ROLE-EXPECTATION PATTERNS AMONG UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF SOME APPLICABILITIES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM SCHEMA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Frank Comstock Nall II

1959

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

ROLE-EXPECTATION PATTERNS AMONG UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF SOME APPLICABILITIES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM SCHEMA

presented by

FRANK COMSTOCK NALL II

has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

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William H. Form
Major professor

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By

Frank Comstock Nall II

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Advanced Graduate Studies
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AN ABSTRACT

The general focus of the study was a sub-area of the problem of moral integration of society. A range of data drawn from high school students living within the metropolitan communities of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, was gathered and analyzed. The frame of reference which structured the research was that of the social system schema. The study had two principal purposes: the exploration of the applicability of the social system schema to a limited problem in empirical analysis, and the furtherance of general sociological knowledge of the structure of social relations in the United States-Mexican border area.

Four principal propositions derived from the social system schema were formulated and subjected to empirical testing. The relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations was examined and it was inferred from the findings that social role-expectations do not necessarily represent an unmodified transposition of cultural value standards. The relationship between the extent of differentiation of social relations in a social system and the universalistic-particularistic dimension of role-expectations was examined also. It was inferred that as the extent of differentiation increases the incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations increases also. Finally, the relationship between the extent of differentiation in a system and the self-collectivity dimension of role-expectations was examined. It was inferred that as the extent of differentiation increases the incidence of collec-

tivity-orientation toward the family decreases and the incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group increases.

Ethnic status differences were found to account for differences in the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the United States students. Social status differences did not appear to be related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited, except with respect to the high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. These latter showed convergence in role-expectations types.

It was concluded that the data imply either (1) that the system of social relations in which both the Mexican and United States students are involved lack a high level of order, or (2) that a high degree of moral integration may not constitute so vital a feature of the maintenance of stability and order as Parsons and others would suggest. This study favored the latter view.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want here to express my thanks to some of the many people who in one way or another helped me to write this thesis. I am particularly indebted to Dr. William Form who acted as my major advisor, read and criticized several versions of the manuscript, and contributed numerous helpful suggestions. I deeply appreciate his helpfulness and friendly counseling.

Dr. Charles P. Loomis, former Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, originally interested me in doing field work in Latin America and provided the means whereby that interest was implemented. I owe Dr. Loomis my gratitude for his continuing encouragement of my pursuance of this study. Moreover, he has been a constant mentor throughout my academic career.

I am especially grateful to Drs. John Useem, Charles Hoffer, Wilbur Brookover, and Paul Morrison, members of my guidance committee, for their help in planning a program of graduate studies. I am also grateful to the Carnegie Corporation for the financial assistance which made possible the field work which was conducted on the Border Project. The public school authorities, teachers, and students in El Paso and Ciudad Juarez who participated in the study deserve special recognition. Without their helpful cooperation the research most certainly could not have been accomplished.

Two former faculty members of Michigan State University should be mentioned here. Dr. John McKinney stimulated my interest in systematic theory, particularly in the social system theory of Talcott Parsons. Mr. Kenneth

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Tiedke, a close friend, was one of my outstanding teachers.

I wish to thank my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Russell McKee, for their help in preparing the manuscript.

To my wife, Elizabeth Williams Hall, I owe special thanks for her unfailing aid and comfort during the lengthy period required to complete this thesis. Her incisive thinking contributed significantly to this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Research on the Border Project

Prior to a discussion of the theory and methods it would be well to describe the general objectives of the research project of which the present study constitutes but one segment. Formally, the general project bears the title of Processes of Technological and Social Change in the Inter-Cultural Settings of the Border Areas of the United States, but we shall refer to it simply as the Border Project. The funds for carrying on the program of research of the Border Project were awarded in the form of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Area Research Center of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, in 1954. The program of research was to be projected over a period of five years, in areas where cross-cultural contact occurs as a persistent phenomenon, and where the liklihood of cultural diffusion from one society to the other might be expected to bear importantly upon modes of social organization.

From its inception, the Border Project contemplated carrying out a comprehensive program of research in the Mexican-United States border area. This area meets the stipulations mentioned above, in that it constitutes an arena in which two societies are juxtaposed, where persistent interaction is carried on between them in numerous spheres, and where each society is faced with similar problems of adaptation to a common environment. Such a setting contains, potentially, the seeds of diffusion.

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A brief description of some of the major pieces of research which have been undertaken up to the present by different researchers working on the Border Project may provide greater perspective to the present study. A major endeavor has been the analysis of the demographic features of the Mexican-United States border area. Demographic analysis of this area has proceeded at a steady pace. Tiers of counties on the United States side of the border and tiers of municipios on the Mexican side have been examined, and the comparative analysis of population and social statistics is being undertaken at the time of this writing. A major goal of this demographic analysis is the delimitation of some facets of the cultural and social frontiers of the two societies. The study of the interpenetrations in a border region of two societies as large and complex as those of Mexico and the United States has heretofore never been attempted and, thus, this aspect of the Border Project constitutes a pioneering research venture.

Another major study done has consisted of the analysis of economic institutions and social interaction of business and political leaders in the communities of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and El Paso, in the United States. This study focused upon the interpenetrations of economic and political institutions. It was concerned especially with the perception among leaders of the Ciudad Juarez community of modes of economic and political organization practiced in the El Paso community. It was further interested in ascertaining the extent to which business and political leaders in Juarez manifested values and attitudes similar to those of leaders in El Paso.[1]

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[1] William V. D'Antonio, "National Images of Business and Political Elites in Two Border Communities," Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1958.

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A study by Rivera[2] was concerned with the general phenomenon of migrant Mexican laborers. Here the interest lay in trying to ascertain the effects upon migrant laborers' values of contact with United States society and culture. In addition, the study was aimed at discovering what might be the general effects upon family and community organization of the migration of family heads to the United States for lengthy periods of time.

Another comparative study has been launched in the border area. This study is conerned with the analysis of the organization of cotton growing communities which specialized in the production of a particular variety of cotton. The peculiarity of production of this variety is that, in order to bring a premium price on the market, it must be grown in areas which are planted exclusively in this variety. The problems involved in the organization of a farming community around the production of a single variety of cotton are likely to be mainfold, and the findings of this study will have relevance to the acceptance of this technological change in Mexico as well as in the United States.

In summary, we might reiterate the aforementioned points. First, the separate studies done within the framework of the Border Project are directed toward the comparative analysis of phenomena occuring in the United States-Mexican border area. Secondly, the foci of the studies is upon social, cultural, and technological interpenetrations, diffusion, and adaptations. With these general objectives in view, several significant

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2 Julius Rivera, "Attitudes toward the United States in a Mexican Border Community," Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1957.

studies already have been carried to various stages of completion and others will be underway shortly. It is, then, within this framework that the present study was conceived and carried out.

Perspectives of the Study

This study is a comparative analysis of United States and Mexican high school students. The focus of the study is upon selected dimensions of students' expectations with respect to a limited number of status-roles. High school students' role-expectations were selected as an object of study in the hope of expanding substantive and theoretical knowledge concerning similarities and differences between the socio-cultural systems of the United States and Mexico. It was believed that, in part, the systematic study of certain dimensions of role-expectations might lead to a more complete understanding of what has been referred to as the moral integration of society. The expectations which people manifest with respect to the range of legitimate demands which specified others may place upon them constitutes an important dimension of social integration. When the question of the range of legitimate demands which may be placed upon a person is viewed in terms of the relevance of these demands to the integration of different groups of which the individual is simultaneously a member we are examining a problem of moral integration.

Because the present study was conceived of within the context of a broad general program of research on social and technological change in the United States-Mexican border area, the central focus is the comparative analysis of a dimension of socio-cultural integration. It is abundantly evident that the United States is a society well along the

way to approaching the polar extreme of an ideal-type urban society. The case of Mexico, on the other hand, is not so unambiguous, nor is there such a wealth of social science materials bearing upon the structure of contemporary Mexican society.[3]

Mexico as a national society is considerably more variegated than the United States in numerous important respects and by no means as far along the way to approaching an ideal-type urban society as the United States. Nevertheless, there are features of Mexican society which exhibit basic similarities to social structure in the United States. It seems most accurate to say that Mexican society, or at least important segments of it, is in varying states of socio-cultural transition. Of prime importance is the expansion of industrialization and urbanization in that country. Population movements are involved in both of these major aspects of changing Mexican society. The establishment of a high degree of stability with respect to the political order of the state has been accomplished during the past twenty years, and this has been accompanied by the expansion of the population base of those participating in the national political processes. It is also important to note that the social structure of rural life and agriculture has exhibited significant changes since the Revolution. Mechanization of tasks accompanied by the rationalization of practices associated with the various facets of agricultural production have reached high levels of crys-

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[3] It should be observed that there is definitely a dearth of explicitly sociological studies with respect to systematic and directly comparative data pertaining to specified dimensions of both societies.

tallization among some sectors of the producers while others show but slight modifications of traditional ways and methods. The expansion of legal-political organs of the state has accompanied the changes in other sectors of the society, and it is especially important to note that a typically bureaucratic form of social structure is exhibited in the organization of governmental agencies.

In the historical development of Mexico, and other Latin American countries, family and locality groupings have loomed large as empirical foci of moral integration of the social structure. The demands which family and kin might place upon the individual and, vice versa, those which the individual might place upon his family and kin, appear to have constituted the central core and the widest range of demands which the individual recognized as legitimate social obligations. On the other hand, the world of work, of occupations, seems traditionally to have been segregated from attachment to moral values.[4] Work, in a sense, constituted a necessary evil.

But under conditions of an unexpanding and relatively precarious economy characterized by relatively small scale instrumental complexes dependent upon a low degree of interdependence and limited differentiation and specification of positions in the occupations, problems of moral integration of the social structure revolved largely around family, kinship, and locality groups (except, of course, with respect to the problem

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[4] See, for example, T. Lynn Smith, "Values Held by People in Latin America Which Affect Technical Cooperation", Rural Sociology, Vol. 15, No. 1.

of territorial integration of political power.[5]) On the other hand, given an expanding economy, the development of large-scale instrumental complexes with higher degrees of differentiation and specification of positions in the occupations, and increasing population movement, problems of moral integration of the social structure arise with respect to the organization of relations in the instrumental complex and the organization of extra-familial relations in the expressive complexes.

It is, then, the general area of moral integration of society under which this thesis is subsumed. The particular facet of the problem upon which this study focuses and the theoretical frame of reference, methods, and techniques of investigation will be disucssed shortly. Moreover, a more detailed examination of the data bearing upon the structure of Mexican society will be presented. The examination of the moral integration of society is, of course, not a recently developed interest of social science but stems from some of the pioneering theory and research in matters of society. The incisive work of Durkheim, in his The Division of Labor in Society,[6] and Suicide,[7] is focused upon the problem

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[5] The problem of territorial integration of political power has been a source of persistent conflict and disruption for many, if not all, Latin American states. Mexico has experienced grave problems with respect to territorial integration, and only in recent years has the territorial integration of political power become relatively well stabilized.

[6] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society. Translated from the French by George Simpson. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949.

[7] Emile Durkheim, Suicide, A Study in Sociology. Translated by J. A. Spaulding and George Simpson. Glencoe, Ill.: Thre Free Press, 1951.

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of moral integration of society. The concept of anomie focuses directly upon dimensions of the state or degree of moral integration of social groups and social aggregates. The work of Elton Mayo[8] and his associates may be viewed in large part as concerned with moral integration. Roethlisberger and Dickson,[9] in their pioneering study of the social organization of a modern factory, were also concerned with this problem. Lewin[10] and many of those studying under him have been interested in the problem as it pertains to small groups in particular. Angell[11] directly and explicitly focused upon moral integration in his survey of American cities. Moore[12] was also concerned with the macroscopic aspects of the problem in his survey of industrialization and labor in undeveloped areas of the world and in his study of a Mexican town. It must, of course, be emphasized here that the approach to this topic and the methods, techniques, and findings are considered as exploratory and not definitive.

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8 Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization. Boston: Harvard Univ. Press, 1933.

9 F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker. Boston: Harvard Univ. Press, 1934.

10 Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Convlicts. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948. Also Leon Festinger, Stanley Schacter and Kurt Black, Social Pressuresin Informal Groups. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

11 Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities." American Journal of Sociology, 1951.

12 Wilbert E. Moore, Industrialization and Labor. Ithaca, New York: Doubleday Doran, 1951.

The Problem

As indicated, the main focus of this study is upon a limited aspect of the moral integration of society. Moral integration is conceived here as pertaining to the analysis of three different yet interrelated aspects of the organization of human affairs. On the one hand, it is conceived as pertaining to the substantive forms of the maintenance of stability and consensus in the normative orientations of the members of collectivities. In this respect the concept refers to the orientations of members of a collectivity to a system or systems of normative or value standards which serve to integrate the group's affairs. Second, moral integration also may be thought of as referring to the existential order of human social life. In this respect, the concept refers to the orientations of members of a collectivity to a system or systems of existential standards which serve to integrate the social interaction of the members. A third and derivative aspect of the problem of moral integration is that of the relationship between the existential standards held by the members of a collectivity and the normative or value standards which the group maintains.

This study will touch upon each of these aspects of the problem of moral integration. However, the principal concern will be with moral integration as it obtains in the existential order. As suggested above, the expectations which persons exhibit with respect to the range of legitimate demands which specified others may place upon them constitutes a dimension of moral integration at the level of the existential order. Principally, then, the study will be concerned with the extent to which

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persons' role-expectations with respect to a series of hypothetical situations reflect a proclivity to recognize the demands of given collectivities as legitimate and superordinate to other demands.

The problem will be examined chiefly in the context of conflicting demands placed upon the individual by the status-roles he occupies in the family group, work group, and friendship peer group. The methodology of the study will be discussed in detail below, but a word should be said here with respect to the reasons for having chosen to focus upon these classes of groups. The range of legitimate demands which the family may place upon the individual member has significance for the integration of all known societies. In some societies family and kinship units constitute the principal social structures, and most important social activities of the individual are determined by the statuses he occupies in it. On the other hand, in highly differentiated societies family and kinship may count for somewhat less. That is, the individual's statuses in his family and kin group may not determine so stringently his activities in other social structures within the larger society. Since in the case of Mexican and United States high school students, we are dealing with persons involved in societies manifesting high degrees of structural differentiation, we can be confident that the family is by no means the sole collectivity which may place legitimate demands upon the individual. Nevertheless, there is sufficient reason to believe that the family constitutes a more important focus of integration in Mexico than in the United States (if, for the sake of discussion, we may speak in such broad terms). The range of demands which family and kin may legitimately place

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upon the individual, then constitutes an important and persistent factor to be reckoned with in the moral integration of society for the range of these demands may be expected to have consequences for the functioning of a society.

Attention will be directed to hypothetical situations involving work groups as collectivities differentiated from the family and which may place a range of demands upon the individual in his status as collaborator. The question of the extent to which demands placed upon the individual by the work group are recognized as legitimate has far reaching consequences for the maintenance of stability within a highly differentiated social system, and especially with respect to the economic order of society. In the case of Mexico, and other Latin American countries, this constitutes a real problem with respect to the transition to industrialization, urbanization, and secularization in general. In fact, it constitutes a broad problem of social order in any society undergoing processes of change in small-scale, traditional, and relatively undifferentiated social structural units. The case of modern Mexico is precisely of this type.

The peer group in the United States and Mexico constitutes a structure of social relations differentiated from both family groups and work groups. We shall examine the extent to which a range of demands placed upon the individual by the peer group are viewed as legitimate and binding. The comparative study of this aspect of moral integration is of some considerable interest owing to certain current ideas in sociology which view the youth peer group as a growing source of authority over the youth's normative orientation in American society.[13]

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[13] See David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950.

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Four propositions implied by the social system schema were focused upon for study. With the perspective of the problem outlined above, these propositions and the substantive hypotheses derived from them may now be stated.

Proposition I

Social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards.

Hypothesis I

If Proposition I is true, then both the Mexican students and the United States students will exhibit a predominance of universalistic-type role-expectations in their responses to the pattern variables scale items.

Proposition II

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system, role-expectations will change from a predominance of particularism to a predominance of universalism.

Hypothesis II

If Proposition II is true, then the United States student group will exhibit a greater tendency toward universalistic-type role-expectations than will the Mexican student group.

Proposition III

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the family to a predominance of self-orientation.

Hypothesis III

If Proposition III is true, then the United States student group will exhibit a greater tendency toward self-orientation than will the Mexican student group.

Proposition IV

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of self-orientation to a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group.

Hypothesis IV

If Proposition IV is true then the United States students will exhibit a greater tendency toward collectivity-orientation toward the peer group than will the Mexican students.

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It is these propositions, then, which define the core of the study design, and the empirical research undertakings were devised to test the substantive hypotheses derived from them. But before proceeding to the outline of the research design a discussion of certain important features of the social system schema needs to be presented.

The Social System Schema

The social system is conceived of as one of three ordered systems within the frame of reference of the general theory of action.[14] The two other concepts of ordered systems falling within the scope of the general theory of action are those of the personality system and the cultural system. In its most generic form Parsons defines the idea of a fully emerged social system as:

> ...a plurality of actors interacting with each other in a situation having physical aspects, actors motivated in terms of a tendency to optimization of gratification whose relation to the situation is defined and mediated in terms of culturally structured and shared symbols.[15]

The social actor, viewed as a person performing social acts, constitutes a first order conceptual abstraction of the schema, but this is too gross a term for the analysis of complex systems of social action. Consequently, the concept of status-role is introduced. In the social system schema, then, status-roles and the organization of different classes of status-roles into patterned relationships constitute for most purposes

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[14] For an exposition of this theoretical schema see: Talcott Parsons, The Social System. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, ed., Toward a General Theory of Action. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951. Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937. Talcott Parsons, Robert Bales, and Edward Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953.

[15] Parsons, The Social System, op. cit., p. 5.

the basic units of description of social structure. The concept status-role is derived from the idea of a situation involving the participation of one actor in a patterned network of relationships with other actors. Attention is directed to two aspects of the situation. On the one hand the position of the actor in relation to other actors in the system is focused upon. This aspect of the term is the actor's status. On the other hand, the performances of the actor are focused upon -- what the actor does in his relations with other objects of the situation. When focus is directed to what the actor does we are concerned with his role. Thus, the position which an actor occupies in a network of social relationships and the acts he performs as an incumbent of that position are termed his status-role. His concept, it will be noted, conforms especially closely to the ideas of status and role which Linton elaborated.[16]

Integrally related to the concept of status-role is that of role-expectations. Role expectation is a construct pertaining to the analysis of action at the social system level. Role-expectations, like culture, are residual products of interaction; empirically they are given as substantive social concepts and may be communicated as verbal statements. This concept, of role-expectation, is the principal vehicle by which the gap between the ideas of a social system and a cultural system may be bridged. We shall focus upon patterns of role-expectations in this thesis as the central core for the analysis of the problem of moral integration, and the concept will be discussed in more detail shortly.

