the past, and this is spoken of with resentment. Throughout Mexico there is a considerable amount of cynicism concerning domestic politics. Related to this attitude toward domestic politics is a not infrequently encountered belief that the United States plays an important role in the determination of national political issues. This seems to be another facet of the generally encountered belief that the United States trys to interfere in Mexico's internal affairs. A few individuals in the community manifested the belief that the United States may have intentions of launching a military invasion of Mexico. These latter are, however, extreme and infrequently encountered beliefs, but they do demonstrate the extent to which the image of the U.S. can be unfavorable.

d. Factors Relevant to Mode of Perception.

Besides the content of the imagery of the United States and the American certain other aspects of the form of perception are highly relevant to note. Although it would be difficult at this stage of formulation to defend the following statements on the grounds of empirical evidence, the author believes it, nevertheless, important to specify certain impressions concerning the modes of perception of the people of San Rafael on the basis that they are suggestive of important factors structuring relations between these people and Americans.

First, we postulate the manifestation of a mode of response which may be tentatively termed inferiority-aggression. By this is meant that when inferiority feelings, feelings of insufficiency or reduced security are elicited there is manifested a response typified by aggressiveness. If this be so, and to the extent to which it may hold true, it is further suggested that the matrix of the phenomenon be searched for in cultural values describing the expected behavior and in the basis of the individual's security system in the social structure. At least one Mexican writer has approached this postulate of Mexican character from an exclusively psychological viewpoint, yet the author finds insufficient basis in this person's work to consider it definitive even so far as its psychological implications are concerned.[2]

This concept of a mode of behavior is believed relevant to the discussion of Mexican-American relations (even though it is presumed to have broader implications) owing to the tendency on the part of some Mexicans to perceive Americans and the U.S. as domineering, or trying to dominate Mexico. The form of aggression manifested in response to the situation need not necessarily be physical, and probably in most concrete situations would tend to be verbal. Given such a tendency in response behavior on the part of the Mexican, it becomes imperative that the American exchangee adopt behavior which will tend to minimize its manifestation. Obviously this response mode is conditioned by restraining factors in the social structure and by the impingement of a congeries of inhibiting values.

2. Ramos, Samuel. El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en Mexico. Coleccion Austral, Espasa-Calpe Argentina, S.A., Buenos Aires-Mexico, 1951. First published in Mexico in 1934.

Second, it is important to note that "change", as a value-premise in the local culture, does not fit into the same constellation as it does in American culture. "Change" is regarded much more cynically here than in America. It is not necessarily associated with a progression towards the "good", as it tends to be in the United States. If this be so, then the changes implied by the IFYE program may be expected to have less appeal to the Mexican rural person than for the American. It is in reference to Mexico's greatest experience in change, the Revolution, that cynical attitudes regarding the efficacy of "change" are encountered. Although few Mexicans would be expected to deny the general "good" brought about by the Revolution, many are actually encountered who do not consider the experience and worth of this most imposing concrete example of implemented "change" as overwhelmingly "good". If it were possible to characterize limited aspects of Mexican and American behavior in terms of cynicism, then this writer believes that Mexican behavior would be characterized by a greater degree of cynicism than American.

Third, people in the community of San Rafael tend to perceive actions at the individual level, at the level of the economic enterprise, and at the level of government as a unified and consistent expression of American attitudes and intentions towards Mexico. They, in effect, lump together aspects of American society so that action occurring at one level tends to be perceived as characteristic of all levels. Thus, the predatory action of an American owned fishing boat in Mexican waters is interpreted in some quarters having control of mass communication media as "piracy" and as typical of yanqui behavior towards the Mexican people. Simultaneously, this behavior is associated with the United States

government as though the latter had lent official sanction to the unlawful actions of the fishermen. Similarly, the International Farm Youth Exchange Project is associated with the United States government. This leads to the supposition that it may be expected that the prestige of the IFYE program will depend in no small part upon the prevalence of a generally favorable opinion climate in regards to the United States.

The last point to be mentioned here concerns the mode of response in the face-to-face situation with Americans as it differs from the response to Americans in the abstract. Although considerable unfavorable attitudes towards the American and the United States are encountered when considered in the abstract, these do not tend to persist as strong negative elements conditioning the relations occurring between the community member and the exchangee once a minimum level of rapport has been established. Under conditions of face-to-face contact the stereotypic biases tend to be minimized when the American is perceived as making an effort to adapt his behavior to the norms of the community. The negative elements of the imagery are brought into dynamic relationship principally when rapport breaks down or previous to its establishment. Thus, when the exchangee's behavior is commendable in terms of the values prevailing locally the biases against the stereotyped American remain static elements structuring the interactive situation. But when the exchangee's behavior is perceived as denying the worth of the locally prevailing values, then the stereotypic biases may be expected to assume dynamic roles in the situation. So far as the exchangee's behavior is concerned, this implies that he must make a special effort to conform to the norms obtaining in the community, otherwise his behavior may be

expected to call into play the negative biases of the people holding unfavorable stereotypes of the American.