The concept value-orientation is a construct pertaining to the analysis of the organization of action at the personality level. This concept is essentially a psychological term. Its referent is the personality system

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16 Ralph Linton, The Study of Man. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936, Chapter VIII, "Status and Role."

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16 Ralph Linton, The Study of Man. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936, Chapter VIII, "Status and Role."

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of the individual actor. It is basically an element for the analysis of the personality system in that it refers to an actor's "commitment" to a set of normative standards. Commitment to normative standards, for Parsons, means their internalization by the actor, i.e., incorporation of the normative standards into the personality system as persisting elements in its structure. These persistent elements in the personality structure are identified as need-dispositions. Thus, when focusing on an actor's value-orientations certain persistent elements in his personality are imputed.

The empirical referents of a value-orientation, it should be observed, are not given directly in reality but are inferred from action and its symbolic representations. With respect to empirical reality, they are inferred from overt and covert acts, and from oral or written statements. The concept value-orientation is, then, following Northrup,[17] a concept by postulation rather than a concept by intuition. It would appear to be a potentially useful theoretical concept with respect to the analysis of the integration of culture theory with personality theory, but it does not bridge the gap between personality and social theory.

We may now move to an examination of the pattern variables typology. This typology is central to the whole structure of Parsons' schematic outline of the interrelations of social, personality, and cultural systems. Moreover, it constitutes a proper theoretical-analytic group of concepts in that the latter refer to certain dimensions of the organization of role-expectations, value-standards, and value-orientations. Parsons' typology is intended to be applicable to the analysis of not just a single class of

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17 F. S. C. Northrup, The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, Chapter 3.

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status-roles (e.g., father in the United States or Kobana'u in Yaqui society) but to all classes of status-roles, anywhere. However, it is to be noted, that the typology itself does not define the substantive social referent nor specify the methods of their observation and recording. These latter are problems of epistemic correlation which the researcher must devise for his enquiry (and which he must defend according to the cannons of scientific procedure.)

In Values, Motives, and Systems of Action Parsons and Shils[18] discuss the nature of the pattern variables and their relation to four distinct levels of the organization of action. They indicate that the pattern variables are related to the organization of systems of action at the following levels: (a) behavioral, (b) personality, (c) social, and (d) cultural.

In this study we are interested in the pattern variables as they bear upon the analysis of role expectations and value standards. That is, our interest in them is confined to their relevance as a classificatory scheme to units of the social system and cultural system, not their relevance to the personality system. Furthermore, since this study makes use of only two pairs of pattern variables, we shall not elaborate on the whole typology at this point. The two pairs of pattern variables which this study focuses upon are those of universalism-particularism, and self-collectivity orientation. We need to examine, then, what these two pairs of pattern variables signify at the level of (a) the cultural system, and (b) the social system.

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[18] Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 78-84.

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18 Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 78-84.

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Let us first consider universalism and particularism as they pertain to the cultural system. Parsons and Shils speak of universalism at the cultural level as pertaining to "the normative pattern which obliges an actor in a given situation to be oriented toward objects in the light of general standards rather than in light of the objects' possession of properties ... which have a particular relation to the actor's own properties..."[19] Concerning particularism they identify this variable at the cultural level as pertaining to "...the normative pattern which obliges an actor in a given type of situation to give priority to criteria of the object's particular relations to the actor's own properties ... over generalized attributes, capacities, or performance standards."[20]

The pattern variable of universalism at the social system level is conceived of as a dimension of role expectations. Thus, Parsons and Shils define it as: "The role-expectation that, in qualifications for memberships and decisions for differential treatment, priority will be given to standards defined in completely generalized terms, independent of the particular relationship of the actor's own statuses ... to those of the object."[21]

Likewise, of course, the pattern variable of particularism at the social system level is conceived of as a dimension of role expectations.

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19 Ibid., p. 82.
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Particularism is defined as follows: "the role expectation that, in qualifications for membership and decisions for differential treatment, priority will be given to standards which assert the primacy of the values attached to objects by their particular relations to the actor's properties ... as over against their general universally applicable class properties."[22]

The second pattern variable pair with which this study is concerned is that of self-orientation and collectivity-orientation. At the cultural level self-orientation refers to: "the normative pattern which prescribes a range of permission for an actor, in a given type of situation, to take advantage of a given opportunity for pursuing a private interest, regardless of the content of the interest or its direct bearing on the interest of other actors."[23] On the other hand, collectivity-orientation at the cultural level refers to: "a normative pattern which prescribes the area within which an actor, in a given type of situation, is obliged to take directly into account a given selection of values which he shares with the other members of the collectivity in question. It defines his responsibility to this collectivity."[24]

The social system aspect of this pattern variable pair refers to role-expectations. At the social system level, then, self-orientation is defined as: "the role-expectation by the relevant actors that it is

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22 Loc. cit.

23 Ibid., p. 81.

24 Loc. cit.

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permissable for the incumbent of the role in question to give priority in the given situation to his own private interests, whatever their motivational content or quality, independently of their bearing on the interests or values of a given collectivity of which he is a member."[25] Collectivity-orientation at the social system level refers to: "the role expectation by the relevant actors that the actor is obliged, as an incumbent of the role in question, to take directly into account the values and interests of the collectivity of which, in this role, he is a member. When there is a potential conflict with his private interests, he is expected in the particular choice to give priority to the collective interest. This also applies to his action in representative roles on behalf of the collectivity."[26]

The pattern variables typology, of course, consists of five pairs of categories. While this study makes use of only two pairs, it might be well to indicate briefly the three other categories of the typology. With respect to the gratification-discipline dimension of social action Parsons identifies a pattern variable pair which he refers to as Affectivity versus Affective Neutrality. With respect to the choice between "modalities" of the social object he identifies the pattern variable of Achievement versus Ascription. Finally, he identifies the pattern variable pair of Specificity versus Diffuseness as pertaining to the actor's scope of interest in an object.

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25 Loc. cit.

26 Loc. cit.

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Methodological Critique

In any attempt to construct a schematic outline of the structure of social, cultural, and personality systems and the nexus of their interrelationships the problem of the maintenance of stability in each of the systems must be dealt with. This problem of the conceptualization of the maintenance of stability in each of the systems must be resolved in such a way as to allow a satisfactory conceptualization of the integration of all three systems in combination. Parsons' problem is, then, one of the conceptualization of order in the structure and interrelations of society, culture and personality. It is the great virtue of Parsons' and Parsons' and Shils' work that they do, in fact, achieve a very sophisticated first approximation of the resolution of this problem, tentative though it may be. Our discussion here will deal with certain important methodological steps which Parsons and Shils have taken in their attempt to articulate in their schema the resolution of this problem of order.

Having already outlined the major features of Parsons' and Shils' formal distinctions as to the referents of the pattern variables of universalism-particularism and self-collectivity orientation at the cultural and social system levels we need to submit certain criticisms of their position before moving on. If one scrutinizes their statements about the pattern variables at these two levels it becomes evident that there is involved a degree of over-simplification, if not equivocation, in their thinking.

They posit an unmodified transposition of value standards ("normative patterns") into role-expectations. In their exposition of the distinctions between the meaning of the pattern variables at the cultural and social system levels they focus upon the special or limiting case of perfect integration of role-expectations with value-standards. Thus, in such a case, the actor (ego) expects alter to react to him in conformance with the value standard which prescribes how alter ought to react. This is obviously a special case, and Parsons' and Shils' concentration upon it as the basis for elaboration of the interrelationship of the pattern variables at the cultural and social system levels is misleading. Ego's and alter's knowledge of a value standard prescribing what each ought to do when performing their respective roles does not necessarily correspond with their expectations of each others' actions.

Having indicated that Parsons and Shils tend too closely to equate role-expectations with value-standards we need to examine the basis of their error. In the most generic sense this arises from their unsuccessful grappling with the distinction between normative and existential propositions. The distinction between normative and existential propositions and, hence, the reason for distinguishing between value standards and role-expectations, may be put very briefly as follows. Normative propositions are distinguishable from existential propositions on the basis of the former being conceptions of what ought to be, while the latter are conceptions of what is or what is possible. Normative propositions are conceptions of the desirable or the ideal, while existential propositions are conceptions of what is given in reality or what is believed to be given. Thus, in the terms of the social system schema, value-

standards are of the order of normative propositions, and role-expectations are of the order of existential propositions.

Although the distinction between these two orders of propositions is explicitly recognized -- it is discussed at some length by Kluckhohn in his chapter on Values and Value-orientations[27] -- the logically possible and empirically evident combinations of value-standards with role-expectations have not been spelled out. They have elaborated the case of perfect integration of a value-standard with a pattern of role-expectations, but they have not considered the other possible combination, that is, they have not considered the case wherein a pattern of role-expectations contradicts or conflicts with a value-standard. In terms of the pattern variables typology this would be exemplified in the case wherein the value-standard was universalistic and the pattern of role expectations particularistic, or vice versa. It will be important to keep in mind this other possible combination of a value-standard and a pattern of role-expectations as it is highly relevant to the analysis of part of the empirical data gathered in the present study. We shall have occasion to elaborate our ideas on this subject in a subsequent portion of this chapter in a discussion of Parsons' views on the organization of Latin American societies.

In order to understand why attention has not been given to the case wherein a pattern of role-expectations diverge from or contradict a

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27 Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 388-433.

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value-standard we must proceed further into the structure of the schema. We must examine certain assumptions of Parsons concerning modes of integration of cultural standards into a social system. The quotation of a short passage of Parsons will serve to establish his position and indicate the reference of our criticism of his methodology. Parsons states his methodological position as follows:

> There is a range of possible modes of orientation in the motivational sense to a value-standard. Perhaps the most important distinction is between the attitude of "expediency" at one pole, where conformity or non-conformity is a function of the instrumental interests of the actor, and at the other pole the "introjection" or internalization of the standard so that to act in conformity with it becomes a need-disposition in the actor's own personality structure, relatively independently of any instrumentally significant consequences of that conformity. The latter is to be treated as the basic type of integration of motivation with a normative pattern-structure of values.[28]

Parsons, then explicitly adopts as the basic mode of integration the case of conformance with a cultural standard as that of its internalization into the individual's personality as a need-disposition. This constitutes an extremely important methodological step, and it raises some important questions. We feel it necessary for the purposes of this thesis, and for a general clarification of Parsons' schema, to show that the above indicated methodological position which Parsons has taken is unwarranted and that it has important ramifications in the structure of his schema.

The question must be asked: what does Parsons mean by the term basic type? There are two alternative meanings which appear likely. These

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28 Parsons, op. cit., p. 37.

meanings are (a) the idea of an empirical type, i.e., mean or modal type, and (b) the idea of a limiting case in a mathematical sense. We shall have to explore each of these alternative meanings briefly.

(a) Viewed as meaning an empirical type his 'basic type' would have to mean that at the level of concrete reality internalization of value standards as need-dispositions represents either a mean or modal distribution of concrete cases. That is, if we accept the idea of empirical type as the meaning which Parsons has in mind when he speaks of a "basic type", then we have to assume that he is talking about concrete reality -- that he has knowledge of the incidence of cases in which conformity to value standards is maintained on the one hand via their internalization as need-dispositions and on the other hand via expedient conformity. Does Parsons produce any evidence to support his position? An examination of what he asserts as justification for adopting the case wherein internalization is the means by which conformance with a value standard is maintained does not, in fact, present any justification whatever for taking this methodological step. Parsons alludes to (empirical) evidence from the field of psychology as justification for taking this position in regard to internalization in the following passage: "... by and large we are on psychological grounds justified in saying ego's orientation will on balance tend to be oriented to stimulating the favorable, gratification-producing reactions and avoiding provocations for the unfavorable, deprivation-producing reactions."[29] But it is clear

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[29] Parsons, op. cit., p. 37.

that this does not constitute justification for his methodological position and nowhere does he produce evidence for its justification.

Viewed as meaning a limiting case in the mathematical sense Parsons' use of the term basic type seems plausible. In mathematics, a limit is the value a function (i.e., a relationship between two or more variables) would have if the independent variable or variables ever reached a particular value. Although the function never attains this value, it is useful to hypothesise this limit for the purpose of discussing the values that this function takes on as it approaches the limit. In this sense, then, his term basic type would mean that maintenance of conformity with a value standard via internalization of the standard by an individual as a need-disposition constitutes a hypothetical (limiting) case which is never attained in concrete reality, but which is, nevertheless, useful as a point of reference for examining the extent to which concrete cases of conformance to value standards approach this state.

Now, although this constitutes a plausible way of dealing with the examination of degrees of conformity to value standards it does not justify Parsons' treatment of this topic. Again we must assert that, because Parsons focuses upon the case of perfect integration, his treatment leads to the obscuring of vital insights into the operation of real societies. What he does is to focus almost exclusive attention on internalization, i.e., on the limiting case, for the elaboration of his ideas concerning the way in which conformity with a values standard is maintained. By doing so he fails to consider the case wherein conformity with a value-standard is maintained by an orientation of expediency rather than by its internalization as a need-disposition.

Finally, we should note here a further implication of Parsons' and Shils' methodology. This is the tendency toward the use of a psychological framework for the interpretation of social phenomena. It is most evident in Parsons' subsequent attempts at empirical analysis.[30] Certainly many who have devoted some time to the study of Parsons' work come away with the feeling that he introduces a disproportionate amount of essentially psychological terms into the structural framework of the social system schema.

For the elaboration of his ideas concerning the integration of cultural elements into a social system Parsons chooses to focus upon the case wherein actors internalize cultural standards as need-dispositions in their personalities. But from the point of view of the analysis of social structure or of social interaction the question of whether or not the actors internalize cultural standards is not the most generic consideration. The principle consideration in the analysis of social interaction and of social structure needs to be that of determining what are the value standards, the status-roles and patterns of role-expectations, and how these two orders (normative and existential) are interrelated in the concrete empirical instance.

There is no evident need, aside from formal requirements of the theory, to introduce such concepts as <u>internalization</u> and <u>need-disposition</u> in order to analyse the elements of constraint and discipline

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30 Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, <u>Family: Socialization and Interaction Process</u>. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

which obtain in the individual's orientations to value standards and role-expectations in interaction situations. Moreover, the meaning of these terms in his schema remains highly ambiguous. But given the variety of personality theory which Parsons adopts, these concepts do, in fact, constitute necessary types of terms in his schema. As he poses it, these, or like concepts, are necessary in dealing with the problem of the transposition of terms of the cultural and social systems into those of the personality system. It readily may be noted that concepts like internalization and need-disposition do have a peculiar appropriateness for the description and analysis of the personality system in terms of certain psychoanalytic theories. The Freudian and neo-Freudian theories of personality are, of course, ones which provide terms which are most compatible with those in Parsons' and Shils' schematic outline of the structural interrelations of cultural, social, and personality systems.

The heart of the matter with which Parsons attempts to deal is that of solving the problem of the maintenance of stability in a social system, i.e., a problem of order. A resolution of the problem of order is produced, but it is an overly simplistic one, That is, the maintenance of a level of stability in a system of goal-directed behavior is conceived of as being obtained through the internalization of a value standard as a need-disposition in the personalities of the participant actors. The adoption of such a methodological position tends to place a preponderant emphasis upon the study of the personality system as a pre-requisite to an understanding of normative action.

The implication of the schema with respect to the relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations may be put concisely in the form of a proposition as follows:

Proposition I

> Social role-expectations will represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards.

This proposition, along with others, will be tested later by the analysis of a range of pertinent empirical data.

In summary, then, we have attempted to point out how, in their attempt to articulate in their schema the terms of their resolution of the problem of order, certain methodological steps are taken by Parsons and Shils which tend to obscure important distinctions in the relationships obtaining between role-expectations and value standards. Owing to the adoption of the case of internalization as the primary focus for discussing the integration of value standards into a social system (in the form of role-expectations) they fail to consider the case wherein actors' role-expectations may contradict the value-standard pertaining to the statuses which the actors occupy. This latter case, we contend, is of great significance to an understanding of the operation of empirical social systems. It is exemplified in the situation wherein an actor has a conception as to how a bureaucratic officer ought to act toward him (i.e., in conformance with specified general rules of office) and yet at the same time has a pattern of role-expectations that the officer will not likely conform to this standard but will likely act toward him in some other definable manner.

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If one limits the focus of conceptualization of an ordered system of action to the case wherein value standards are integrated with patterns of role-expectations at the social system level through their internalization as need-dispositions in the personality, then the utility of the schema is confined to the analysis of the most simple cases of concrete systems of social action.

Types of Role-Expectations and Features of the Social Structure

There remains to be treated in this chapter a further and important implication of the social system schema, one which will be assessed later against a range of empirical data. It is not an uncommon reaction among those who have attentively read Parsons' work on the social system to come away from it with the impression that the pattern variables, in a sense, "just are", i.e., the relationship between specifically sociological features of the social system and the pattern variables is somewhat elusive. The kind of relationship obtaining between forms of social structure and types of social role-expectations (as defined in terms of the pattern variables) is not always clearly spelled out. It is particularly difficult to determine the peculiarly sociological significance of the pattern variables owing to Parsons' use of a paradigm which focuses upon their applicability to the personality system of actors or to closed systems of interaction between two actors. However, his general outline of the foci of crystallisation for social structure constitutes an important point at which he explicitly indicates a conception of certain relationships between types of role-expectations and the extent of

differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. Here, at least, the pattern variables are "tied into" the expressly sociological features of the social system schema. Since in this study only two pairs of pattern variables are dealt with, the complete typology will not be considered here.

It appears to be implicit in Parsons' whole approach to the outline of the unfolding social interaction situation that particularistic-type standards are first to emerge, and that only after relatively high degrees of differentiation of social relations occur do universalistic-type standards begin to appear. These ideas, which Parsons discusses principally in terms of a diadic model, are carried into his conceptualization of large-scale social systems of societal proportions.

Parsons is quite explicit about his conception of the relationship between the pattern variables and these features of social structure. He conceives of a functional interrelation between the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system and the predominance of certain types of social role-expectations held by participant actors. The implications of the schema with respect to the universalism-particularism and self-collectivity dimensions of role-expectations may be stated as follows in the form of two propositions.

Proposition II

> As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of particularistic to a predominance of universalistic types.

Proposition III

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the family to a predominance of self-orientation.