11. The Exchangees in the Community

Having now examined the major aspects of the community which were most relevant to the implementation of the IFYE program's goals and the activities of the exchangees some final comments need to be made concerning the interaction of the exchangees in the community.

a. Host Families.

Two families in the community served as hosts at different periods during the year 1952 to four American exchangees. One of these families owned several prosperous farms in the local and nearby area and several hundred cattle. In terms of local standards it was one of the most prosperous agricultural families in the community. This family ranked in the highest level of the local social status system. Its members were of French descent, and in fact, the head was a French citizen until the advent of the Mexican Revolution. He was in many respects, an "influential" person in San Rafael. He had never visited the United States, and spoke no English. He did speak French fluently in addition, of course, to Spanish. The major part of his time is spent in attending to the administration of his economic interests.

The other host family in San Rafael was also one of the community's relatively prosperous and large farm families, though not so prosperous as the first mentioned. He owned several large farms on which bananas were grown, as well as chili, beans, and cash crops. He occupied an upper status position in the community, but was considerably less "influential" in community affairs than the first. He was also descended from

French colonists, and spoke French fluently. The major part of his active life was connected with the administration of his economic holdings. He spoke no English, nor had he ever visited the United States. He had a family of five daughters and two sons. The daughters, his younger son, and his wife lived in a city some miles away where the children attended a private high school. Another son aided his father in administering the work of the farms and cattle. The son of this family was among the first group of Mexican exchangees to visit the United States in 1952-1953.

b. Interaction in the Community.

These, then, are the characteristics of the two host families with which the exchangees stayed. We need to observe their interaction with these families, and also see to what extent this was connected to or integrated into the activities of the rest of the community. We may begin by pointing out that nearly all of the activities in which the exchangees participated was in some way connected with the two host families. The boys arose in the morning and accompanied the hosts on their visits to their farms. They went out on horseback trips to tend the cattle. They did odd jobs around the farms, and helped in some of the planting operations. They drove tractors, jeeps, and trucks, and went on errands for the families. Nearly all of their time was occupied with these farm-related activities. As a result of the amount of time spent connection with agricultural activities, and of the interest which the exchangees manifested in this aspect of community life, they were able to gain a considerable amount of knowledge and insight into the farming practices of the community. The first two exchangees in the community

seemed to be particularly interested in technical agriculture, and most of the knowledge and experience which they gained in the field was through a member of the host family.

Through opportunities provided by living with the host families the exchangees met many other persons in the community and especially relatives of their hosts. Several dinners were given in their honor, at which ten or more people were present. They participated in a relatively large number of social situations, but the intensity of this interaction was low. They were able to reach only a very elemental level of rapport with these people. The most important barrier in these contacts was language, and hence the inability to communicate with the people. The exchangees did not speak Spanish, except for a few phrases, and the community members, in general, obviously did not speak English. A few in the community did speak English, but their presence was lacking in the vast majority of social situations in which the exchangees participated. The fact that the exchangees failed to speak the language of the people among whom they lived proved to be one of the most severe problems with which they were faced, and with which the IFYE program as a whole is confronted. Although the exchangees were able to enter into social contacts with many people in the community, they were unable to develop a high level of rapport in these contacts. They had most friendly and cordial relations established with the host families, especially with the host fathers with whom they spent most of their time. But owing to the language barrier they were never able to enter into full interaction even with these persons.

c. Factors Accounting for Limited Interaction.

As a partial explanation of the over-emphasized interest manifested by the exchangees in agriculture we are impressed with three factors. First, the exchangees were intensely interested in agriculture in general. This was partially the reason why they were chosen to participate in the IFYE program. Second, the broader field objectives of the IFYE program either were not sufficiently impressed upon them during their orientation period, or they were not presented with a generalized plan of field objectives. Third, they were not prepared to carry on communications at the level of verbal interaction. The combination of these three factors may be seen to have led towards a concentration of interest and activity in the field of agriculture, and a consequent restriction of interest and activity in other aspects of community life. Being well based in technological aspects of agriculture we may assume that the difficulties of communication were considerably reduced. They could learn much about such essentially technological processes merely by observation, especially since they already possessed a great deal of personal experience in this field. With a minimum of verbal communication the exchangees gained at least some knowledge about agriculture.

In the area of social life, other than that related to agricultural technology, it was much more difficult to gain some understanding without the use of language. It becomes obvious why the exchangee was unable to carry out the objectives of the IFYE program concerned with informing the local people and introducing interest in its goals. It was clearly not possible for an exchangee to explain such abstract ideas, as for example,

the need for world peace or the role which youth can play in the struggle to preserve democracy.

The importance of the communication factor is emphasized in the reactions to speeches made by the exchangees at a farewell banquet given for them at the end of their visit. These speeches were given in English and translated into Spanish by a Mexican journalist who had been invited to the occasion. The point of interest is that there resulted a general consensus among those who attended that they had finally begun to understand the purpose of the boys' visit in the community. For the first time even relatives of the host families had a comprehensive presentation of the IFYE program goals.

Questioning of the hosts and the exchangees revealed that few ideas and little information was imparted which could be linked with the objectives of better understanding of the United States or the creation of better and friendlier international relations. This, of course, refers to education or information at the verbal level, and does not obviate the possibility that some changes were introduced by other means. There was some evidence that as a result of congenial living together some change and favorable attitudes did result on the part of the host families. However, on the other hand, some unfavorable stereotypes were reinforced among other people as a result of some aspects of the exchangees' behavior.

The exchangees did not participate in a wide range of social situations in the community. Such important community institutions as the school and the church were not objects of attention, nor were the facilities offered for contact with different segments of the community utilized.

The church and the social organizations connected with it were not the objects of any concentrated effort, and thus, some of the most important avenues of communication and interaction with females was not utilized. The largest gathering of youth to be found in the community is that encountered in the daily class meetings of the school children. Here, over four hundred children were assembled six days each week. The large possibilities for the dissemination of information among them were overlooked.

A further important handicap to the exchangees' activities was that they were generally restricted in their interaction to persons of middle or upper social status positions. Some contact was made with farm laborers, of course, through contact in the work situation. This was valuable experience, and should have contributed substantially to an understanding of the life-ways of this segment of the community. However, little or no contact was had with lower status persons in non-work situations. The general pattern of leisure, for example, of the lower status person differs markedly from that of the groups with which the exchangees were associated. Thus, any impressions the exchangees may have had of the lower status people were not based upon personal experience through participation or observation. Here again the barrier of language is viewed as crucial.

Perhaps the significance of language was even more important in situations involving lower rather than upper status persons, since the former is generally more apt to register a certain amount of suspicion of the stranger and especially of the foreigner. By restricting their activities principally to interaction with the host families the exchangees'

impressions and knowledge of the community were proportionately restricted. Information which they took with them upon leaving the community was over-weighted in favor of the upper status groups. The attitudes which were conveyed to the exchangees--limited as they were, owing to the language barrier--were the result of association with only a numerically limited segment of the community. This is especially important to note because the community differs considerably from the typical American rural farm community where activity and other social differences are not so pronounced between the various groups. The "way of life" of the Mexican peon differs greatly from that of his patron, a fact that may be given but little importance by one who knows only the life-style of the patron.

The exchangees seem to have had no contacts with the several voluntary associations in the community. Those interviewed were acquainted with some of the members of the taxi owners association, but were not aware that there was an association nor that they held periodic meetings. The potentialities for the dissemination of information among the group composing the merchants of the town's market evidently was not observed by the exchangee, in fact, contacts between the exchangees and this group were highly limited.

d. Informal Relations.

Probably the greatest oversight on the part of the exchangees was that they did not succeed in establishing the kind of informal relations with people in the community which lead to a relatively free interchange of incidental knowledge. They did not succeed in establishing the level of rapport which would have led to participation in a considerable

number of type-situations which are basic to life in the community. Owing to the fact that they devoted most of their time to agricultural interests they did not enter into the activities of the many groups of young men which congregate in the town at different times of the day, and especially in the evenings. Proper contacts with these groups would have provided the exchangees with the most dependable channels for learning the ways and ideas of male youth. Rapport with them would also have provided the means for disseminating information about the United States, the place of youth in contributing to world peace, and the other objectives of the IFYE program. In one of the town bars, for example, the exchangee could find not only the youth of the community but also many adult men.

Participation in the activities of the informal group, be they men sitting at a table drinking beer or standing on the street corner conversing, is, from the point of view of effective communications, one of the very best informative situations which one could have encountered in the community. For various reasons the exchangees did not participate to any great extent in these informal group activities. It is perhaps important to state that to enter the "inner circle" of many of these informal groups there is a ceremony which one must pass through. One must pass what in effect constitutes an informal initiation rite. Such an initiation may consist only of having one's glass filled every time the other members of the group do, or it may involve a rather tedious period of interrogation and similated attempts at provocation. Although requiring patience such initiations are usually simple, harmless, and of short duration, after which one passes to the status of a companion.