With respect to Proposition III the intention is not to imply that little or no care and affection is exhibited toward family and kin members in the context of a highly differentiated system of social relations. It is rather that as important social activities, especially those of an instrumental nature, become differentiated from the context of the family, the demands of these segregated roles will compete with those of the family. In order, then, that the activities in the differentiated social complexes may be carried on conflicts between family interest and self interest must more frequently be decided in favor of self interests. Presumably, were the range of legitimate demands of the family to be too extensive, the demands placed upon the individual in his roles in other social complexes either (1) would not be acceeded to (with consequent damaging disruption of the activities in these other role complexes) or (2) might be acceeded to at the cost of considerable social conflict and probably accompanying psychological stress of damaging proportions for the individual.

It should be noted that the theory generates no clear implication as to which pole of the self-collectivity dimension of role-expectations might be expected to predominate in actors' orientations in the eontext of social relationships other than that of self versus family. Given this, some further specification of the theory might be attained as

well as a greater measure of insight into the empirical cases at hand if the self-collectivity dimension were examined in the context of a different social relationship. There arises here, of course, a question as to what other social relationship might be examined so as to assemble data bearing most crucially upon the theory. No definitive and fully defensible answer to this question is submitted by this thesis. Any of a considerable range of social relationships might be selected and arguments in defense of their selection might be advanced. However, there is a particularly compelling reason to examine the relationship between the individual and his peer group. Parsons' own writings have dealt with this relationship and, of course, so have those of a number of other sociologists.

Parsons has spoken of a "youth culture" in America,[31] and the youth peer group has been discussed considerably in sociological literature. Elkin and Westley[32] have attempted to summarize briefly a number of characteristic views bearing upon the sociological features of the period of adolescence. As seen by Elkin and Westley, the chief features attributed to adolescence in American society are that it is a period of "storm and stress" for the youth, and the relationship of the youth to his peer group stands out as one of the most salient social relation-

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31 T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 604-616.

32 F. Elkin and W. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 6, pp. 680-685.

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31 T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 604-616.

32 F. Elkin and W. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 6, pp. 680-685.

ships in which he is involved. Davis[33] views the period as one of strain on the youth in a complex and changing society, a period fraught with indecision owing largely to the absence of consistent authority patterns. Williams[34] views this period as imposing stress upon the youth owing in large part to the lack of any clear cut cultural definition of the "youth role". Moreover, he recognizes that this stress resulting from "indeterminacy", while a characteristic feature of American society, is seldom encountered in simpler and more stable societies. Mead[35] discusses social features of the early socialization process in a non-Western society and explicitly contrasts the lack of stress during this period in Samoan society with the considerable amount in American society. Riesman[36] has pointed to the association of social personality types with population factors, and asserts that the "other directed" type is emerging in certain sectors of the United States and other Western societies as the predominant social personality. Whyte[37] has noted the importance attached to the maintenance of "good relations" with one's peer group in certain sectors of American society.

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33 Kingsley Davis, "Adolescence and the Social Structure", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Nov., 1944, p. 11.

34 Robin Williams, American Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 71.

35 Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa. New York: W. W. Morrow Co., 1928.

36 Riesman, op. cit., passim.

37 W. H. Whyte, "The Transients," Fortune, May, June, July, August, 1953.

W. F. Whyte[39] has described the complex structure of peer group relations among lower class young men in an urban community and shown the saliency of the peer group as a vehicle of social identification.

Parsons[40] has suggested several features which he considers especially characteristic of youth in the United States. The period is characterized by a compulsive independence of and antagonism to adult authority, involving recalcitrance to adult standards of responsibility. Also, compulsive conformity within the peer group of age mates, involving a low level of tolerance for deviation from the group's standards, is viewed by Parsons as characteristic of this period.

In summary, it is suggested that these various views with respect to the period of adolescence in the United States and the relationship of the individual to his peer group imply that the American youth will tend to be predominantly peer group oriented in situations involving a conflict between self interests and peer group interests. The views of these writers also imply a general recognition that the features which characterize the period of adolescence in the United States are by no means universally encountered in other societies but are conceived as related to the high degree of complexity and rapid change occurring in this country. In contrast, relative "simplicity" and "stability" in a society are viewed as accounting for the absence of stress and confusion during the period of adolescence.

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39 W. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1943.

40 T. Parsons, "Psychoanalysis and the Social Structure," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 19, pp. 371-384.

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40 T. Parsons, "Psychoanalysis and the Social Structure," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, Vol. 19, pp. 371-384.

If these views are to be congruent with the terms of the social system schema then it is suggested that what is referred to as the relative complexity or simplicity in a society might be comprehended by the notion of different degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Thus, the features cited above as characteristic of adolescence in the United States might be conceived as related to the relatively high degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations in this society. Cast in this form the views referred to above may be considered congruent with the terms of the social system schema. Thus, it becomes possible to examine the self-peer group relationship by stating a testable proposition formulated in the terms of the schema. With respect to the self-peer group relationship, the following proposition may be stated:

Proposition IV

> As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of self-orientation to a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group.

Although Parsons' categories and the form of his statement of the relationship between them is perhaps unique, the idea of these general kinds of relationships may scarcely be considered novel. One of the first to focus on this general area was Toennies with his concepts of gemeinschaft-like and gesellschaft-like relationships. Redfield has been concerned with the changes occuring in the way people relate themselves to one another in the context of emerging degrees of differentiation and segregation in social structures. Miner, also, in his

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present the research design for the investigation of the previously discussed implications of the social system theory. Since the major implications with which the study is concerned have to do with the relationships obtaining between types of role-expectations, cultural value standards, and the structural differentiation of the social system, it will be pertinent to examine the substantive nature of these categories as they apply in Mexico. It is with the structure of social relations, cultural value standards, and role-expectations in Mexico that this study is especially concerned because Mexico constitutes a sufficiently different case from that of the United States to warrant a comparative test of the theoretical implications. The methodological steps will be outlined below, containing a detailed discussion of the instruments used, a critique of the technical characteristics of four Guttman scales developed by the study, a discussion of the method of selecting respondents, and an outline of the conditions under which the data were gathered.

Method

The method adopted by this study for the investigation of the previously discussed problems is simple in outline yet complex and fragile in its dependence upon inferences. First, it was necessary to come to

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Some judgement as to the extent of structural differentiation and segregation of social relations exhibited in various spheres of Mexican society. It is important to note the degree to which the structure of instrumental exchange relations exhibits relatively considerable differentiation, and the extent to which this appears to be segregated from the structure of family and locality-group relations. This part of the study will be presented in Chapter III.

A major point in terms of method should be noted here. This study, in general, accepted Parsons' observations with respect to United States society and culture. That is, it was assumed that major social relational complexes in the United States exhibit high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Certainly, it was felt that this adequately characterizes the general form of instrumental exchange relations. With respect to culture, it was accepted that value standards of a universalistic nature generally predominate in the United States, and that this is especially true for the standards pertaining to instrumental exchange activities. On the other hand, although it is believed that role-expectations (existential standards) are more frequently defined universalistically in the United States than in Mexico, the study hazarded no assumptions in this respect, but considered this topic problematical and a proper subject of empirical investigation.

Third, in order to test the implication that role-expectations represent a more or less unmodified transposition of cultural value standards, a range of role-expectations exhibited by members of each society

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was examined. These role-expectations were examined with respect to their relevance to the pattern variable pair of universalism and particularism so that a comparison of them with the relevant cultural value standards could be made. The technique used in gathering data on this point was that of questionnaires submitted to Mexican and United States high school students. Two series of short stories were devised which included role-conflict situations. It is the responses to questions concerning these series of stories which constituted our data on the incidence of universalistic-type and particularistic-type role-expectations. The procedure will be discussed in detail below.

Fourth, it had to be ascertained whether role-expectations of self-orientation or collectivity-orientation predominate in situations involving family and peer group interests on the one hand, and self interests segregated from family and peer group interests, on the other hand. Guttman scales also were used in this connection and will be discussed below.

Fifth, notions pertaining to variables other than those indicated above were introduced at relevant points throughout the analyses and their significance for the theory was examined. These pertained to such substantively important differentiating criteria as ethnic status and social status.

Procedures and Techniques

The logic of the procedures adopted will be discussed in this section. The pattern variables, following Parsons and Shils, constitute a

typological system for the analysis of the moral dimension of social role-expectations, cultural value standards, and value-orientation patterns of the personality. It will be recalled that, at the level of the social system, the pattern variables of universalism and particularism apply to the differentiation of role-expectations with respect to "qualification for membership and decisions for differential treatment." Role-expectations which give priority for differential treatment of an object on the basis of that object's general class characteristics, independent of the relationship of its properties to those of the actor, are defined as universalistic-type role expectation. On the other hand, role-expectations which give priority for differential treatment on the basis of the relationship of the object's properties to those of the actor, rather than on the basis of their general class characteristics, are defined as particularistic-type role-expectations.

With these definitions in mind, four series of short stories were developed, each portraying an actor in a situation in which demands for differential treatment are placed upon him by specified other actors. Each of these series of stories, then, formed the basis for development of four Guttman scales, which, for analytical purposes, constituted the devices for measurement of universalism-particularism, self-orientation and collectivity-orientation dimensions of role-expectations. The development of these four scales and their technical features will be discussed below, but first a word must be said with respect to the nature of the stories themselves. The following example of the form of these stories is drawn from the final questionnaire used for the study and, hence, may serve as the basis of this discussion.

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Example of Short Story Device

> You are the head of a large office. One of the supervisors leaves the company, and so you have to select a new one. Your brother also works in the office. He is a good worker, but there might be some other employees in the office who are harder workers than he is. Your brother wants the job.

In the above story, the situation is one in which an actor is faced with demands deriving from two different status-roles which he simultaneously occupies, i.e., those of brother and office head. The demands of his status-role within the sub-system of instrumental relations call for his subscription to universalistic criteria for choosing a new supervisor. On the other hand, the demands of his status-role within the sub-system of kinship relations call for subscription to particularistic criteria with respect to differential treatment of the brother. The dilemma is one of conflicting value standards at the cultural level, while at the social system level it is one of incompatible role-expectations.

Acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the demands of the actor's brother may be taken as constituting a definition of role-expectations in particularistic terms, while a rejection of the legitimacy of the brother's demands may be taken as constituting a definition of role-expectations in universalistic terms. In order to ascertain the incidence of particularistic versus universalistic definition of role-expectations a set of questions followed the story.

Questions Following Short Story Device

(a) In view of the circumstances, what right does your brother have to expect you to select him for the job?

____He has a <u>definite</u> <u>right</u> to expect me to select him for the job.
____He has <u>some</u> <u>right</u> to expect me to select him for the job.
____He has <u>no</u> <u>right</u> to expect me to select him for the job.

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(b) In view of your obligations to a brother and your obligations to the other employees and to the company, what do you think you would do?

_____ I would select my brother for the job.

_____ I would select the hardest worker for the job, even if this meant leaving my brother in his old job.

In the example above, then, it may be inferred that a response indicating that the brother has a "definite right" to expect to be selected for the job constitutes an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of demands deriving from a particularistic relationship and, hence, the respondent's role-expectations relevant to this situation may be classified as particularistic. On the other hand, it may be inferred that a response indicating that the brother has "no right" to expect to be selected for the job constitutes a rejection of the legitimacy of particularistic demands and, hence, the respondent's role-expectations may be classified as universalistic.

In view of the liklihood that some portion of the respondents would not hold altogether clear-cut expectations with respect to the situation portrayed in the story, the category "some right" was included as a possible response selection. But a response indicating that the brother has "some right" to expect to be selected for the job could not be considered an unambiguous acknowledgement of the legitimacy of demands deriving from a particularistic relationship and, hence, the problem of classifying the respondent's role-expectation would be unclear. It was because of the lack of clarity for the problem of classification of role-expectations that an additional series of questions (those in Part b) were asked of the respondent. As may be seen above, these additional

TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONSE CATEGORIES BY PATTERN VARIABLES TYPES

Response Category	Pattern Variable Type
Brother has a definite right to expect to be selected for the job.	Particularistic
Brother has no right to expect to be selected for the job.	Universalistic
Brother has some right to expect to be selected for the job, and respondent would select him for the job.	Particularistic
Brother has some right to expect to be selected for the job, and respondent would not select him for the job.	Universalistic

questions posed two alternatives of action for the respondent. On the one hand, he could select the brother for the job, and on the other hand, he could refrain from selecting the brother for the job. It was decided, then, that should the respondent indicate that the brother had "some right" to expect to be selected for the job, his response to the subsequent pair of alternatives would give a further indication of the "direction" of his choice. In effect, it was decided that the response combination of "some right" (in Part a) and "select brother for the job" (in Part b) is indicative of a predominance of particularistic elements in the role-expectations relevant to this situation. Likewise, it was decided that the response combination of "some right" (in Part a) and "not select brother for the job" (in Part b) is indicative of a predominance of universalistic elements in the role-expectations relevant to this situation.

The system of classification of responses to the above story is summarized in Table 1, and illustrates the method of classifying the responses to all of the other stories included in the study.

Development, Translation, Reliability and Pre-testing of Role-expectations Stories

The four Guttman scales were constructed using both Mexican and United States student. Consequently this entailed devising stories in English and translating them into Spanish.[1] Some forty-five stories

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[1] Aid in translation of these stories was given by Professor John Sharp, of the Department of Foreign Languages, Texas Western College, as well as by Mrs. Bertha House. Mrs. House was of great assistance in the translation of idiomatic usages, and the study profited greatly by her easy versatility in both languages.

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were devised, approximately eleven for each of the four dimensions of role-expectations in which the study was interested.

Having developed a series of stories, it was necessary to establish some index of their reliability. The context in which reliability is spoken of here refers to the establishment of whether the stories constituted hypothetical social situations which were "understandable" and held "meaning" for the class of respondents to whom they were to be administered. In effect, this was a process of epistemic correlation. Responses, in the form of check marks on a written questionnaire, would scarcely be of much value to the research were the respondents not to understand the stories and the questions following each of them. Hence, about three weeks were spent in personal interview sessions with students drawn from two high schools in El Paso, Texas, and one in Juarez, Mexico.[2] In each of the three schools, ten students were interviewed with respect to their comprehension of the list of forty-five stories. These interviews were focused upon: (1) readability of the stories, (2) whether the stories portrayed situations which appeared plausible to the interviewees, and (3) whether the response categories seemed to fit the situations portrayed in the stories.

The students who were interviewed were selected by a random process from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade class lists. The

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[2] The two high schools in El Paso, Texas, were the Thomas Jefferson, and Technical, both of which belonged to the El Paso public school system. In Juarez, Mexico, students from the Escuela Secundaria y Preparatoria, a public school, were interviewed.

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tenth name on ten class lists was selected for interviewing. With respect to readability of the stories, the interviewees were questioned as to what they understood about the situations portrayed, whether the plot confused them and whether there were words with which they were unfamiliar. It was deemed important to ascertain whether the stories portrayed situations which would be plausible to the respondents. Here the interview attempted to discover whether the stories portrayed situations which would be readily subject to the respondent's projecting himself into the situation without feeling that such a situation would seldom or never be likely to occur in reality. Finally, an effort was made to determine whether the response categories appeared to the interviewees to fit the situations given in the stories. Attention was directed to the wording of the response categories with reference to clarity of meaning for the interviewees. The finding of these interviews with high school students led to the elimination of fifteen stories as inappropriate. Thus, there remained thirty stories which appeared satisfactory for use in pre-testing for the development of the four Guttman scales.

Measurement of Dimension of Role-expectations: the Guttman Scales

Some work on the measurement of role-expectations which is highly relevant to this study was done by Stouffer,[3] using stories in which

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[3] Samuel Stouffer, "An Empirical Study of Technical Problems in Analysis of Role Obligation", in Parsons and Shils, ed., Toward a General Theory of Action. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954, pp. 479-496.

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the respondent projects himself into the situation which the story portrays. Stouffer also attempted to show that responses to this type of device will form a Guttman scale. Following Stouffer's work, this study proceeded to develop four scales. In order to establish the status of the scales developed by this study it will be necessary to discuss the technical features of a Guttman scale.

In his development of the theory of scale analysis Guttman distinguishes at least four criteria for scalability.[4] These are: (a) reproducibility, (b) range of marginal distributions, (c) pattern of errors, and (d) number of items in the scale.

The coefficient of reproducibility is an index of the degree to which the scale approaches a perfect scale. In a perfect scale, one could reproduce the respondent's rank from his total score. The coefficient of reproducibility is the probability of being able to do this. It is obtained by

$$CR = 1 - \left(\frac{\text{errors}}{\text{items} \times \text{respondents}}\right)$$

Guttman has arbitrarily set an acceptable coefficient of reproducibility of 90 percent.

The range of marginal distributions should be wide, with some items at either end of the distribution and some items around 50-50. Elsewhere Guttman suggests that at least four items should be within the 70-30 range.[5] Extreme marginals will produce a spurious CR.

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[4] Samuel Stouffer et. al., Measurement and Prediction. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1950.

[5] L. Guttman, A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data. American Sociological Review, Vol. IX, pp. 139-150.

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The errors of reproducibility must be random. That is, the errors must not be piled up at any particular non-scale type. In a so-called quasi-scale, errors occur in the form of a gradient. This indicates that the errors are caused by one or two other major variables rather than by many small variables occurring at random.

The more items included in a scale, the greater is the assurance that the entire universe of which these items are a sample is scalable. Guttman suggests that "if the items are dichotomous ..., it is probably desirable that at least ten items be used, with perhaps a lesser number being satisfactory if the marginal frequencies of several items are in the range of 30 to 70 percent."[6]

Using these criteria of scalability, it was found that four scales could be developed from twenty-nine of the thirty stories. These four sets of stories were then submitted to a second pre-test, after which the final form of the questionnaire was developed.

Since thirty stories would have constituted far too many to incorporate in a single questionnaire, the stories were divided into two groups for both the first and second pre-tests. These two questionnaires were then submitted to groups of United States and Mexican high school students. The students to whom they were submitted were selected by a random process from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th and 25th names from twelve class lists in the El Paso

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[6] Stouffer et. al., Measurement and Prediction, op. cit., p. 52.

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Technical High School were selected, and each of the questionnaires was administered to these students on separate days. With respect to the Mexican high school, it was not possible to draw a pre-test sample from class lists. Hence, the two pre-test questionnaires were administered to three whole classrooms of students on separate days. These classrooms comprised, in the Mexican school system, the equivalents of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. Each of the Mexican high school classrooms contained approximately thirty students. Thus the first pre-test sample contained sixty United States students and ninety-one Mexican students. Details on the development of each scale are given below.

Scale I. This scale was derived from the set of eight stories which focus upon situations in which the actor is faced with conflicting demands pertaining to (1) his status-role in a sub-system of instrumental relations and (2) his status-role in a sub-system of kinship relations.[7] The dimension measure is that of universalism versus particularism. Seven of these items were found to be scalable with a CR of .91. The distribution of marginals for the first pre-test population of 151 was 110, 95, 91, 86, 47, 46, 45.