In the case of the exchangees, they were usually too tired after a full day in the field to spend several hours in town at night in what, at first sight, might have appeared to be no more than idle talk. Second, owing to their personally held values derived from their cultural origina the exchangees were not accustomed to some of the "ritual" connected with initiation. For instance, the drinking of large amounts of intoxicants was not a custom of the exchangees, and this is almost inevitably one of the acts through which the stranger must pass in order to gain entrance to the group. The second step in the initiation might likely be to invite the exchangee to visit one of the town's less reputable house of entertainment. Neither of these two acts are compatible with the values held by the exchangees. They are, in fact, negatively evaluated by the Four-H movement of which the exchangees are among the most outstanding representatives. Since these groups are essentially congeniality groups a stranger must prove his own congenial tendencies by submitting to their initiation rite. This illustrates some of the problems which emerge as the result of contact between two different cultural groups. They are problems which may have no absolute solution, but at least should be recognized prior to the exchangees' arrival in the community.

e. Formal Relations.

The Society of School Fathers was headed by two men who had shown considerable interest in the welfare of all of the community's children, regardless of their social status. These two men could have been enlisted by the exchangees as leaders in youth work, although they were not contacted. Other individuals in the community served

a potential leadership function in relation to youth, many of whom would have been interested in participating in a youth-oriented program. They did not hold formal positions in the community's organized groups, but they held relatively high positions in the social status structures.

The most important organization in the community from the point of view of its range of authority and influence was the Junta de Mejoras. Its members all held high social status positions in the community and had a considerable amount of personal influence. One of the host fathers was a member of the group currently holding office. This organization showed great possibilities for providing material and moral aid towards the formation of rural youth groups. For most practical purposes it may be considered to control the distribution of available community funds. To have enlisted its services in a youth-directed program would have automatically brought many other people into the effort also.

In conclusion, we may say that the exchangees' roles in the community were essentially passive. They did not take positive steps towards the dissemination of knowledge about the IFYE program. They did not integrate their activities so as to take advantage of the influence of informal, formal, or institutionalized groups existing in the community. Contacts with the community's leaders were not systematically exploited, and contact with them was a matter of accident rather than design.

Several factors may be noted as accounting for the passive roles which the exchangees assumed while in the community. Of foremost importance in this respect was the fact that they could not speak Spanish.

Although they evidently did make some progress in their ability to speak the language, it was still at a very elementary level by the time they left the community. As a result it was not possible for them to effectively convey the information, ideas, concepts, and values which are implied by the program's goals. It is also important to note that one's ability to speak the language of a people, or inability to do so, has an effect upon the attitude manifested towards the exchangees. Where the exchangee speaks the language, even though only haltingly in the beginning, it may be expected to produce generally favorable dispositions on the part of the inhabitants. The second factor of major importance was the lack of field plans. The exchangees did not come to the community prepared to take an active role in promoting the objectives of the IFYE program. There seemed to have been little training or briefing in what they should do and how to do it.

In appraising the behavior of the exchangees in the San Rafael community it would be well to call attention to a situational factor sometimes referred to as "cultural shock". It occurs when an individual from one culture moves into a different one and, as the result of inability to predict behavior on the part of the local inhabitants, suffers varying degrees of disorientation and frustration. Modes of reaction to this state vary, although a common one is withdrawal or retirement to a familiar area of behavior. This is believed to partially account for the emphasis placed upon agriculture by the exchangees, since this was an area in which they could feel some security even in a state of general isolation. The phenomenon of cultural shock is grounded in value differences as well as differences in patterns of expected behavior. As a re-

sult, numerous situations may be differently interpreted by the exchangees and the community members. The exchangees' values differed sufficiently from those of the young Mexican men so that they avoided participation in certain of the latter's activities. What was justifiable on the basis of recreational pleasure by the Mexican young men was condemned on the basis of moral principle by the exchangees.

Chapter V

Summary and Conclusions

This study of the International Farm Youth Exchange Project in Mexico attempted to describe its operation and effectiveness by examining it through the use of sociological and anthropological methods. The principal areas selected for investigation were those of the structure and activities of the administrative agency, and the structure of the community which had had most contact with the IFYE exchangees. It was assumed that an investigation of these two areas would reveal problems the program had encountered, allow an assessment of its effectiveness, and lead to statements concerning its revision or modification.

Major Factors Structuring the Operation of the Program.

The major problems encountered by the IFYE program in Mexico may be concisely summarized in terms of the major factors structuring its operations. These are categorized for discussion purposes under the topical headings of social and cultural factors, individual factors, and administrative factors. It is not meant that these categories be taken as mutually exclusive. It seems obvious that, for example, factors of cultural derivation become relevant in any "concrete" situation owing to their expression through the actions, perceptions, and evaluations, etc. of individual actors.

A. Social and Cultural Factors.

1. Language. The study concludes that, of all the factors structuring the operations of the IFYE program, the language factor was most crucial. The exchangees did not speak Spanish, the dominant

language of the inhabitants of San Rafael and of the majority population in Mexico. Much of the ineffectiveness of the program was traced to this difference in communications systems.