Scale II. This scale was derived from the set of nine stories which focus upon situations in which the actor is faced with conflicting demands pertaining to (1) his status-role in a sub-system of in-

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[7] See Appendix B, stories numbered 1,2,3 and 4.

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[1] Ibid.,

[2] Ibid.,

[3] Ibid.,

strumental relations and (2) his status-role in a sub-system of friendship relations.[8] These stories were found scalable with a CR of .87. The distribution of marginals for the first pre-test population of 151 was 88, 80, 68, 60, 56, 46, 40, 38, 38.

Scale III. This scale was derived from the set of eight stories which focus upon situations in which the actor is faced with demands from a sub-system of kinship relations which conflict with the actor's self-interest in the situation.[9] The dimension measured is that of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation. The stories were found scalable with a CR of .93. The distribution of marginals for the first pre-test population of 151 was 110, 101, 100, 86, 82, 58, 54, 6.

Scale IV. This scale was derived from the set of five stories which focus upon situations in which the actor is faced with demands from a sub-system of peer (friendship) relations which conflict with his self-interest in the situation.[10] The dimension measured is that of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation. The stories were found to be scalable with a CR of .84. The distribution of marginals for the first pre-test population of 151 was 112, 101, 70, 34, 25.

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[8] Ibid., stories numbered 5, 6, 7, and 9.

[9] Ibid., stories numbered 10, 11, 16, 17, 18.

[10] Ibid., stories numbered 12, 13, 14, 15.

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For the second pre-test of these scales, they were again submitted to groups of United States and Mexican students, selected in the manner described above. For purposes of easier arithemetical computation, fifty United States and fifty Mexican students were selected. Details on this population are summarized below.

Scale I. For the second pre-test population of 100 the CR was found to be .90 and the distribution of marginals was 71, 59, 55, 48, 51, 32, 27.

Scale II. For the second pre-test population of 100 the CR was found to be .89 and the distribution of marginals was 63, 48, 40, 39, 37, 32, 25, 25, 20.

Scale III. For the second pre-test population of 100 the CR was found to be .91 and the distribution of marginals was 84, 77, 69, 67, 67, 57, 50, 16.

Scale IV. For the second pre-test population of 100 the CR was found to be .86 and the distribution of marginals was 71, 59, 41, 38, 34.

The purpose behind the development of a scale, of course, is that, after the items have been shown to be scalable, a smaller number of items may be selected for administration to a larger population on the assumption that these items will discriminate along a single dimension. Thus the final form of the questionnaire was comprised of seventeen stories, four each selected from Scales I, II, and IV, and five from Scale III. (One of the five stories comprising Scale III was subsequently dropped.) These stories were selected as the most discriminating, as can be seen clearly by noting the marginal distributions of the four stories selected

from each scale as compared with the marginal distributions of all the stories from which the scale was constructed.

A further test for spurious reproducibility is furnished by the chi-square goodness-of-fit test using as a theoretical distribution that distribution which would be the case if the items were statistically independent of each other.[11] If the items were statistically independent of each other, the frequency of the population answering "yes" to all four questions would be equal to the proportion answering "yes" to the first question times the proportion answering "yes" to the second question times the proportion answering "yes" to the third question times the proportion answering "yes" to the fourth question. There are sixteen possible combinations of responses from four dichotomous questions, and the proportion of people who should fall in each group can be calculated by forming products in this manner from the frequencies of "yes" and "no" for each item.

This test was used as a further check on the feasibility of using the four selected stories for each scale. The products formed and the chi-square values obtained are shown in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5. These tables also show the complete distribution of the responses to the selected stories for the second pre-test population.

One of the difficulties in using the chi-square goodness-of-fit test is that no adequate answer has been found as to the number of

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[11] The study is indebted to Dr. Joel Smith, Michigan State University, for suggesting this test.

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE I AND GIG-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .96)

[illegible]	[illegible]	Pattern Distribution

TABLE 2

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE I AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .96)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern	Particularistic Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	2 1 4 3	2	1	4	3		2	1	4	3	Total Pr.
	≠ ≠ ≠ ≠	18	18	18	18		.71	.51	.32	.27	.0300
I	- ≠ ≠ ≠	..	..	..	..		.29	.51	.32	.27	.0128
	≠ - ≠ ≠	2	..	2	2		.71	.49	.32	.27	.0301
	≠ ≠ - ≠	6	6	..	6		.71	.51	.68	.27	.0665
II	≠ ≠ ≠ -	9	9	9	..		.71	.51	.32	.73	.0846
	- ≠ ≠ -	..	..	..	..		.29	.51	.32	.73	.0345
	≠ - ≠ -	3	..	3	..		.71	.49	.32	.73	.0826
III	≠ ≠ - -	14	14	..	..		.71	.51	.68	.73	.1797
	- ≠ - ≠	..	..	..	..		.29	.51	.68	.27	.0271
IV	≠ - - -	18	..	..	..		.71	.49	.68	.73	.1727
	≠ - - ≠	1	..	..	1		.71	.49	.68	.27	.0639
V	- - - -	..	..	..	..	(25)	.29	.49	.68	.73	.0705
	- - ≠ ≠	..	..	..	..		.29	.49	.32	.27	.0123
	- - - ≠	..	..	..	..		.29	.49	.68	.27	.0261
	- ≠ - -	..	4	..	..		.29	.51	.68	.73	.0734
	- - ≠ -	..	..	..	..		.29	.49	.32	.73	.0332
		Total 71	51	32	27						1.0000

Chi-square = 145.70
P less than .001, d.f. = 15

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE II AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .94)

Scale	Scale Pattern	Particularistic	Probability Distribution

TABLE 3

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE II AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .94)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern				Particularistic Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	9	17	15	14	9	17	15	14		9	17	15	14	Total Pr.
I	≠	≠	≠	≠	7	.7	.7	7		.63	.34	.26	.17	.0094
	-	≠	≠	≠	..	..	..	..		.37	.34	.26	.17	.0055
	≠	-	≠	≠	..	..	..	..		.63	.66	.26	.17	.0184
	≠	≠	-	≠	4	4	..	4		.63	.34	.74	.17	.0269
II	≠	≠	≠	-	10	10	10	..		.63	.34	.26	.83	.0462
	-	≠	≠	-	..	2	2	..		.37	.34	.26	.83	.0271
	≠	-	≠	-	4	..	4	..		.63	.66	.26	.83	.0897
III	≠	≠	-	-	7	7	..	..		.63	.34	.74	.83	.1316
	-	≠	-	≠	..	..	..	..		.37	.34	.74	.17	.0158
IV	≠	-	-	-	28	..	..	..		.63	.66	.74	.83	.2554
	≠	-	-	≠	3	..	..	3		.63	.66	.74	.17	.0523
V	-	-	-	-	..	..	..	..	(26)	.37	.66	.74	.83	.1500
	-	-	≠	≠	..	..	1	1		.37	.66	.26	.17	.0108
	-	≠	-	-	..	4	..	..		.37	.34	.74	.83	.0773
	-	-	≠	-	..	..	2	..		.37	.66	.26	.83	.0527
	-	-	-	≠	..	...	..	2		.37	.66	.74	.17	.0307
				Total	63	34	26	17						.9998

Chi-square = 69.19
P less than .001, d.f. = 15

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE III AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .77)

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE III AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .97)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern		Collectivity-Oriented Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	2 6 3 4		2	6	3	4		2	6	3	4	Total Pr.
I	≠ ≠ ≠ ≠		16	16	16	16		.78	.62	.56	.16	.0433
	- ≠ ≠ ≠		..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.56	.16	.0122
	≠ - ≠ ≠		..	..	..	..		.78	.38	.56	.16	.0266
	≠ ≠ - ≠		..	..	..	..		.78	.62	.44	.16	.0340
II	≠ ≠ ≠ -		35	35	35	..		.78	.62	.56	.84	.2273
	- ≠ ≠ -		..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.56	.84	.0642
	≠ - ≠ -		5	..	5	..		.78	.38	.56	.84	.1394
III	≠ ≠ - -		11	11	..	..		.78	.62	.44	.84	.1787
	- ≠ - ≠		..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.44	.16	.0096
IV	≠ - - -		11	..	..	..		.78	.38	.44	.84	.1095
	≠ - - ≠		..	..	..	..		.78	.38	.44	.16	.0209
V	- - - -		..	..	..	..	(16)	.22	.38	.44	.84	.0309
	- - ≠ ≠		..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.56	.16	.0075
	- - - ≠		..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.44	.16	.0059
	- ≠ - -		..	6	..	..		.22	.62	.44	.84	.0504
	- - ≠ -		..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.56	.84	.0393
		Total	78	62	56	16						.9997

Chi-square = 123.12
P less than .001, d.f. = 15

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

TABLE 3

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE III AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .97)

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE III AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .97)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern	Collectivity-Oriented Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	2 6 3 4	2	6	3	4		2	6	3	4	Total Pr.
I	+ + + +	16	16	16	16		.78	.62	.56	.16	.0433
	- + + +	..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.56	.16	.0122
	+ - + +	..	..	..	..		.78	.38	.56	.16	.0266
	+ + - +	..	..	..	..		.78	.62	.44	.16	.0340
II	+ + + -	35	35	35	..		.78	.62	.56	.84	.2273
	- + + -	..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.56	.84	.0642
	+ - + -	5	..	5	..		.78	.38	.56	.84	.1394
III	+ + - -	11	11	..	..		.78	.62	.44	.84	.1787
	- + - +	..	..	..	..		.22	.62	.44	.16	.0096
IV	+ - - -	11	..	..	..		.78	.38	.44	.84	.1095
	+ - - +	..	..	..	..		.78	.38	.44	.16	.0209
V	- - - -	..	..	..	..	(16)	.22	.38	.44	.84	.0309
	- - + +	..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.56	.16	.0075
	- - - +	..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.44	.16	.0059
	- + - -	..	6	..	..		.22	.62	.44	.84	.0504
	- - + -	..	..	..	..		.22	.38	.56	.84	.0393
	Total	78	62	56	16						.9997

Chi-square = 123.12
P less than .001, d.f. = 15

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEM 3 OF SCALE IV AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .91)

TABLE 5

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE IV AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .91)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern				Collectivity-Oriented Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	14	11	12	10	14	11	12	10		14	11	12	10	Total Pr.
I	≠	≠	≠	≠	14	14	14	14		.71	.59	.41	.34	.0583
	-	≠	≠	≠	..	1	1	1		.29	.59	.41	.34	.0238
	≠	-	≠	≠	4	..	4	4		.71	.41	.41	.34	.0406
	≠	≠	-	≠	9	9	..	9		.71	.59	.59	.34	.0840
II	≠	≠	≠	-	13	13	13	..		.71	.59	.41	.66	.1133
	-	≠	≠	-	..	4	4	..		.29	.59	.41	.66	.0462
	≠	-	≠	-	5	..	5	..		.71	.41	.41	.66	.0788
III	≠	≠	-	-	12	12	..	..		.71	.59	.59	.66	.1631
	-	≠	-	≠	..	3	..	3		.29	.59	.59	.34	.0343
IV	≠	-	-	-	13	..	..	..		.71	.41	.59	.66	.1133
	≠	-	-	≠	1	..	..	1		.71	.41	.59	.34	.0583
V	-	-	-	-	..	..	..	..	(16)	.29	.41	.59	.66	.0462
	-	-	≠	≠	..	..	..	..		.29	.41	.41	.34	.0165
	-	-	-	≠	..	..	..	2		.29	.41	.59	.34	.0240
	-	≠	-	-	..	3	..	..		.29	.41	.59	.66	.0666
	-	-	≠	-	..	..	..	..		.29	.41	.41	.66	.0322
				Total	71	59	41	34						.9995

Chi-square = 25.18
P less than .05, d.f. = 15
P less than .001, d.f. = 1

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

TABLE 4

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS 3 ON SCALE IV AND GUT-SCALES ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .91)

Pattern	Scale Item					Probability Distribution
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - - -	+ +		+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -		+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -			+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- -		+ +		+ +	+ + + + +	
- - - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
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- - - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - -	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + + + +	
- - - -					+ + + + +	

*Data from Scale IV and Guttman Scales Analysis

TABLE 5

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO ITEMS ON SCALE IV AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*
(Coefficient of Reproducibility .91)

Scale Type	Scale Pattern		Collectivity-Oriented Response to Item No.					Probability Distribution				
	14 11 12 10		14	11	12	10		14	11	12	10	Total Pr.
I	≠ ≠ ≠ ≠		14	14	14	14		.71	.59	.41	.34	.0583
	- ≠ ≠ ≠		..	1	1	1		.29	.59	.41	.34	.0238
	≠ - ≠ ≠		4	..	4	4		.71	.41	.41	.34	.0406
	≠ ≠ - ≠		9	9	..	9		.71	.59	.59	.34	.0840
II	≠ ≠ ≠ -		13	13	13	..		.71	.59	.41	.66	.1133
	- ≠ ≠ -		..	4	4	..		.29	.59	.41	.66	.0462
	≠ - ≠ -		5	..	5	..		.71	.41	.41	.66	.0788
III	≠ ≠ - -		12	12	..	..		.71	.59	.59	.66	.1631
	- ≠ - ≠		..	3	..	3		.29	.59	.59	.34	.0343
IV	≠ - - -		13	..	..	..		.71	.41	.59	.66	.1133
	≠ - - ≠		1	..	..	1		.71	.41	.59	.34	.0583
V	- - - -		..	..	..	..	(16)	.29	.41	.59	.66	.0462
	- - ≠ ≠		..	..	..	..		.29	.41	.41	.34	.0165
	- - - ≠		..	..	..	2		.29	.41	.59	.34	.0240
	- ≠ - -		..	3	..	..		.29	.41	.59	.66	.0666
	- - ≠ -		..	..	..	..		.29	.41	.41	.66	.0322
		Total	71	59	41	34						.9995

Chi-square = 25.18
P less than .05, d.f. = 15
P less than .001, d.f. = 1

* This table represents responses on the final pre-test.

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degrees of freedom to be used. It is usual to lose one degree of freedom for each parameter which is estimated. The question in this instance is whether each combination of responses is to be considered an estimated parameter. However, it can be seen that the maximum possible number of degrees of freedom must be fifteen. Since the distribution of each of the scales is statistically significant for fifteen degrees of freedom, the question seems to be a moot point for the purposes of this thesis.

Selection of Respondents and Questionnaire Administration

The principal fieldwork on which the study is based was conducted in public high schools in El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico. The final questionnaire was administered to 405 students enrolled in the El Paso Technical High School in El Paso, Texas. Of these, 243 were regular students and 162 were enrolled in special English courses only.[12] For reasons pertaining to the organization of the program of studies at the school, it was infeasible to select a random sample of students for administration of the questionnaire. Nor was it possible to select classrooms of students by a random process. Some teachers felt that they could not allow time to be taken from the

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[12] Of the 243 respondents regularly enrolled at the El Paso Technical High School only 15 indicated that they were following one of the technical courses of study. The rest were enrolled in one or another of the general academic curricula.

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regular couse of studies. The problem of selecting a sizeable number of students to whom the questionnaire might be administered devolved into one of securing approximately equal numbers of classrooms devoted to teaching courses at the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade levels. All 12th grade students were required to enroll in a social science course, and so several of the classrooms devoted to this subject were selected for administration of the questionnaire. Also, all students were required to enroll in 10th, 11th, and 12th grade English courses, and, thus, a portion of these classrooms were selected with the consent of the prospective teachers.

The final questionnaire was administered, then, to classrooms of about thirty students each. It was necessary to accomplish the administration of the questionnaire within a period of forty minutes, which period of time was the scheduled length of the classes at El Paso Technical High School. This requirement of forty minutes for administration of the questionnaire, of course, placed restrictive limits upon the length of the instrument. It was found during pre-testing of the questionnaire that forty minutes provided sufficient time to give directions to the students and allow them to complete the entire instrument. The questionnaire was administered to students during the final two weeks of the school year, June 1 to 15, 1956. Students regularly enrolled in special English courses at the El Paso Technical High School were administered the Spanish version of the questionnaire.

The final questionnaire also was administered to 397 students enrolled in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades of the Escuela Secundaria y

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Preparatoria of Juarez, Mexico. For reasons pertaining to the organization of the program of studies at this school, it was not possible to select a random sample of students from the three grade levels, nor to sample systematically classrooms. However, classrooms of students drawn from the three grade levels were secured in approximately equal members. The Director of the school arranged to have teachers bring their classes to the school auditorium at designated hours, and the questionnaire was administered en mass. Needless to say, the Spanish version of the questionnaire was administered to these students. Administration of the questionnaire under these conditions required only two days.

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CHAPTER III

VALUE STANDARDS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURAL COMPLEXES

This chapter will outline some of the major features of Mexican culture which imply the predominance in certain sectors and the emergence in others of universalistic type value standards. It will point out also that major segments of Mexican society manifest relatively high degrees of structural differentiation and segregation of social relations, and that large scale instrumental complexes are to be found in Mexico.

Parsons' statements pertaining to the analysis of the group of societies which he calls Spanish-American provide an appropriate starting point for this discussion. It will be recalled that his theoretical formulations imply that role-expectations represent a more or less unmodified transposition of cultural value standards. Parsons' analysis adheres to this general implication, with the result that it is somewhat curious and vague. It is by no means clear whether his analysis is meant to pertain exclusively to value-orientations (a category of the personality system) or to cultural value standards and social role-expectations, or to all three collectively. The structure of his analysis in this unclear manner may be presumed to follow directly from the development of his thesis. But, in any case, using the analytical device of the pattern variables Parsons proceeds to classify these societies as exhibiting a predominance of particularism

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over universalism, and ascription over achievement. Such a classification is subject to serious question both in terms of its intended scope of coverage of quite different societies and segments of those societies. Moreover, if his brief analysis is intended to apply to the dominant national cultures it fails to consider important spheres in which universalistic-type and achievement-type value standards are very much in evidence. His analysis would seem to apply most appropriately to that category of action orientation identified as role-expectations in his schema, rather than to cultural value standards. With respect to the application of his analysis to personality, little can be hazarded by Parsons or any other social scientist owing to the lack of available scientific data pertaining to the organization of action at the level of the personality system among Latin American peoples. It can scarcely be considered an appropriate or correct analysis to assert that particularistic-type value standards constitute the exclusive or even major type of cultural values borne by the dominant sectors of Mexican society.[1]

It is not the intention of this chapter to examine, other than parenthetically, the structure of social relations in Mexican agricultural

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[1] See, for example, Manuel Gamio, Cultural Patterns in Modern Mexico, Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations, Vol. 1, 1939, pp. 49-61. Also Jose E. Iturriaga, La estructura social y cultural de Mexico. Mexico, D. F., Fondo de Cultural Economica, 1951. John Gillen, Modern Latin American Culture, Social Forces, Vol. 26, 1948, pp. 243-252. Lesley Byrd Simpson, Unplanned Effects of Mexico's Planned Economy, The Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1953, pp. 514-532. For a journalistic account of some stature, see Tomme Clark Call, The Mexican Venture: From Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico. Oxford University Press, 1953.

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It is not the intention of this chapter to examine, other than parenthetically, the structure of social relations in Mexican agricultural

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[1] See, for example, Manuel Gamio, Cultural Patterns in Modern Mexico, Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations, Vol. 1, 1939, pp. 49-61. Also Jose E. Iturriaga, La estructura social y cultural de Mexico. Mexico, D. F., Fondo de Cultural Economica, 1951. John Gillen, Modern Latin American Culture, Social Forces, Vol. 26, 1948, pp. 243-252. Lesley Byrd Simpson, Unplanned Effects of Mexico's Planned Economy, The Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1953, pp. 514-532. For a journalistic account of some stature, see Tomme Clark Call, The Mexican Venture: From Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico. Oxford University Press, 1953.

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villages. It is quite evident, from anthropological and sociological field studies, that the structure of social relations in rural Mexican villages exhibits considerable variability according to regions, ethnic groups, and extent of isolation from the dominant national society. Likewise, cultural value standards vary among these small sub-systems. A discussion of the rural scene is beyond the purview of this chapter and the scope of the study. Parsons' brief analysis referred to above, subject to any coherent interpretation, would appear to apply best to the socio-cultural milieu of the small, isolated, rural, agricultural village. However, this study deals with non-rural persons who, as it will be pointed out, comprise a sizeable portion of the Mexican population, and who exhibit social habits and cultural values which may loosely be referred to as those of the dominant socio-cultural milieu.

Mexican Backgrounds

It is of prime importance to the examination of the dominant national society in Mexico today to understand that highly significant socio-cultural changes have occurred in the present century.[2] In general, it may be said that immediately prior to the Revolution of 1910-1920 the dominant national society was characterized by strong conservatism and traditionalism. Rural peasants and urban proletarians were effectively isolated from participation in the national political processes, and attempted political action was forcefully discouraged.

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[2] See Charles Cumberland, The Mexican Revolution, The New Leader, December, Vol. 27, 1954, pp. 12-17. Also Henry Bamford Parkes, A History of Mexico. New York: Houghton Mifflen Co., 1950. Nathan L. Whetten, Rural Mexico. Univ. of Chicago press, 1948.

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The dominant religious system generally fostered the maintenance of this status quo. Overwhelming illiteracy prevailed among the rural peasants and urban proletarians. A semi-feudal social, political, and economic order characterized rural life, with large tracts of land and their attached villages under the domination and control of a relatively few landlords. Regional and sub-regional geographic and social isolation characterized most of the country, and geographical mobility of the population appears to have been generally quite low. Strong class cleavages along lines of social, political, and economic interest existed in both the rural and urban settings. Agriculture provided the chief an almost exclusive source of gaining a livelihood. With the exception of the extractive industries, and the beginnings of textile manufacturing, industrial employment was nearly non-existent. What manufacturing there was generally was restricted to small scale enterprises, and handicraft methods of production were the norm. The function of government was largely restricted to the maintenance of order and discipline in the society, thereby facilitating the economic and other interests of the dominant social class. Conspicuously lacking as functions of government in the pre-Revolution period were public education, public health, and civil rights protection for the masses. What little formal education there was available was under the jurisdiction of the Catholic church. Concern with problems of public sanitation was largely lacking. Provisions for redress of flagrant violations of civil and property rights of the mass of peasants were largely ignored. In fact, civil and property rights generally appear to have been absent so far as the peasant was concerned.

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In pre-Revolution Mexico a hegemony in political, governmental, and economic affairs was exercised by the urban upper class and the rural semi-feudal land-holding elite. Life among the peasant masses was carried on principally within the context of the small agricultural village, and relatively little geographical mobility occurred. The structure of instrumental relations revolved largely around agricultural tasks and the marketing of agricultural products. The involvement of the population in roles of responsibility and leadership in political, economic, and governmental affairs was restricted to the relatively small landed elite, the religious authorities, and the great merchants, while the masses labored under various conditions of peonage. Particularistic rights and obligations revolving around family, village, and the semi-feudal relationship between peon and patron composed the major configurations of the social order for most Mexicans, and the web of society exhibited a relatively low degree of structural differentiation.[3]

Revolution and Change

The Revolution of 1910-1920 wrought significant changes in the fabric of Mexican society and culture. The hegemony of the semi-feudal landlords was overthrown. Land reforms in rural areas were carried out, often in the form of ejidal land grants to peasant villages. The Catholic church was more or less effectively barred from direct authority over political and governmental affairs. Participation of the urban and rural masses in the local, state, and national political

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[3] Parkes, op. cit., passim.

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processes was encouraged as a patriotic duty. The new government introduced radical policies[4] and expanded greatly in terms of the services rendered to the national public. The years of active hostilities were accompanied by population movements which have continued to the present day.

Today Mexico exhibits relatively high degrees of differentiation in its social structure. Government provides important services and possesses numerous agencies for the articulation of these, as well as for the maintenance of order in the society. Industry has made significant advances, although the country remains predominantly agricultural. Large scale commerce and trade are evident. Public primary and secondary schools are established throughout the country. The urban population is on the increase, and geographical mobility in general appears to be increasing. Illiteracy among the masses is decreasing, yet remains high. Modern communications and transportation networks connect the major commercial, agricultural, and industrial centers into an increasingly coherent framework.[5]

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[4] Dissolution of latifundia, the ejidal system of land tenure, the encouragement of organized labor, the curtailing of church power, and the introduction of widespread public education are some of the major changes which the new regime accomplished.

[5] See Antonio Carrillo Flores, Industrial Mexico, Selected Readings on Mexico: A Seminar on Foreign Affairs, mimeographed, Michigan State University, 1957. For some salient social problems arising out of the changed conditions see Arturo Monzon, Planteamiento de Algunos Problemas Indigneas, America Indigena, Vol. VII, No. 4, Octobre, 1947, pp. 323-331.

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Rural-Urban Features

Mexico remains to the present day a predominantly rural and agricultural country. According to the census of population of 1940, nearly two-thirds of those economically active were engaged in agriculture,[6] while in 1950 there were about fifty-eight percent engaged in agriculture.[7] Likewise, Mexico remains largely rural, with slightly more than one-half of the population residing in places of 2,500 or less in 1940. Slightly more than thirteen percent of the population lived in cities of over 50,000 inhabitants in 1940, while approximately twenty-two percent lived in cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants. A sizeable increase in the population residing in urban centers is recorded in the 1950 census. By 1950 slightly more than forty-two percent of the population were living in places of 2,500 or more inhabitants. The census of 1950 listed twenty-four cities with populations exceeding fifty thousand inhabitants. These twenty-four urban centers included a population of 4,828,524, or about nineteen percent of the total population.

It is precisely in the urban areas of Mexico that universalistic-type value standards and forms of large scale instrumental complexes are to be encountered. It is to be noted, further, that notonly large scale instrumental complexes exhibit relatively high degrees of differentiation of activities and the segregation of these activities from

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[6] Wilbert E. Moore, Industrialization and Labor. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1951, p. 247.

[7] Septimo Censo General de Poblacion, 1950, Cuadro 21, p. 86.

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other life spheres of the individual, but it is characteristic that even small scale instrumental complexes in the urban milieu also exhibit these features. Wherever the instrumental complex involves the unequal statuses of employee and proprietor in the collaborative endeavor structural differentiation is implicitly present. Likewise, so far as the status of employee is concerned, the instrumental activities in which he participates are characteristically segregated from familial and other "personal" action interests. Certainly, in Mexico, this is the common pattern. The principal reasons for viewing the urban milieu, in contrast to the rural, as the focus of the above socio-cultural features are that very small scale instrumental complexes constitute the numerically greater portion of agricultural production enterprises, and the differentiation of status-roles with respect to the instrumental activities occurs principally as an extension of status-roles occupied in the family and kinship unit. The small scale family farm or ejido plot employs little or no extra-familial labor, whereas even the small scale economic enterprise in the urban center is likely to employ some extra-familial labor.

Occupations and Labor

In 1940 approximately thirty percent of the labor force was engaged in non-agricultural occupations, whereas in 1950 approximately forty-two percent were in non-agricultural occupations. In 1940 approximately 640,000 persons were employed in manufacturing industries, while in 1950 the number had increased to 970,000.[8]

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[8] Whetten, op. cit., pp. 180-197.

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Manufacturing at both of these periods was the largest single occupational category outside of agriculture. Commerce employed approximately 550,000 in 1940 and about 680,000 in 1950. Communications and transportation employed some 150,000 in 1940 and approximately 210,000 in 1950.

Considering the number of persons employed in manufacturing the size of membership in labor unions appears large. In 1942 there were some 650,000 members of unions. In general, Mexican labor unions are of the industry-wide type rather than of the crafts type. The two major labor confederations are the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM), and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos (CTM). Labor unions have been important instrumentalities in raising the standards of living of Mexican industrial and commercial workers, and have constituted important political forces in the nation. Being industrial-type organizations, encompassing thousands of workers, they may be considered large scale instrumental complexes. Moreover, the labor union movement, a sub-cultural ideological complex of considerable importance on the national scene, may be viewed as exhibiting major patterns of universalistic-type value standards.[9] The dedication of the movement to the gaining of rights and benefits for employees

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[9] The labor unions or sindicatos in Mexico differ radically from labor organizations in the United States in one respect in particular. They are very strongly dominated by political forces. See Frank Tannenbaum, Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Co., 1951, pp. 175-190. See also Marjorie Ruth Clar, Organized Labor in Mexico. University of North Carolina Press, 1934, passim.

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throughout the sphere of economic exchange relationships in the society exemplifies the predication of the movement on universalistic-type values. Their varied activities further imply this. It is relevant to note Moore's observations in this respect.

> The labor organization in Mexico, through the very nature of the occupational heterogeneity of its membership, is a strategic instrument of social control and change. The wide extension of sindicatos into the rural village, their support of village schools, adult literacy campaigns, adult education in agricultural and marketing improvements -- all this bespeaks the influence of the unions toward social innovation. When to this is added local and national direct political participation, the sindicato becomes a major source of innovation and national economic development.[10]

The existence of a labor market is becoming more evident in Mexico as is indicated by the numbers of persons who are wage and salary earners. Slightly more than fifteen percent of the population were wage and salary earners in 1940, while fifty-two percent of the economically active portion of the population were wage and salary earners. By 1950, fifty-eight percent of the economically active population were wage and salary earners. Moore observes, with respect to the figures for 1940, that the relatively low percentage of wage and salary earners derived in significant part from the organization of economic activities on the basis of family groups in Mexico, and he notes that the economy operates with units of smaller scale than in the United States. While this appears to be so, it should be kept in mind that these observations apply especially to the field of agricultural production in Mexico. The relatively low amount of persons being wage and salary

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[10] Moore, op. cit., p. 240.

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earners thus derives principally from the fact that the preponderant number of persons engaged in agricultural production are proprietors on a very small scale. It is also to be noted that females comprise a much smaller portion of the economically active population in Mexico than in the United States. One indication of this is the proportion of wage and salary earners who are females. In 1940, only 5.3 percent of the females aged 15-64 were wage and salary earners, while in the United States the proportion was 23.9 percent. On the other hand, 52.5 percent of the males aged 15-64 were wage and salary earners in Mexico as compared to 60.9 percent in the United States. It will be useful to keep in mind these statistics in that they provide a rough indication of the relative lack of involvement of females in Mexico in non-familial types of occupations. That is, these figures imply that females in Mexico are involved to only a limited extent in economic exchange relationships which are differentiated and segregated from the activities of the family. However, of those females classified as economically active in 1940 more than two-thirds were wage and salary workers. Hence, it might be concluded that females with aspirations toward involvement in the complex of economic exchange relations are most likely to become involved as either wage or salary earners, i.e., as employees of business firms.

Literacy

The proportion of the population which can read and write may be taken as a very rough indicator of the commonality of the dominant national culture. Without an ability to read and write, access to many

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facets of the dominant national culture is severely restricted. It is noteworthy that literacy has increased slowly since the end of the Mexican Revolution. By 1940, about forty-nine percent of the population aged ten years and older could read and write, while by 1950 about fifty-five percent of the population aged six years and older could read and write, according to the national census. Likewise, the proportion of the population speaking Spanish, the dominant national language, may be considered as an index of involvement in the national society and culture of Mexico. In 1940, the proportion of the population speaking Spanish, was about eighty-five percent and by 1950 had increased to slightly more than eighty-eight percent. Conversely, the proportion of those speaking only an indigenous language or dialect declined from about seven percent in 1940 to about three and one-half percent in 1950. The proportion of the population speaking both an indigenous language and Spanish remained approximately seven and one-half percent in both years.

Formal Mass Education

It would seem a warranted generalization to assert that formal mass education leads to the sharing of ideas and values on the part of those subject to the educational system. From a substantive social perspective this is certainly one of the primary manifest goals of national educational systems. The magnitude of the scale of education in Mexico is large and, hence, it will be important to examine it briefly

The federal and state governments in Mexico have launched into an impressive program of mass education since the end of the Revolution.

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By 1950 there were some 748 "lower primary schools"[11] financed by public funds, and some 115 privately financed ones. These enrolled approximately 115,000 pupils in 1940 and approximately 127,000 pupils in 1952. The six grade primary school, however, is the most common type of formal educational institution in Mexico, and in 1948 there were 23,257 of these. By 1952 the number of these latter had increased to 25,613. Of these, some 20,000 were located in rural areas and about 5,500 in urban areas.

The size of the student population has been of considerable magnitude also. In 1952, there were approximately 1,420,000 pupils enrolled in the rural primary schools, and some 1,870,000 enrolled in the urban primary schools. With respect to post-primary educational institutions, there were 1,210 schools registered in the country in 1952. Of these, 464 were secondary schools, 80 were preparatory schools, 234 commercial schools, 87 normal schools, 145 advanced professional schools. There were slightly less than 200,000 students enrolled in all of these diverse types of schools in 1952, and of these about 75,000 were enrolled in secondary schools and about 22,000 in preparatory schools.

The school systems constitute an important instrumental complex; many of the values associated with them may be categorized as universalistic. The Mexican school systems, although varying in details of their adaptation to national, regional, and local conditions, follow the general pattern of Western culture. The value emphasis is perhaps slightly different from the pattern in the United States in certain

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[11] This is a type of primary school which includes only the first three grades.

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respects, but not radically so. For example, rote memorization of lessons tends to be generally adhered to in Mexican schools, as does classroom recitation, whereas in the United States these activities appear to be no longer so highly valued. Academic competition, the allocation of grades on the basis of examinations, and the enforcement of discipline in classrooms are predicated on universalistic-type values. It is not an uncommon practice, in the writer's experience, that general norms of social morality are imparted within the context of the classroom. This is especially so with respect to the humanistic ideals of the Mexican Revolution. The public school system, in fact, has been a major institution for the inculcating of the aspirations of the Revolution. It is notable that the values of honesty and restraint in dealing with one's fellows, the concept of obligation to the nation, and many if not all of the commonly considered humanistic values constitute a not insignificant part of the value premises upon which the formal educational structure is predicated, and which in various forms are conveyed to the students. Something has been said already about the scale of the educational systems in Mexico, and it would seem necessary to note here only that they are organized on a relatively large scale involving more than three million students and some twenty-five thousand schools.

Government

The sphere of governmental relations constitutes an important instrumental and integrative complex in a nation-state such as Mexico. Certainly, it manifests a form of large scale social organization and

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exhibits major cultural values.[12] Mexico is a federated republic with governmental relations organized on three levels, national, state, and local. The legislative, administrative, and judicial functions of the national government are performed by separate agencies, similar in model to those in the structure of United States government. Each of the federated states similarly possesses a constitution which defines the formal structure of the state governments and the jurisdiction and separation of powers. The states, in turn, are subdivided into political entities called municipios (municipalities). These latter political entities are relatively weak so far as general political and taxation powers are concerned.

With respect to the general discussion to which this chapter is addressed one of the most important points to be noted about the administrative branch of government in Mexico is that it is structured in a bureaucratic form.[13] It is evident that not all of the features of Max

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[12] United States Department of Commerce, Government and Business in Mexico, Investment in Mexico. Government Printing Office, 1955, Chap. II.

[13] Max Weber's bureaucratic type includes the features (1) a clearly defined hierarchy of offices, (2) members of the association are subject to authority only in respect to the impersonal obligations pertaining to the office, (4) the office is filled by a free contractual relationship, (5) offices are allocated initially on the basis of achievement, that is, demonstrated technical qualifications, (6) the members of the association are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, (7) the office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary occupational activity of the incumbent, (8) there is a system of promotion according to seniority or to achievement or both, and promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors, (9) the bureaucrat is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 196-203.

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Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy are manifest in the structure of social relations in the case of governmental machinery of Mexico. But here we are concerned with cultural value standards and the extent of complexity and elaboration of social relations. The combination of these ideal-typical elements elaborated by Weber does appear to define a configuration of values, i.e., of features considered desirable, in Mexico with respect to the structure of governmental relations. The constitutional and legal framework defining the legitimate normative standards pertaining to the structure of social relations in government in Mexico does encompass such features as Weber enumerates. Moreover, public reaction to the flagrant violation of certain of these values may be taken as further evidence of their substantive social acceptance.[14]

It is important to note that although the culture defines these features as desirable they are not thereby necessarily articulated in the structure of social relations as role-expectations. The distinction between the normative and the existential orders must be kept in mind continually. It is to be noted, then, that at the cultural level there obtains a configuration of values defining the mode of bureaucratic structure in government as desirable. Furthermore, this culturally defined desirable mode of structuring social relations appears to manifest some degree of articulation at the level of the social system of governmental relations. With respect to the argument of this thesis, it is to be observed that the configuration of standards defining the

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[14] See Whetten, op. cit., especially Chapter XXI on Government in Mexico and pp. 545-554 with special attention to the mordida.

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Besides the bureaucratic rules pertaining to governmental offices, the sphere of governmental relations is predicated in part on cultural value standards taking the form of legal prescriptions. What is important here is that law norms, in the framework of Western legal institutions, are preeminently universalistic-type normative standards. Hence, to conceive of Mexico as possessing a cultural tradition in which universalistic-type value standards are of relative insignificance is to overlook major aspects of the culture. To be sure, law norms are not the exclusive value standards which pertain to the sphere of governmental relations. Value standards of custom and convention are also important elements of the cultural framework pertaining to governmental affairs. But it is important to understand that law norms constitute a basic framework of values pertaining to governmental relations, and these norms are of the universalistic type.