2. Values and norms. At some points it was noted that local cultural values relevant to moral behavior differed considerably from American values. A range of behavior which was favorably evaluated in the local culture was unfavorably evaluated by the exchangees. This was seen to have been particularly relevant to the restriction of the exchangees' behavior in reference to participation in a range of youth activities. Religious values in the local culture were noted to be highly specific. That is, they were not generally applied to behavior occurring outside of the institution of religion. Thus, their usefulness as a source of support for the achievement of the secular ends of the IFYE program was viewed as highly limited. "Change" as a value in the local culture was found to have different associations from that in American culture. Rather than being associated generally with a progression towards the "good", it was noted that it was a more cynical attitude. "Equality", an important value in American culture, was found to have but a limited importance as a value applied to behavior in general. On the other hand, the value-premise of "individuality" would be more characteristic as an element structuring behavior in the local culture. In terms of emphasis given to these latter values, "individuality" is more highly stressed. It was implicitly assumed that the values characterizing American culture which were set forth in Chapter II serve to support the goals of the IFYE program and aid in their articulation. It was inferred that the absence of these values in the local culture, and the existence of other values

would be expected to reduce the support of the program in the local culture and to hinder the acceptance or articulation of the IFYE goals. Instances were cited where empiric evidence tended to strongly support these assumptions.

Religious-connected norms. The local culture prescribed that females be the carriers of religious virtues and knowledge as well as perform the activities sanctioned by the dominant religious institution. On the other hand, the norms for males were less precisely defined, and men were allowed more freedom for alternate behavior. Certain norms prescribed for male behavior in non-religious activity tended to minimize active male participation in religious activity. Thus, the only groups organized around church-connected activities were composed exclusively of females. For the IFYE program this had the significance of providing access to a sizeable group of females organized in a formal group. These church-connected female groups were the only ones in which women and girls in the community belonged. No avenue of access to males was provided by religious-connected norms.

Status-connected norms. The norms relating persons of different social status levels were found relevant to the implementation of the IFYE goals. The form of observance of status differences restricted contact between members of different strata to formal modes and reduced communications between them. Relatively strong cleavages between strata characterized these relationships. This was illustrated through an examination of the status-related imagery. Except for the highest stratum, there was little manifestation of status-group solidarity. The life-ways of the members of the lower level differ considerably

from those of the middle and upper levels. Thus, the implementation of the IFYE goals was made more difficult both as to the dissemination of information and the securing of an understanding of the behavior, attitudes, aspirations, and needs, etc. of the total community.

Family and kinship norms. The interaction patterns in the family and kinship system provided the exchangees with the greatest amount of contact with persons in the community. Although this occurred principally within the ranks of the middle status group, it nonetheless was relevant to the achievement of the exchangees' goals of gaining knowledge about life-ways. Family and kin interact with considerable frequency and in highly intimate fashion in the local culture. The kinship system provided avenues for the dissemination of information. The influence which an exchangee could expect to exert on a host or on other members of the host's generation is likely to be slight. The pattern of superordination-subordination characterizing the relationship between father and son, and the normative pattern of authority within the family (in which the father consistently originates to the son) tend toward the minimization of the extent to which the exchangee might influence the host and the host's generation.

Sex-connected norms. Males and females associate legitimately only within (culturally) well defined situations. These situations differ considerably from those in which association in American culture is sanctioned. They are considerably more limited in terms of frequency. Casual association is largely proscribed. No formal peer groups encompassed both sexes, and owing to the impingement of a cluster of sex-related values such association is discouraged. In terms of the

IFYE goals this is highly relevant in that it tends to preclude the organization of groups including members of both sexes.

Attitudes towards U.S. and Americans. The attitudes held by people in the community of San Rafael concerning Americans and the United States were found to bear a relationship to their perception of behavior on the part of the exchangees. There were found a number of unfavorable attitudes concerning the United States and Americans. There was also encountered a tendency to link together American individual, group, and institutional expressions. Empirical evidence tended to show that the IFYE program and its goals were associated with official United States representations. Thus, it was inferred that as the prestige and degree of affection of the United States varies according to the climate of local and national opinion the prestige and affection of the IFYE program and its goals will rise or fall accordingly.

The unfavorable stereotypic biases concerning the American and the United States were seen to be applicable principally when these were considered in the abstract. Their importance in interactive situations involving community members and exchangees was most apt to be felt at only two points, i.e., before rapport was established or after rapport breaks down. Thus, community members with whom rapport had not been established tended to perceive the exchangees through the framework of their stereotypic biases. The exchangees, although unaware of the nature of the imagery held by community members, were aware that their actions would likely be subject to scrutiny and criticism and attempted to behave in what they perceived as an unoffensive manner.