The sphere of Mexican governmental relations exhibits a high degree of structural differentiation and constitutes a large-scale instrumental complex. A vast bureaucracy administers governmental affairs at the federal level, while lesser scale bureaucracies operate within the jurisdictions of the states and municipios. It would be superfluous to attempt an enumeration of the myriad agencies occurring at the level of the federal government, much less at the state and municipio levels. However, some of the more important agencies of the federal government are organized around the recognized national needs

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of education, health, public works, finances, postal service, communications and transportation, public safety, military and naval forces. Certain nationalized industries also fall within the scope of government administration, most notably the petroleum and railroad industries.

It may be concluded, then, that a major configuration of values of the cultural tradition conforms to Parsons' universalistic-type category of value standards. However, to conclude that universalistic-type value standards obtain in the cultural tradition with respect to governmental affairs is not to assert that at the social system level universalistic-type role-expectations also obtain. The field data gathered by this study and to be presented in subsequent chapters constitute materials bearing upon the incidence of universalistic and particularistic types of role-expectations among certain classes of Mexicans.

Commerce and Industry

Legal norms and formal rules of office of a universalistic type, of course, pertain to social relational complexes other than that of government. The relatively large-scale industries referred to previously in this chapter represent instrumental complexes which are directly subject to a wide variety of legal norms and exhibit a pattern of bureaucratic values in the definition of offices. The involvement of the separate industrial enterprises in market complexes implies that they subscribe to a major configuration of universalistic-type value standards, i.e., a pricing system. In fact, the capitalistic economic exchange relationship, so strongly based on pricing systems

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Summary

In summary, this chapter has attempted to point out that there are exhibited in the structure of Mexican society major instrumental complexes organized on a relatively large scale. These complexes, moreover, manifest the characteristic of relatively high degrees of structural differentiation and segregation of social relations. It was indicated also that universalistic-type cultural value standards are associated with these large scale instrumental complexes. Furthermore, it is in the context of urban life that the large scale social organization, the pattern of sharp structural differentiation and segregation of social relations, and universalistic-type value standards are to be found in association. However, that there should be encountered universalistic-type value standards in Mexican culture does not necessitate that at the social system level there must likewise be found universalistic-type role-expectations. It has been the purpose

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[15] It is to be noted that not all economic exchange relationship complexes are based principally on the universalistic-type values of a pricing system. Examples of economic exchange relationships in which criteria other than prices are prominent or even predominant are available. The potlatch of the Northwest Coast Indian groups constitutes one such relationship which was not based on a pricing system. The form of exchange relationship in which the nature of the social contact itself is more highly valued than the exchange price, as appears to occur with some frequency among certain Guatemalan and other Indian groups, constitutes another example of pricing being secondary to other value considerations.

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CHAPTER IV

THE BEARING OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON THE GENERAL THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

This chapter will present a range of empirical findings bearing on the general theoretical implications discussed previously. Verification of each of the four propositions formulated above will be assessed by testing several pertinent hypotheses. The propositions will be examined in order.

The dominant national Mexican culture exhibits cognitive and value premises which are in large part evolved from Western Civilization, and it would be fatuous to suppose that universalistic-type value standards do not obtain as salient features of the culture. In order that the findings of this study may constitute an assessment of the implications of Parsons' theory that social role-expectations represent a more or less unmodified transposition of cultural value standards it must be admitted that both Mexican and United States cultures exhibit salient configurations of universalistic-type value standards. Given this assumption the study may proceed to a comparison to certain patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the subjects of the study. The proposition bearing upon this implication of the social system schema is stated below.

General Implications: Proposition I

The first proposition examined concerned the relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations. The argument

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advanced previously against Parsons' conception of this relationship, while believed accurate and compelling, would be enhanced by empirical findings which were congruent with it. Likewise, were the argument unsound, it could be denied by empirical finding which agreed with Parsons' conception of the relationship. This study's interpretation of Parsons' conception of the relationship is stated below in the form of Proposition I.

Proposition I

> Social role-expectations will represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards.

Having stated the proposition concerning the theoretical implication in which the study was interested, an hypothesis bearing upon the data gathered by the study was posed and tested. This hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis I

> If Proposition I is true, then both the group of Mexican students and the group of United States students will exhibit a predominance of universalistic-type role-expectations in their responses to the pattern variables scale items.

The most important empirical evidence gathered by this study which bears upon this hypothesis is to be found in the development of the two Guttman scales of universalism-particularism. These scales were discussed in detail in Chapter II. The fact that it was possible to arrange the responses of Mexican and United States students along a uni-dimensional continuum of universalism-particularism constitutes important relevant evidence which must be interpreted as failing to confirm Hypothesis I. The hypothesis is not confirmed by this evidence because the construction of the scales depended upon securing representatives from both

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The United States students exhibited a strong tendency to give universalistic-type responses to the test scale items, and were it not for the inclusion of the group of Mexican students it would not have been possible to develop a proper Guttman scale. The Mexican student group, on the other hand, exhibited a strong tendency to give particularistic-type responses to the test scale items. That the Mexican student group should exhibit a stronger strain toward particularistic-type role-expectations is a finding which does not conform to the theoretical implication. It is very important to note also that there was a considerable degree of overlap between the Mexican and United States groups on both of the scales of universalism-particularism. This is to be seen in the scale score distributions presented in Tables 6 and 7. Some Mexicans exhibited more universalistically oriented role-expectations than the United States students and, vice versa, some United States students exhibited more particularistically oriented role-expectations than some Mexican students.

It was believed that these findings could not be dismissed lightly. If it may be assumed that universalistic-type value standards obtain in both cultures with respect to the kinds of situations portrayed in the scale items, then it should not have been possible to construct Guttman scales because the students' role-expectations also ought to have been predominantly universalistic. Obviously, in an empirical operation of this nature, unanimity of response would not have been expected. It would not have been expected that all of the Mexican and United States students would respond to the test items in the same manner even if

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role-expectations were to represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards. Rather, there would be expected a margin of error which might be attributed to numerous factors only randomly associated with the response pattern, e.g., misinterpretation of the scale items, mistakes in marking the reply, and willful misrepresentation. But if this were the case then it still would not have been possible to construct Guttman scales because of the randomness of such variant responses.

These findings, then, must be construed as failing to support Proposition I and, hence, they cast doubt on the correctness of the theoretical formulation. A more adequate conceptualization of the relationship between social role-expectations and cultural value standards will be explored in a subsequent portion of this chapter.

General Implications: Proposition II

The social system schema's conceptualization of the relationship between types of role-expectations (as defined in terms of the pattern variables) and certain features of social structure was discussed above. The concern here is with the second proposition formulated above. This proposition is as follows:

Proposition II

> As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system, role-expectations will change from a predominance of particularism to a predominance of universalism.

This proposition was tested by reference to the empirical findings of the study. Without recourse to a detailed exposition, the assumption

was made that the social system of the United States exhibits a very high degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations. This assumption was conceived as pertaining especially to the sphere of instrumental exchange activities. It was assumed that in the United States the major activities of an instrumental nature are performed by roles which are differentiated and segregated from expressly family and locality group roles. It also was assumed that the social system of Mexico exhibits a considerable degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Various aspects of the structure of social relations in Mexico were examined in Chapter III, and it was pointed out that on the average the economy's operating units are smaller and less complex, with comparatively fewer persons involved than in the United States. The important point, however, is that the dominant national scene in Mexico may not be characterized as a folk-type system of social relations, but exhibits on a smaller scale many if not all of the urban-type features which characterize the United States.

With the above assumptions made explicit, an hypothesis was stated and the empirical findings of the study were examined for evidence of its confirmation. The hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis II

> If Proposition II is true (that universalistic-type role-expectations are a function of the degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system) then the United States student group will exhibit a greater tendency toward universalistic-type role-expectations than will the Mexican student group.

Scales I and II constituted the relevant empirical data for the testing of this hypothesis. If Hypothesis II holds, then the distribution of scale scores of the group of Mexican students will differ from that of the group of United States students, and the mean rank of the Mexican student group will be lower than that of the United States student group on Scales I and II.

Scale I, it will be recalled, deals with universalism-particularism and was constructed on the basis of items involving a conflict between the expectations of a familial role (that of brother) on the one hand, and "economic" or "bureaucratic" role on the other hand. To score high on this scale means to rank high on universalism and, vice versa, to score low means to rank low on universalism. A null hypothesis was posed that the distribution of the group of Mexican students does not differ significantly from the distribution of the groups of United States students on Scale I. This statistical hypothesis was tested by a chi-square test of significance and it was found that the chi-square was significant at the .001 level. (See Table 6.) Hence the null hypothesis was rejected and the inference was drawn that the distributions of the two groups on Scale I do differ significantly.

In order to determine which of the two groups were distributed nearer the universalistic end of the scale a ranking procedure was applied to the data with the following result. The Mexican students were found to have a mean rank of 252, while the United States students had a mean rank of 329 on Scale I. Thus, the ranking showed that the

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	76	86	90	59	30	341
United States	15	51	58	59	38	221
N	91	137	148	118	68	562

Chi-square = 36.7 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	23	84	107	110	63	387
United States	16	24	44	59	74	217
N	39	108	151	169	137	604

Chi-square = 36.7 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

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United States students ranked higher on universalism or further toward the universalistic end of the scale than did the Mexican students. Hence, it may be concluded that these data confirm the first hypothesis stated above, and support the implication that universalistic-type role-expectations are a function of the degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system.[1]

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[1] The ranking procedure is as follows. The scale scores of the total distribution were considered to be ranked from lowest to highest. Then each scale score was given as a rank the mid-point of the proportion it occupied of the total cumulative frequency. This may be illustrated with a dummy table as follows.

Groups	Scale Scores			
	I	II	III	Total
Mexican	5	10	5	20
United States	10	15	5	30

Scale Score	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Rank
I	15	15	7.5
II	25	40	27.5
III	10	50	45

The rank given each scale score was multiplied by the frequency of each group falling that category. Then the total of the rank of each group was divided by the total frequency of each group to find the mean rank.

	Mexican	United States
I	5 x 7.5 = 37.5	10 x 7.5 = 75
II	10 x 27.5 = 275	15 x 27.5 = 412.5
III	5 x 45 = 225	5 x 45 = 225
Total	537.5	712.5
Mean Rank	$\frac{537.5}{20}$ = 26.875	$\frac{712.5}{30}$ = 23.75

It will be recalled that Scale II also deals with the universalistic-particularistic dimension of role-expectations, and that it was constructed on the basis of items involving a conflict between the expectations of a friendship role on the one hand, and such other roles as student at an examination, witness at a law court, member of a student body, and a fourth role which might be termed "witness to an accident". To score high on this scale means that the respondent exhibited a proclivity to interpret universalistic-type role-expectations as binding his resolution of the role conflict. To score low on this scale means, of course, that the respondent exhibited a tendency toward the interpretation of particularistic-type role-expectations as binding. As in the case discussed above, a null hypothesis was posed and then submitted to a chi-square test of significance. It was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .001 level. See Table 7. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected, and the inference was drawn that the distributions of the two groups on Scale II do differ significantly.

A ranking procedure was then applied to the data to determine which of the groups was distributed closer to the universalistic end of Scale II. It was found that the Mexican students had a mean rank of 279, while the United States students had a mean rank of 243. Thus, the ranking showed that the United States students fall closer to the universalistic end of the scale than do the Mexicans. Hence, it may be concluded that these data also confirm Hypothesis II, and support Proposition II.

It was observed that the socio-cultural system of Mexico from which the Mexican subjects were drawn and that of the United States both

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It was observed that the socio-cultural system of Mexico from which the Mexican subjects were drawn and that of the United States both

exhibit relatively high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Hence, according to the theory, it would be expected that both the United States and Mexican students would exhibit relatively high incidences of universalistic-type role-expectations. The scale scores of both groups on the two scales of universalism-particularism showed that both groups did exhibit relatively high incidences of this type of role-expectation.

The significant test of the implication, however, revolved around the notion that, although both the Mexican and United States students were involved in socio-cultural systems exhibiting high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations, the socio-cultural system of the United States exhibits considerably higher degrees of differentiation and segregation than that of Mexico. Hence, it would be expected that the United States students would exhibit a higher incidence of universalistic-type role expectations than the Mexicans. The analysis showed that this was indeed the case and, thus, the findings were interpreted as supporting the theoretical implication at this general level.

General Implications: Proposition III

The third proposition stated earlier may now be examined. It reads as follows:

Proposition III

> As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the family to a predominance of self-orientation.

In order to verify this proposition an hypothesis was devised as follows:

Hypothesis III

> If Proposition III is true, then the United States student group will exhibit a greater tendency toward self-orientation than will the Mexican student group.

With respect to this hypothesis, Scale III constituted the relevant data. If this hypothesis holds, then the distribution of scale scores of the Mexican students will differ from that of the United States students and the Mexicans will rank lower than the United States students on Scale III. This scale, as was pointed out previously, deals with the self-collectivity orientation dimension of role-expectations. It was constructed of items involving a conflict between self interests and familial interests. To score high on this scale means to rank high on collectivity-orientation toward the family and to score low is to rank low on collectivity-orientation toward the family.

A null hypothesis was posed that the distribution of the Mexican student group does not differ significantly from the distribution of the United States student group on Scale III. See Table 8. This hypothesis was tested by a chi-square test of significance and it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .001 level. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected and the inference was drawn that the distributions of the two groups on Scale III do differ significantly.

In order to determine directionality, the same ranking procedure was applied to the data on Scale III as was done in the cases of the previous two scales. The Mexican students were found to have a mean

TABLE 8
DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	11	121	151	58	341
United States	40	108	54	10	212
N	51	229	205	68	553

Chi-square = 73.7 P less than .001, d.f. = 5

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	59	100	112	78	37	386
United States	17	39	58	52	46	212
N	76	139	170	130	83	598

Chi-square = 25.6 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

rank of 317, while the United States students had a mean rank of 211 on Scale III. Thus, the ranking showed that the United States students rank higher on self-orientation than the Mexican students. Hence, it may be concluded that these data confirm Hypothesis III, and support Proposition III, i.e., that collectivity-orientation toward the family is a function of the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system.

General Implications: Proposition IV

This proposition deals with the self-collectivity dimension of role-expectations in the context of the relationship of the individual to his peer group. The proposition is as follows:

Proposition IV

> As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of self-orientation to a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group.

In order to test this proposition the following hypothesis was formulated.

Hypothesis IV

> If Proposition IV is true then the United States students will exhibit a greater tendency toward collectivity-orientation toward the peer group than will the Mexican students.

The relevant empirical data for testing this hypothesis were constituted by Scale IV. This scale was constructed of items involving a conflict between self interests on the one hand and peer group interests on the other. To score high on this scale means that the respondent tended to select a collectivity-orientation resolution to the conflict

situations, while to score low means that the respondent tended to select self-orientation resolutions.

A null hypothesis was posed and submitted to a chi-square test of significance. It was found that the chi-square value on Scale IV was significant at the .001 level. See Table 9. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected and the inference was drawn that the distributions of the two groups on Scale IV do differ significantly.

A ranking procedure was applied to these data to determine directionality. The Mexican students were found to have a mean rank of 275 while the United States students had a mean rank of 343 on Scale IV. Thus, the ranking showed that the Mexican students rank higher on self-orientation than the United States students. Hence, it may be concluded that these data confirm Hypothesis IV, and the confirmation of this hypothesis lends support to Proposition IV, i.e., that collectivity-orientation toward the peer-group is a function of the degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system.

The foregoing analysis dealt with implications of the social system schema at a very general level, that of the relationship between types of social role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of role relationships in social systems. Three general propositions derived from the schema were tested against a limited range of empirical data. It was inferred that the empirical data presented by the study supported these three propositions and, hence, lend a measure of empirical confirmation to those sectors of the theory which were focused upon. The significance of these findings will be given attention in the summary to this chapter.

Summary

The analysis of the empirical data presented in this chapter has now been concluded. The first implication of the social system theory which was examined was that of the relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations. It was contended that Parsons posits too simplistic a relationship between these two orders. A proposition was formulated which attempted to articulate in concise terms the implications of the theory with respect to the relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations. This was called Proposition I. Next, an hypothesis bearing upon this proposition was formulated and tested against the empirical data. These empirical data consisted of the two pattern variables scales of universalism-particularism (Scales I and II). It was noted that the development of these scales depended upon the inclusion of representatives of the United States and Mexico. It was not possible to construct a Guttman scale of universalism-particularism based solely on either the United States student population or the Mexican student population. Further, it was noted that both the United States and Mexico exhibit important configurations of universalistic-type value standards applicable to the situations portrayed in the scale items. It was reasoned that were social role-expectations to represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards, then both the United States student group and the Mexican student group should have exhibited a predominance of universalistic-type role-expectations. Had this indeed been the case it, of course, would not have been possible to construct successfully the

two Guttman scales of universalism-particularism on this population. The scales were constructed, however, and they met all of the criteria of scalability prescribed by Guttman. Moreover, the distribution of both the Mexican and United States students throughout all of the scale-types on each of the pattern variables scales was interpreted as constituting conclusive evidence which failed to support Proposition I.

It was concluded, then, that the theoretical implication that social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards may not be considered confirmed by the empirical data presented in this chapter. On the contrary, the empirical data strongly urge the rejection of any simplistic conception of the relationship between these two orders and call for a reformulation of Parsons' conceptualisations. Parsons' position tends to assume that cultural value standards are transposed relatively unmodified into social role-expectations. In doing so the form and results of system analysis tend to be predetermined. When the position is taken that social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards, system analysis is led to disregard the differences between these two orders or consider any differences observed as merely random events. Another important ramification of such a position is that the system analysis will tend to equate these two orders. Thus, if it is determined by analysis that universalistic-type value standards obtain at the cultural level with respect to a class of social relationships the simple transpositional view will tend to assume that universalistic-type role-expectations will also

obtain among the population bearing such a culture. Parsons himself disregards the differences between social role-expectations and cultural value standards in his comparison of the United States and Latin America.

It is suggested, then, that if the relationship between the existential and normative orders were conceived of as a question of the extent of their convergence toward one another or divergence away from one another then the theory might be enhanced by relieving it of a theoretical implication which predetermines and tends to bias the analysis of substantive social reality. If the theory were to conceive of the relationship between social role-expectations and cultural value standards as a question of their convergence or divergence, then the relationship between these orders in any given empirical instance clearly need not be pre-judged. On the contrary, the relationship then becomes problematical and a matter of significant empirical concern. With this view, the relationship between cultural value standards and social role-expectations emerges as an important focus of the maintenance of stability and order as well as a source of change in a socio-cultural system.

Parsons' view of the maintenance of stability and order and of the initiation of social and cultural change lays heavy emphasis upon the personality system of the individual actor and upon the diadic social relationship. As a result of this he achieves a rather high degree of closure in his schematic conceptualization, but the schema itself tends to become overly static. Problems of social change tend to be anchored too exclusively in processes obtaining in the personality

systems of actors. Whereas it must be admitted that there may be personality correlates of the socio-cultural system, that the personalities involved in a given socio-cultural system must adapt to it in some viable form, it is questionable whether an understanding of the explicitly social aspects of large scale human groups may best be achieved by laying such a heavy emphasis upon personality features.

By considering the relationship between normative and existential orders as problematic a way is opened for introducing a more dynamic character to the social system schema. This view brings into the purview of the theory the role of innovation, for example, in technology, as a focus of disjuncture between the existential and normative orders of a social system, or at least that sub-sector of a society most intimately concerned with the given technological innovation. Although this view in itself may scarcely be considered novel, it is of considerable importance to Parsons' schema to lay more emphasis upon it if the schema is to embrace a more dynamic view of socio-cultural systems. The point which we wish to stress is not that role-expectations and value standards may never stand in an approximately unmodified relationship to one another, but that this might be expected to occur only under rather special conditions. Parsons' conception of the relationship between these two orders would seem most likely to apply to the small scale, isolated, non-literate society. In view of the empirical findings presented in this chapter, then, it may be concluded that the implication that social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards may not be maintained

except as a special case. Hence, it is urged that the theory adopt a position which treats the relationship between these two orders as problematical.

In addition to the above implication, this chapter also assessed certainly explicitly sociological implications of the theory against a range of empirical data bearing directly upon these implications. One of the major criticisms leveled against the social system theory is that it is too abstract and stands largely unconfirmed by empirical analysis. Thus, it was hoped that the findings of this study might achieve a measure of empirical confirmation of certain sectors of the theory. Since the theory is presented by Parsons largely in a discursive form it was found necessary to formulate several propositions based on the implications of his discussion. There were also examined in this chapter, then, three propositions concerning the relationship between types of social role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. Hypotheses predicated on these propositions were formulated and tested against the empirical data gathered by the study.

The first of these was proposition II which stated that, as the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system, role-expectations will change from a predominance of particularism to a predominance of universalism. The assumptions were made that both the United States and Mexico exhibit high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations, but that the United States ranks considerably higher in this respect than Mexico.

Hence, it was reasoned that if Proposition II were true, then the United States student group would exhibit a greater tendency toward universalistic-type role-expectations than would the Mexican student group. The subsequent analysis of the Mexican and United States students' scale scores on pattern variables Scales I and II showed that the United States students did exhibit a greater tendency toward universalistic-type role-expectation than the Mexican students. Thus, the hypothesis was considered confirmed, and it was inferred that Proposition II was supported by these data.

The next implication of the theory which was examined was formulated in Proposition III. This proposition stated that as the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the family to a predominance of self-orientation. It was reasoned that if this proposition were true, then the United States students would exhibit a greater tendency toward self-orientation than would the Mexican students. The analysis showed that the United States students did exhibit a greater tendency toward self-orientation than the Mexicans. Thus, in this case also, the hypothesis was confirmed and it was inferred that Proposition III was supported by the data.

The final implication of the theory examined in this chapter was formulated in Proposition IV. This proposition stated that, as the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system, role-expectations will change from a predominance

of self-orientation to a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group. Again, it was reasoned that if this proposition were true, then the United States students would exhibit a greater tendency toward collectivity-orientation toward the peer group than would the Mexicans. In this case also, the hypothesis was confirmed. The analysis showed that the United States students did exhibit a greater tendency toward collectivity-orientation toward the peer group than did the Mexican students. Hence, it was inferred that Proposition IV also is supported by the data.

It is to be noted that the inferences drawn from the analysis of the empirical data were interpreted as supporting Propositions II, III, and IV. These data are considered to support these propositions but not to prove them true. In formal logic a universally stated proposition may be proved false by a single case of disconfirmation. Thus, Proposition I was considered false in view of the nature of the inferences drawn from the analysis of the empirical data. On the other hand, all cases of the class to which a universal proposition pertains must support that proposition if it is to be proved true. Since these propositions pertain to all of the class referred to as social systems, the data of this study cannot prove them true but may, at best, only support them. The data presented here derive from the members of only two social systems, i.e., the United States and Mexico. Hence, we are limited in our conclusions to the statement that the data support Propositions II, III, and IV but do not prove them true. Nevertheless, this is the mode by which the scientific method must necessarily proceed, and

hence, it seems warranted to contend that a measure of empirical confirmation of Parsons' theory has been achieved.

Propositions II, III, and IV pertain to the relationship between types of social role-expectations exhibited by persons and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations obtaining in the social system in which these persons are participating members. It is recognized, of course, that to focus upon the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system is to refer to a highly generalized feature of social structure. The notion comprehends an admittedly gross feature and, without further specification, would seem of greatest utility in the comparative analysis of relatively different social systems. While differences in the incidence of role-expectation types were noted as between the Mexican and United States students on each of the pattern variables scales, it was observed also that a wide range of role-expectation types was exhibited within each of these groups. It appears clear, then, that some factors subsumed under this general notion need further specification in order to carry the analysis to a point where it more adequately comprehends these intra-group differences in role-expectations types.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ROLE-EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES STUDENT GROUP

The previous chapter dealt with implications of the social system theory at a very general level and involved a comparative analysis of the types of role-expectations exhibited by members of two distinct socio-cultural systems, i.e., the United States and Mexico. Although the analysis was interpreted as supporting the propositions under examination, it was noted that a wide range of role-expectation types was exhibited by the members of both the United States and Mexican student groups. Hence, it is implied that factors sub-sumed under the general notion pertaining to the relationship between social role-expectations and the extent of differentiation of social relations in a social system must account for such findings. The interest of this chapter is in attempting to isolate factors which more adequately might account for the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by the United States students.

Considering the ethnically complex nature of the United-States-Mexican border, it would seem likely that ethnic status within the United States student group might be a factor related to the types of role-expectations exhibited by these students. This chapter will examine the ethnic composition of the United States students to determine if ethnicity may be a factor accounting in some measure for the wide range of role-expectations exhibited by the United States student group.

A first approximation to the segregation of the United States students and Anglo-Americans on the pattern variables scales, and the mean rank of the Spanish-Americans should fall in an intermediate position between those of the other two groups. This, in turn, would account in some measure for the distribution of the total United States student group along the whole length of the scales instead of piling up at opposite ends from those of the Mexican group.

In order to examine this notion the United States students were sub-divided into two groups, one composed of Spanish-name students and the other of non-Spanish-name students. By the sub-division of the United States into two groups a rough comparison may be made of the Anglo-American, Spanish-American, and Mexican students on each of the pattern variable scales. Null hypotheses were posed that the distributions of scale scores of the Anglo-American, Spanish-American, and Mexican groups do not differ significantly from one another. These statistical hypotheses were tested on each of the pattern variable scales by a chi-square test of significance. The distributions of the scale scores of these three groups on Scales I, II, III, and IV are shown in Tables 10, 11, 12 and 13, respectively.

With respect to the distribution of the scale scores of these three groups on Scale I (universalism versus particularism) it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .001 level. See Table 10. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected, and the inference was drawn that the distribution of the scale scores of the three groups do differ significantly from one another. Thus, it may be inferred

TABLE 10
DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	76	86	90	59	30	341
Anglo-American	9	25	28	31	11	104
Spanish-American	6	26	30	28	27	117
N	91	137	148	118	68	562

Chi-square = 45.2 P less than .001, d.f. = 12

TABLE 11
DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	23	84	107	110	63	387
Anglo-American	9	14	21	28	29	101
Spanish-American	7	10	23	31	45	116
N	39	108	151	169	137	604

Chi-square = 38.1 P less than .001, d.f. = 12

that the factor of ethnicity is associated with the distribution of scale scores, i.e., with the degree of universalistic-type role-expectations exhibited by the students. A ranking procedure was applied to the scale score distributions in Table 10, and it was found that the Spanish-American students had a mean rank of 341, the Anglo-Americans a mean rank of 309, and the Mexican students a mean rank of 252.

It may be seen from the mean ranks that the Spanish-American group ranks highest on universalism, the Anglo-American group second highest, and the Mexican group, of course, lowest. Now, while it was suggested that ethnic status within the United States student group might be a factor associated with the types of role-expectations exhibited by the American students, the notion that the Spanish-American sub-group may stand in an intermediate position between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans is not supported by the data of Scale I. That the Spanish-American group should exhibit a higher degree of universalistic-type role-expectations than the Anglo-American group constitutes an unanticipated finding which will be explored in greater detail below.

With respect to the distribution of the scale scores of the Spanish-American and Anglo-American groups on Scale II (universalism-particularism) it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .001 level. See Table 11. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected and the conclusion was drawn that the distributions of the scale scores of Spanish-Americans, Anglo-Americans and Mexicans do differ significantly. It may be inferred, then, that the factor of ethnic statis is associated with the distributions of scale scores on Scale II, i.e., with the degree

of universalistic-type role-expectations exhibited. The mean ranks were calculated, and it was found that the Spanish-Americans had a rank of 363, the Anglo-Americans a rank of 321, and the Mexicans a rank of 279. Thus, again, the mean rank of the Spanish-Americans was found to be considerably higher than that of the Anglo-Americans and of course, much higher than that of the Mexican group. This finding, then, does not conform to the notion that the Spanish-Americans stand in an intermediate position between the Mexican and Anglo-American groups owing to a condition of partial assimilation. The significance of this finding will be discussed below.

Attention was turned next to the distributions of scale scores of the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans on Scale III. (self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the family). It was found that the chi-square value of Table 12 is significant at the .001 level. Hence, as in the preceding cases, the null hypothesis was rejected and the conclusion was drawn that the distributions of scale scores of the Spanish-American, Anglo-American, and Mexican student groups do differ significantly. It may be inferred, then, that the factor of ethnicity is associated with the distribution of scale scores on Scale III, i.e., with the extent of collectivity-orientation toward the family. However, the calculation of the mean ranks for each group showed only a negligible rank order difference between the Spanish-American and Anglo-American groups. While the Spanish-Americans ranked higher in terms of collectivity-orientation toward the family than did the Anglo-Americans, the rank order difference was very small. The mean rank of the

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	11	121	151	58	341
Anglo-American	22	54	24	7	107
Spanish-American	18	54	30	3	105
N	51	229	205	68	553

Chi-square = 75.7 P less than .001, d.f. = 9

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	59	100	112	78	37	386
Anglo-American	3	17	28	30	29	107
Spanish-American	14	22	30	22	17	105
N	76	139	170	130	83	598

Chi-square = 36.8 P less than .001, d.f. = 12

Anglo-Americans was 208, that of the Spanish-Americans was 214, and that of the Mexicans was 317. Although the difference is small, it is worth noting that the Spanish-Americans ranked closer to the family-orientation end of the scale than did the Anglo-Americans. The Mexican group, of course, ranked considerably further toward the family-orientation end of the scale than either of the other two groups. This finding does conform to the notion that the Spanish-American group might occupy an intermediate position between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. However, the rank differences between each of the groups on Scale III appear to be exceedingly small. Hence, it is believed that no definitive significance may be attached to this finding. A more detailed analysis of this scale will be presented in a subsequent chapter.

The distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-American, Anglo-American and Mexican students on Scale IV (self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the peer group) are shown in Table 13. The chi-square value of these districutions was found to be significant at the .001 level and, hence, the null hypothesis was rejected. The conclusion was drawn that the distributions of the scale scores of the three groups do differ significantly. Hence, it was inferred that the factor of ethnic status is associated with the distributions of scale scores on Scale IV. The ranking procedure showed that the mean ranks of the three groups on this scale were as follows: Anglo-American group highest with a mean rank of 380, Mexican group lowest with a mean rank of 275, and Spanish-American group about mid-way between the others with a mean rank of 306. It is to be noted that this finding

Table 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC STATUS AND MEAN RANK SCORES ON EACH OF THE PATTERN VARIABLES SCALES

Scale I		Scale II		Scale III		Scale IV	
Ethnic Status	Mean Rank Score	Ethnic Status	Mean Rank Score	Ethnic Status	Mean Rank Score	Ethnic Status	Mean Rank Score
Spanish-American	341	Spanish-American	363	Spanish-American	217	Spanish-American	380
Angle-American	309	Angle-American	321	Angle-American	214	Angle-American	306
Mexican	252	Mexican	279	Mexican	208	Mexican	275

does conform to the notion presented earlier, that the Spanish-American group might be expected to stand in an intermediate position between the Mexican and Anglo-American student groups. Table 14 provides a summary statement of the findings discussed above. An interpretation of these findings will be presented in the summary to this chapter.

Ethnic Status Within the Spanish-American Group

The nature of the findings discussed above indicated the need for further examination of the Spanish-American group. The previous analysis was predicated on the notion that the Spanish-Americans might be treated as an ethnic unity standing in an intermediate acculturative position between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. That analysis, however, showed that no such simple view of the ethnic status of the Spanish-Americans may be entertained with respect to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by this group. These students, while sharing certain ethnic traits in common such as Spanish name, residence in a Spanish-American neighborhood, association with Spanish-American peers, and descent from Mexican parentage, do not share a uniform ethnic background in all respects. Thus, the notion was suggested that differences in the ethnic status or acculturative backgrounds of the Spanish-American students might be related to the patterns of role-expectations which they exhibit. Given this notion, it followed that some means of sub-dividing this group according to ethnic status or acculturative backgrounds was called for.

In searching for criteria which might reflect different ethnic

statuses or acculturative backgrounds within the Spanish-American group three traits were deemed of considerable importance. These were (1) length of residence in the United States, (2) mother's place of birth, and (3) language spoken to parents. A discussion of the reasons favoring selection of these traits as criteria reflecting different ethnic status backgrounds will be presented below. Given these three traits, however, a typology may be constructed. The chief interest in constructing such a typology was to provide the study with a rough scale of ethnicity. Thus, what was needed was a series of ethnic status types which reflect potential assimilation into the ways of the dominant Anglo-American society. The combination of these traits into one of the polar types should, then, represent a minimum of potential assimilation, and the other combinations of traits should form a series of types progressing toward higher levels of potential assimilation.

The first trait selected for construction of the typology was that of length of residence in the United States. This was deemed an important differentiating trait with respect to ethnicity in that the Spanish-American group included students who themselves were first generation immigrants from Mexico, having immigrated to the United States within a period of relatively few years prior to the time that the study was conducted. Others were second generation immigrants, having been born in the United States of immigrant parents. Finally, some of the students were descended from families which had lived in the United States for several generations. Upon examination of the responses it was found that a natural breaking point occurred between those of "less

than eight years residence in the United States" and those of "more than eight years residence in the United States."

The second trait selected for construction of the typology was that of the place of birth of the respondent's mother, i.e., Mexico or the United States. Mother's place of birth was selected over that of father because of the relatively numerous responses indicating that the father's place of birth was unknown. This category, then, was dichotomized into the classes of "mother born in the United States", and "mother born in Mexico". Mother's place of birth was considered an important trait to include in the construction of the typology because of the potential effect which this might have upon the home life of the child. Were the parent born in Mexico it reasonably might be expected that there would be a stronger Mexican milieu in the home than if the parent were born in the United States.

The third trait selected was that of the language which the student speaks to his parents. This trait was trichotomized into the categories "English spoken to parents", "Spanish spoken to parents", and "both English and Spanish spoken to parents". This trait was deemed important to include in the typology for several reasons. Language habits in themselves reflect ethnicity. By definition one's social relation patterns cannot be fully assimilated to the dominant Anglo-American ways of this society if Spanish is spoken in the home. Moreover, language is not merely a means of communication but is also formulative of attitudes, especially attitudes about social relationships.

The combinations of these traits will produce a total of twelve

types, but only five of the possible combinations are relevant to the Spanish-American students included in the study.

The Spanish-American group was first dichotomized into the categories "lived less than eight years in the United States" and "lived eight years or more in the United States". Then each of these two categories was dichotomized into the categories "mother born in Mexico" and "mother born in United States". Finally, each of these latter categories was trichotomized into the categories "Spanish spoken to parents", "English spoken to parents", and "both Spanish and English spoken to parents." Table 15 shows these combinations of traits, and also indicates which ones were selected as scale types for analysis. Ethnic status type T_1 was conceived as representing the minimum of potential assimilation into the dominant Anglo-American patterns of social relations, and ethnic status type T_7 was conceived as representing the highest potential of assimilation.

Table 15

TYPOLOGY OF ETHNIC TRAITS

Length of residence in United States	Less than 8 years						8 years or more					
Mother's place of birth	Mexico			U.S.			Mexico			U.S.		
Language spoken to parents	S*	E*	B*	S	E	B	S	E	B	S	E	B
Scale-type number designation	T_1						T_2	T_4	T_3	T_5	T_7	T_6

* S = Spanish, E = English, B = Both English and Spanish

Once having constructed this typology an analysis was undertaken to determine the extent of association between the distributions of scale scores of the students on each of the pattern variable scales and the different ethnic types. Table 16 shows the distributions of scale scores of the Spanish-American students by ethnic types on Scale I. A null hypothesis was posed that the distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-American students by ethnic types do not differ from one another. This hypothesis was tested by a chi-square test of significance, and the chi-square value was not significant. Hence, the null hypothesis was accepted, and the inference was drawn that these ethnic type differences are not related to the students' role-expectation patterns. Since the null hypothesis was accepted, it was not warranted to calculate the mean rank order of the ethnic types on Scale I.

A null hypothesis was posed with respect to Scale II, and submitted to a chi-square test of significance. The chi-square value of these distributions on Scale II was not significant, hence the null hypothesis was not rejected. It was inferred that the ethnic types are not related to the role expectation patterns exhibited by the students on Scale II. See Table 17.

A null hypothesis was also posed with respect to Scale IV and tested by a chi-square test of significance. The chi-square value of the distributions on Scale IV was also considered not significant, and so it was inferred that the ethnic types are not related to the patterns of role expectations exhibited by the students in this dimension. See Table 18.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC STATUS TYPES OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnicity Type*	Scale Type**		
	I & II & III	IV & V	N
T_2	8	8	16
T_4	10	10	20
T_5	4	5	9
T_6	19	19	38
T_7	11	7	18
N	52	49	101

Chi-square = .8 P less than .99, d.f. = 7

* Explanation of ethnic types may be found in Table 15. The present table does not include ethnic types T_1 and T_3 due to insufficient numbers for chi-square analysis.