B. Individual factors.

1. Learning. The sheer burden of learning the meanings of many aspects of life going on around the exchangees in their new cultural setting necessarily structured their behavior. Such simple decisions, for one thoroughly acquainted with the culture, as whether to respond positively or negatively to a verbal or postural gesture tended to inhibit their behavior and restrict their range of activities.

2. Cultural shock. The disorientation resulting from the change of cultural milieux was noted as an element instrumental in inhibiting the exchangees' behavior in a wide range of social activities, and in directing their attentions to the field of agriculture. In the activities surrounding agriculture they were able to find security in a segment of culture with which they had considerable familiarity as well as a basic and long-standing interest.

C. Administrative factors.

1. Failure to define field objectives. The goals of the program at the level of field operations were found to be poorly defined. The members of the field administration agency and the exchangees possessed only very generalized ideas of what the over-all goals of the program were. The specification of objectives to be implemented in the field, however, was found lacking. This is viewed as an important factor, second only to the language barrier, contributing to the ineffectiveness of the IFYE program in Mexico. It created an ambiguous situation in which the exchangees were thrust while visiting communities, and is viewed as contributing toward the concentration of the exchangees' interests and activities principally in one segment

of culture, i.e., agriculture. In addition to these, the failure to define field objectives is viewed as a basic barrier to the future efficient operation of the program since it tends to obviate the periodically needed evaluations which aid administrators in adjusting activities to changed conditions.

2. Loosely organized field agency. The field agency charged with the administration of the IFYE program in Mexico was loosely organized. Members' roles were not well defined, lines of authority were ambiguous in regards to certain important activities, and the communications system showed poor elaboration. The factors which were viewed as accounting for these characteristics of the field agency were seen to be principally those of the occupational interests of the members. Their contributions of time, energy, and funds to the administration of the IFYE program were all of a voluntary nature, and were made in addition to the duties performed in their occupational roles.

3. Procedure for selection of Mexican exchangees. The procedure for the selection of Mexican exchangees showed considerable room for improvement. The principal handicaps in the procedure used were that: (1) attention was not paid to the pre-existing attitudes which the candidates held concerning the United States and Americans, and (2) the necessity of possessing a basic working knowledge of English was not strictly adhered to. The importance of the language factor was discussed in connection with the American exchangees, and, of course, holds the same significance in relation to the Mexican exchangees. That attention to the pre-existing attitudes of the Mexican exchangees is deemed relevant to the basis of their selection stems from evidence

tending to indicate that negative attitudes are often confirmed as the result of cross-cultural experience rather than drifting towards a change to positive attitudes.

4. Follow-up activities. Owing especially to the factors cited in regard to the agency members' occupational interests, sufficient attention was not given to following-up the activities of the Mexican exchangees upon their return to their home communities. The loss of contact with the exchangees prevented the administrative agency from evaluating the effectiveness of the exchange experience for the boys, and, of course, precluded the securing of knowledge concerning their activities in relation to the dissemination of information about the IFYE goals.

On Basic Assumptions.

The question raised at the beginning of this study, of whether or not the assumptions underlying the achievement of international understanding through exchange programs are valid, can only be partially and inconclusively answered as a result of this analysis.

The study uncovered evidence showing that stereotypic images of the United States and Americans were not altered by the exchangees' presence in the local community. It further showed that the exchangees' behavior tended to be interpreted through the framework of the local inhabitants' pre-existing stereotypes.

It was also shown that the lack of direction and organization which detracted from the achievement of the IFYE goals was in part due to placing too much faith in the efficacy of the simple personal contact situation.

On the other hand, there seems to be little doubt but what the exchangees ended their exchange experience with a fuller appreciation of Mexicans in general and of many facets of Mexican culture. The same may be said of the Mexican exchangees in regard to their experience in the United States.

The results of this and other empirical studies on the impact and effectiveness of cross-cultural contacts and education, indicate that in some cases at least the cross-cultural experience does not lead to more tolerant attitudes towards other cultures and people.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion is a methodological one. At this stage, then, we would say that in order to understand how effective an exchange program, conducted on a cross-cultural basis, is, it is necessary to examine the exchangee's own culture, his position in his own society, and the stresses which occur when the exchangee attempts to articulate norms derived from the foreign culture. No matter how effectively an individual or group of exchangees' attitudes are modified by the exchange experience, they are still faced with pressures for conformance to the prevailing norms in their own society. It must be recognized that in most cases the pressure for conformance to the local or national norms will be vastly stronger and more persistent than the attraction to articulate the norms of the foreign culture.

Implications for the IFYE Program.

Criticisms of the IFYE program as it operated in Mexico which have grown out of this study do not imply that it met with total failure. To the contrary, many points were observed wherein its goals were in the process of being implemented. The length of time during which it

had been in operation in Mexico (two years) was short, and it could hardly be expected that far reaching results could already have been attained. But precisely because of the newness of the program it was important to critically examine the directions it had taken in order to allow for relatively easy modification before these directions became "solidified".

It is believed that the following suggestions for modification of the program, when successfully implemented, will lead more directly to the achievement of its goals. First, it seems essential that the exchangees possess a basic working knowledge of the language of the country which they visit. This is applicable to all the cooperating countries where English is not the dominant language. It likewise applies to the exchangees from foreign countries who visit the United States. The American exchangees visiting Mexico whould have a minimum command of Spanish before arrival, and the Mexican exchangees should have a command of English. A basic working knowledge does not mean that the exchangees should necessarily speak the foreign language fluently. They should, however, have a relatively good command of its basic mechanics, and some conversational ability. The study showed that one of the most important barriers to the achievement of the program's objectives was the inability of the exchangees to communicate with the people. By possessing a working knowledge of the language upon arrival the exchangees would likely progress rapidly towards fluency, simultaneously gain more insight into the culture, and be better equipped to disseminate information about the IFYE objectives. It seems essential that this criteria should be highly weighted in the

selection of the exchangee candidates. Candidates who do not possess a basic working knowledge of the language should not be accepted.

Second, the exchangees would profit more from a longer stay in the first community which they visit. Their visit in the first host community is generally stressful, and poses many problems which may not be expected to recur in other communities. It is during this time that they begin to make progress in conversational ability, and begin to evaluate the new situation. As a considered estimate the exchangees should remain on their first location for three months. This time seems adequate, in the perspective of the total length of the exchange experience, for meeting the problems involved in the exchangees' introduction to the new culture and allow them to gain some understanding of the community. After this three months' visit in the first host community it would be advisable to shift them to three or four other locations during shorter periods. Since their entire visit is limited to about five and a half months, this would mean that their other assignments would be limited to approximately two weeks duration each. A total of five assignments, in varying regions of the country should allow sufficient variation to give the exchangees insight into regional differences.

Third, it would be advisable to select two or more "experimental" communities in which each of the exchangees could visit. By selecting two communities, and having each of the exchangees visit them several conditions could be met simultaneously. The community repeatedly would be made aware of the program's nature, and as succeeding groups of exchangees visited it their presence would become a part of the expectancies of its inhabitants. Each exchangee might add to the work done

by those before him, and there would exist the possibility of instituting a well defined program for the dissemination of information and for the accumulation of knowledge. By having each of the exchangees visit the community they could afterwards compare notes, and one's observations could supplement another's. A concentration of effort on two communities would provide the basis for a more precise evaluation of the program's effectiveness.

Fourth, field objectives should be more precisely defined. The orientation period in the United States and in Mexico should stress that the exchangees try to play more active roles in the communities which they visit. They should be impressed with the necessity of contacting both formal and informal groups. They should be instructed to engage in as much interaction with community members as possible. The importance of giving attention to agricultural practices should be placed in proper perspective with other aspects of community life. Agriculture should not be made to absorb such a large amount of time and effort. They should try to learn about non-agricultural occupations and activities also. The exchangees should be instructed to gather information, and impressions, about religious, social, and recreational life. They ought to engage in and observe leisure time activities of the community's different social classes. Especial attention should be paid to the habits, customs, games, recreation and general interests of the community's youth. The problems with which youths are confronted as they approach manhood and their felt needs should be observed and noted.

Fifth, the administration of the program has been hampered by

the loosely structured and voluntary nature of the agency charged with this activity. The persons responsible for its administration recognized the limitations placed upon them by their occupational duties, and there was indication that some initiative had been taken to stimulate interest in a domestic (Mexican) sponsoring agency which could administer the program. The establishment of such an agency seems essential to the future success of the program in Mexico. Such an agency, if properly staffed and organized, could make a very substantial contribution to the implementation of the program's goals.

Appendix A

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY NUMBER AND PERCENT TO QUESTIONS ON ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICANS. SAN RAFAEL, VERACRUZ. MAY, 1953.

	Si		No		Creo que Si		Creo que No		No tengo opinion		No answer		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Son reconocidos por su eficiencia y organizacion tecnica los Norteamericanos?	94	88	3	3	4	4	-	-	5	5	-	-	106	100
2. En lo general son los Norteamericanos capaces de sentir tan profundo como los Mexicanos?	39	37	38	36	14	14	5	5	10	9	-	-	106	100
3. Considera Vd. como una inmoralidad la gran cantidad de divorcios en los Estados Unidos?.	55	52	28	26	9	8	2	2	13	12	-	-	106	100
4. En lo general, les interesa mas a los Norteamericanos hacer dinero que cualquier otra cosa?.	45	43	30	29	8	7	9	8	14	13	-	-	106	100
5. Seria bueno para Mexico adoptar las tecnicas cientificas, industriales, y agricolas de los Estados Unidos?	90	85	4	4	7	6	1	1	4	4	-	-	106	100
6. Tratan los Estados Unidos de entremeterse en los asuntos interiores de Mexico?.	43	41	27	25	7	6	5	5	6	22	-	-	106	100

Appendix A (Cont'd.)

	Si		No		Creo que Si		Creo que No		No tengo opinion		No answer		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
7. En lo general, son los Norteamericanos mas trabajadores que los Mexicanos?	60	57	19	18	13	12	4	4	10	10	-	-	106	100
8. Es lo mejor del mundo la maquinaria agricola Norteamericana? . . .	47	44	28	26	19	18	4	4	8	7	1	1	106	100
9. Han fomentado y sostenido los Estados Unidos revoluciones dentro de territorio Mexicano?.	60	57	18	17	11	10	3	3	14	14	-	-	106	100
10. Es mas religioso el Pueblo Mexicano que el Pueblo Norteamericano?	72	69	10	9	9	8	3	3	11	10	1	1	106	100
11. Son los EE.UU. el verdadero buen vecino de Mexico?.	60	57	17	16	15	16	2	2	11	10	1	1	106	100
12. Son basicamente differentes los Mexicanos y los Norteamericanos? .	75	70	17	16	7	6	3	3	4	3	2	2	106	100
13. Es rico la mayor parte de los Norteamericanos?	55	52	20	19	14	13	3	3	14	13	-	-	106	100
14. En general, consideran los Norteamericanos a los Mexicanos como inferiores a ellos?.	70	67	10	9	7	6	7	6	13	12	-	-	106	100

Appendix A (Cont'd.)

	Si		No		Creo que Si		Creo que No		No tengo opinion		No answer		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15. En lo general, es la intencion de los EE.UU. de sacar provecho cuando dan ayuda a otros paises? . . .	64	62	16	15	8	7	6	5	12	11	-	-	106	100
16. Deciden los EE.UU. las situaciones politicas de Mexico?	23	22	34	32	18	17	7	6	24	23	-	-	106	100
17. Se puede considerar a los Conquistadores como benefactores de los indios?.	54	53	29	28	9	8	6	5	7	6	1	1	106	100
18. Desean los EE.UU. ayudar al Pueblo Mexicano sin dominarlo?.	31	30	33	32	19	18	6	5	16	15	-	-	106	100
19. En la actualidad son los EE.UU. el centro de la civilizacion?	51	49	35	34	8	7	5	4	7	6	-	-	106	100
20. Atienden los EE.UU. mejor a sus necesitados que Mexico?.	74	71	12	11	10	9	1	1	9	8	-	-	106	100
21. Desean los EE.UU. invadir con su ejercito a la Republica Mexicana?.	7	6	70	66	3	2	10	9	17	16	-	-	106	100
22. En lo general, los Norteamericanos conociendo las costumbres Mexicanas pueden captarla y entenderlas?	77	72	10	9	13	12	5	4	3	2	1	1	106	100

Appendix A (Cont'd.)

	Si		No		Creo que Si		Creo que No		No tengo opinion		No answer		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
23. Seria bueno para Mexico adoptar la religion protestante?	10	9	65	62	1	1	10	9	20	19	-	-	106	100
24. Tienen los presidentes de Mexico tratos secretos con el goberino de los EE. UU.?	21	20	13	12	16	15	16	15	38	36	2	2	106	100
25. Tienen menos aptitud como musicos y pintores los Norteamericanos que los Mexicanos?.	50	48	26	25	10	9	3	2	16	15	1	1	106	100
26. En la actualidad tienen los Mexicanos motivos para sospechar de los Norteamericanos?.	29	28	33	32	8	7	23	22	11	10	2	1	106	100
27. En lo general, ignoran los Norteamericanos el progreso y la civilizacion de Mexico?	28	27	66	63	4	4	2	1	6	5	-	-	106	100
28. Siente todavia rencor o enojo el Pueblo Mexicano contra los EE.UU. por las invasiones de hace muchos anos?	43	40	33	32	10	9	15	14	3	3	2	2	106	100

Appendix A (Cont'd.)

	Si		No		Creo que Si		Creo que No		No tengo opinion		No answer		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
29. Tienen los EE.UU. varios paises de las Americas como colonias? .	62	59	10	9	8	7	2	2	24	23	-	-	106	100
30. Debe uno defender su pais contra criticas justificadas?	54	52	44	42	1	1	3	3	2	2	-	-	106	100
31. Son los EE.UU. un pais imperialista?.	36	34	35	33	7	6	9	8	18	18	1	1	106	100
32. Son los Mexicanos mas trabajadores que los Norteamericanos? .	28	27	44	42	4	3	15	14	13	12	2	2	106	100
33. Esta justificado en gran parte el tratamiento que reciben los braseros en Tejas?	30	29	43	41	9	8	7	6	17	16	-	-	106	100

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