** Pattern variables scale types I, II, and III have been collapsed in this table, as well as types IV and V.

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC STATUS TYPES OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnicity Type*	Scale Type**		
	I, II, III	IV & V	N
T_2	10	7	17
T_4	9	10	19
T_6	21	9	30
T_7	16	4	20
N	56	30	86
Chi-square = 13.2		P less than .02, d.f. = 5	

* Explanation of ethnic types may be found in Table 15. The present table does not include ethnic types T_1, T_3 and T_5 due to insufficient numbers for chi-square analysis.

** Pattern variables scale types I, II and III have been collapsed in this table, as well as types IV and V.

The distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-American students by ethnic types on Scale III (self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward family) appeared to be the only scale on which these ethnic types were associated with types of role-expectations exhibited by the students. A null hypothesis was posed, and a chi-square test of significance was applied. The chi-square value was 13.2 and is significant at the .02 level. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected. It was inferred that the distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-Americans do differ according to ethnic types. Since the distributions of the scale scores may be considered different, the mean ranks were calculated. Table 19 (Scale III) consists of four ethnic traits rather than seven, for it was necessary to leave out of the table Ethnic Types 1, 3 and 5 because they included insufficient numbers for the calculation of a chi-square test. It was found that Ethnic Type 4 ranked highest on collectivity-orientation toward the family, with an average rank of 50.6, Ethnic Type 2 ranked second highest with a rank of 45.7, Ethnic Type 6 ranked third highest with a rank of 40.9, and Ethnic Type 7 ranked lowest with an average rank of 36.6.

Now, although the findings in the case of Scale III above may not be dismissed, their interpretation is not readily accomplished. That Ethnic Type 4 should rank higher than Ethnic Type 2 on collectivity orientation toward the family is an unanticipated finding. The construction of the types was based on the premise that certain combinations of traits would render ethnic scale types which differed

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC STATUS TYPES OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnicity Type*	Scale Type**			
	I & II	III	IV & V	N
T_2	8	3	6	17
T_4	11	5	3	19
T_5	2	4	5	11
T_6	9	8	13	30
T_7	6	6	8	20
N	36	26	35	97

Chi-square = 8.8 P less than .80, d.f. = 12

* Explanation of ethnic types may be found in Table 15. The present table does not include ethnic types T_1 and T_3 due to insufficient numbers for chi-square analysis.

** Pattern variables scale types I and II have been collapsed in this table, as well as types IV and V.

from one another in terms of degrees of ethnicity. Ethnic Type 4, of the typology should represent a lesser degree of Spanish-American ethnicity than Ethnic Type 2, and yet Ethnic Type 4 ranks higher on collectivity-orientation toward the family. This is surprising because collectivity-orientation toward the family appears to be a differentiating characteristic of the Spanish-American group as compared with the Anglo-American group. With this exception, however, the average rank scores of the four Ethnic Type groups do appear to follow the pattern of "the greater the degree of ethnicity, the greater the degree of collectivity-orientation toward the family."

It is to be noted, of course, that on only one of the four pattern variables scales does there appear an association between ethnic status types and types of role-expectations which the students exhibited. Although in the case of Scale III an association between ethnic status types and role-expectations types was found, this single finding may scarcely be considered to imply that there exists a strong and pervasive relationship between the ethnic status background of the Spanish-American students and the types of social role-expectations which they exhibited.[1]

Summary

The preceding analysis was undertaken in an attempt to determine if ethnic status within the United States student group might be a factor

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[1] Each of the traits comprising the scale of ethnicity was examined separately to determine if they differentiated the patterns of role-expectations of the students. None of the traits taken alone appears to differentiate.

related to the types of role-expectations exhibited by these students. The wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by the United States student group was not accounted for adequately by the general implications of the theory examined in the previous chapter. Hence, it was suggested that factors sub-sumed under the theoretical notion pertaining to the relationship between types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system must account for the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited. It was then suggested that the ethnically heterogeneous composition of the United States student group might account for the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by this group. Given a knowledge that Spanish-Americans retain in some measure social and cultural traits of Mexico, the notion was presented that such a socio-cultural affinity also might be reflected in the role-expectations types exhibited by the Spanish-American students. Thus, it was reasoned that the role-expectations types exhibited by the Spanish-American student group might fall in an intermediate position between those of the Mexican and Anglo-American groups. Were this the case then the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by the total United States group would have been accounted for more adequately within the framework of the theory.

The analysis showed, however, that only in the case of Scale IV (collectivity-orientation toward the peer group) did the Spanish-American group definitely rank in an intermediate position between the Mexican and Anglo-American groups. See Table 14 for a summary of this finding and those referred to immediately below. In the case of Scale

III (collectivity-orientation toward the family) the Spanish-American group did rank in an intermediate position between the other two groups, but the differences between the ranks of the three groups were so small that it seemed unwarranted to attach any definitive significance to the findings. On the other hand, in the case of Scale I (universalistic orientation toward brother) and Scale II (universalistic orientation toward friend) the Spanish-American group did not rank in an intermediate position between the other two groups. On the contrary, the Spanish-American group ranked higher on each of these two scales than either the Mexican or Anglo-American groups. Moreover, the Spanish-American group ranked at the opposite end of these scales from the Mexican group.

Two principal conclusions may be drawn from these findings. First, they show that the Spanish-American group did exhibit a pattern of role-expectations different from those of both the Anglo-American and Mexican groups on each of the pattern variables scales. Thus, it seems warranted to infer that ethnic status within the United States student group is a factor related to the types of role-expectations exhibited by these students. Second, it may be inferred that the Spanish-American group does not stand in any simple intermediate acculturative position between the Mexican and Anglo-American groups with respect to the dimensions of role-expectations examined by this study.

These findings, then, clearly bear upon the notion that ethnic status within the United States student group may be a factor accounting for the wide range of role-expectations exhibited by this group. The finding that the Spanish-American group's scale score distributions

differed from and ranked considerably higher than the Anglo-American group's on Scales I and II indicates that the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by the total United States group is accounted for in some measure by the "spreading" effect of the Spanish-American group. While it is curious that the Spanish-American group should tend to spread the scale score distributions of the total United States group toward the universalistic end of these two scales, this is not a consideration bearing on the present question. This matter will be examined later. The spreading effect of the Spanish-American group is again apparent in Scales III and IV, although it appears to have little effect in the former.

This chapter also examined the relationship between social role-expectations and certain ethnic differences within the Spanish-American group. The purpose here was to determine if certain combinations of ethnic traits manifested among these students might be associated with the patterns of role-expectations which they exhibited on the pattern variables scales. It was hoped that by sub-dividing the Spanish-American group into several ethnic status types a more sensitive index of ethnicity might be achieved and, thus, a more thorough analysis of the relationship between ethnicity and patterns of role-expectations might be carried out.

In conclusion, then, the findings of the chapter may be interpreted as indicated that ethnic status differences within the United States student group do constitute a differentiating factor with respect to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited on the pattern variables

scales. The Spanish-American group exhibited a distribution of scale scores on all of the pattern variables scales which was significantly different from those of both the Anglo-American and Mexican groups. The findings, however, do not conform to the notion that the Spanish-American group stands in an intermediate acculturative position between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. On the contrary, the Spanish-American students ranked higher than the Anglo-Americans on both Scale I (universalistic orientation toward brother) and Scale II (universalistic orientation toward friend). Moreover, an examination of selected features of the ethnic status backgrounds of the Spanish-American students did not reveal a pervasive relationship between these ethnic differences and the types of role-expectations exhibited by the students.

While the analysis indicates that ethnic status within the United States group is related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the American students, the finding that the Spanish-Americans rank higher than the Anglo-Americans on two pattern variables scales was unanticipated and remains unexplained by the data of this chapter. Furthermore, the precise manner in which the factor of ethnic status may be sub-sumed under the general notion pertaining to the relationship between social role-expectations and the extent of differentiation of social relations in a social system remains to be explored.

CHAPTER VI

A FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE-EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNIC STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES STUDENT GROUP

This chapter will present a further examination of the relationship between social role-expectations and ethnic status in the United States student group. First, a summary discussion will be presented of several views pertaining to the ethnic composition of the Spanish-Americans in the United States. A discussion will follow this, outlining a conception that ethnic status differences within the Spanish-American group may be reflected by the variable of language spoken to peers. These notions, in turn, will lead to the presentation of further analysis of the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the Spanish-Americans on each of the four pattern variables scales. Finally, a further test of the association between ethnicity and social role-expectations will be presented. This will consist of a comparison of the role-expectations patterns of the different Spanish-American sub-groups with those of the Anglo-Americans and Mexicans. A summary of the findings will be presented at the end of the chapter.

The previous chapter undertook to determine if the wide range of role-expectations types exhibited by the United States student group might be accounted for in some measure by a "spreading" effect introduced by the Spanish-American students. It was inferred from the analysis that the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the Spanish-

American students did appear to have such an effect. Hence, it was interpreted that ethnic differences within the United States student group constitute a class of factors related to the types of social role-expectations exhibited by these students. Put in a more generic form, ethnic status differences within a social system characterized by a high degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations may be seen to constitute a class of factors related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the members of such a system. However, it was noted that, while ethnic status appears to be related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the students, the notion that the Spanish-American group stands in an intermediate acculturative position between the Anglo-Americans and Mexicans is untenable. Hence, a further examination of the Spanish-American group is called for, and a specification of ethnic status differences within this group is needed if the role-expectations patterns which these students exhibited are to be comprehended more adequately by the social system theory. It is to this problem that the study now turns.

From the evidence available in the literature, it seems warranted to assume that not all Spanish-name persons are equally integrated into the life-ways of what is loosely referred to as the Spanish-American ethnic enclave in the Southwest of the United States. Likewise, it may be assumed that not all Spanish-name persons equally identify with the patterns of social relations which characterize this ethnic complex. Numerous studies support these views.

Simmons'[1] work with Mexican-Americans in South Texas shows that this ethnic group exhibits wide variation in social relations patterns. He identifies what may be considered a traditional core of the ethnic group as well as a sector which exhibits a high degree of acceptance of the dominant Anglo-American patterns. In addition, however, there may be identified a sector of the Spanish-American group which exhibits "deviant patterns" of social relations, i.e., patterns not fully congruent with either those of the traditional core or those of the dominant Anglo-Americans. Broom and Shevky[2] also have examined the problem of social differentiation as it involves Spanish-name persons in the United States, and their findings also indicate that the Spanish-American ethnic group may be sub-divided into at least the three categories mentioned above.

Jones[3] indicates some of the problems faced by the public schools in handling social relations involving Spanish-American students, and it may be interpreted that different degrees or stages of adaptation to the school pattern are exhibited by these students according to the extent to which they are integrated into the traditional ethnic patterns or the dominant Anglo-American patterns of social relations.

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1 Ozzie Simmons, Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas, A Study in Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1952.

2 Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, Mexicans in the United States: A Problem in Social Differentiation, Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 36, January, 1952, pp. 150-158.

3 Robert Jones, Mexican Youth in the U.S., The American Teacher, Vol. 28, March, 1944, pp. 11-15.

Tuck,[4] Watson and Samora,[5] Humphreys,[6] and Senter[7] each, in treating the particular problem with which his paper was concerned, cast some light on different features of the composition of the Spanish-American or Mexican-American ethnic enclave in the United States. A central implication of what these writers have said is that the Spanish-American ethnic group may not be thought of as a unitary social entity, but rather that it is composed of persons differentiated from one another according to the extent of their integration into the traditional ethnic life-ways or into the dominant Anglo-American patterns of social relations.

Language Spoken to Peers as an Index
of Ethnic Status Differences among
the Spanish-Americans

Considering the views cited above, the Spanish-Americans may not be thought of as an ethnic unity. They may be divided into at least three major sub-groups according to the extent of their integration into the dominant Anglo-American society. These sub-groups may be conceived as sectors of the very broad Spanish-American ethnic class. Within this class, then, there can be identified "traditional",

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4 Ruth Tuck, Not With the First: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949.

5 James B. Watson and Julian Samora, Subordinate Leadership in a Bicultural Community: An Analysis, American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, No. 4, August, 1954, pp. 413-421.

6 Norman Humphrey, The Cultural Background of the Mexican Emigrant, Rural Sociology, Vol. 13, 1948, pp. 239-246.

7 Donovan Senter, Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of other Spanish-speaking Americans, Rural Sociology, Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 310-347.

"assimilated", and "deviant" sectors. Given these notions pertaining to the ethnic differentiation of the Spanish-Americans it was deemed pertinent to determine whether ethnic status differences of this order might be related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the students.

While the combinations of traits composing the ethnic status typology presented in the previous chapter included the variable of language spoken to parents, it did not include that of language spoken to peers. It was suggested, then, that the language spoken to peers by the Spanish-American students might reflect ethnic status differences more adequately than did the previously discussed typology. Moreover, considering the notions cited above with respect to the ethnic status differences among Spanish-Americans the categories of this variable are particularly appropriate. This variable may be subdivided into the categories of "Spanish spoken to peers", "English spoken to peers", and "both English and Spanish spoken to peers". Thus, the notion that the ethnic status differences among Spanish-Americans which were discussed above may be reflected by the variable of language spoken to peers is immediately suggested.

In considering the variable of language spoken to peers as an index of ethnicity, it was posited that the trait of speaking Spanish to peers implies integration or identification with the traditional ethnic complex of social relations. On the other hand, it was posited that speaking English to peers implies integration or identification with the dominant Anglo-American patterns of social relations. This English-

speaking group, then, may be thought of as an assimilated sector of the general Spanish-American ethnic class. Finally, it was posited that the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers implies integration into or identification with a deviant pattern of social relations. It was reasoned that if these notions with respect to the relationship between language spoken to peers and ethnic status differences are correct, then the variable of language spoken to peers should differentiate the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the Spanish-American students. Operationally, this means that the scale score distributions of the Spanish-speaking, English-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups will differ significantly from one another on the pattern variables scales. Furthermore, the mean rank order of these language sub-groups will conform to the rank order patterns exhibited in the previous analyses of the Anglo-American group and the total Spanish-American group. The specification of the expected mean rank order of these language sub-groups on each of the pattern variables scales will be made clear in the discussion below.

Specification of the Relationship Between Ethnic Group Integration or Identification and Types of Role-Expectations

It will be recalled that the distributions of the total Spanish-American group and those of the Anglo-Americans differed significantly on all four of the pattern-variable scales. See Tables 10, 11, 12, 13. The Spanish-American group ranked higher on universalism than the Anglo-Americans on both Scales I and II. The Spanish-American group also ranked higher than the Anglo-Americans on collectivity orientation

toward the family (Scale III), although the mean rank difference between them was not large. Finally, the Spanish-Americans ranked considerably lower than the Anglo-Americans on collectivity-orientation toward the peer group (Scale IV).

That the Anglo-Americans had a mean rank lower than that of the total Spanish-American group on Scales I, II, and III, and higher on Scale IV provides a baseline for a further comparison. These findings were interpreted as implying that (1) the Anglo-Americans are less universalistically oriented on the average than the Spanish-American group, and (2) that the Anglo-Americans have a lower incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the family, and (3) that the Anglo-Americans have a higher incidence of orientation toward the peer group than the Spanish-Americans.

The Spanish-speaking students were conceived as constituting the sector of the total Spanish-American group which is most traditional and least integrated into the patterns of social relations of the dominant Anglo-American society. It follows, then, that of the three sub-groups differentiated according to language spoken to peers the Spanish-speaking group should have the lower mean rank on the two scales of universalism (Scales I and II). Also, it would be expected that the English-speaking group would rank higher on universalism than the Spanish-speaking sub-group. But if the trait of speaking English to peers does reflect a relatively high state of integration into the dominant Anglo-American patterns of social relations, this sub-group should not have an absolutely high rank on universalism on Scales I and II. This

English-speaking sub-group would not be expected to have an absolutely high rank on the scales of universalism because it is posited as being integrated into or identified with the Anglo-American norms, and the Anglo-American group itself exhibits a middle rank between the Mexican group and the total Spanish-American group.

Finally, it was difficult to posit where the group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers might rank relative to the other two Spanish-American sub-groups. The difficulty arises directly from our conception that this trait represents ingegration or identification with patterns of social relations which are deviant from those of both the tradition Spanish-Americans and the dominant Anglo-Americans. There appeared only one sound reason for positing that this group should rank higher or lower than either the Spanish-speaking or English-speaking sub-groups. It might be conceived that this group is in process of transition from a state of integration or identification with traditional Spanish-American social patterns to a state of integration into those of the dominant Anglo-American group. This notion will be explored in the following analysis.

In addition to the above idea, however, there was suggested another conception of the significance of the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers. This notion is that such a trait may represent integration into or identification with an emergent pattern of role relations. Thus, rather than conceiving that bilingualism with peers represents a state of transition, it may be viewed as representing the emergence of a distinct pattern of role-orientations within the context of the ethnically

sub-divided community. This notion, then, will be examined in the following analysis also.

There were suggested certain expectations with respect to the differences between the three Spanish-American sub-groups on the scale of collectivity-orientation toward the family (Scale III), and collectivity-orientation toward the peer group (Scale IV). Following the ideas already outlined, it would be expected that the group which speaks Spanish to peers would rank relatively high on collectivity-orientation toward the family. The English-speaking group should rank relatively low on this scale, considerably lower than the Spanish-speaking group. Again, however, in the case of the group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers it was not possible to posit directionality.

On Scale IV (collectivity-orientation toward peers) it would be expected that the English-speaking group would rank relatively high and the Spanish-speaking group relatively lower. Finally, as was the case in the other three scales, the position of the group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers could not be posited.

Analysis of the Data

The analysis of the distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-American group, sub-divided according to language spoken to peers, may now be presented. With respect to Scale I, a null hypothesis was posed that the distributions of the scale scores of the English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups do not differ significantly from one another. This hypothesis was submitted to a chi-square

test of significance and it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .05 level. See Table 20. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected and it was inferred that the factor of language spoken to peers is related to the degree of universalistic-type role-expectations exhibited by the students. A ranking procedure was applied to these scale score distributions, and it was found that the Spanish-speaking group ranked lowest on universalism with a mean rank of 57.0, the English-speaking group ranked slightly higher with a mean rank of 59.6, and the bi-lingual group ranked highest with a mean rank of 64.3. It may be concluded, then, that these findings support our expectations with respect to the distributions of the scale scores of the three sub-groups on Scale I. Our expectations with respect to the rank positions of the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups are also supported by these data.

The finding that the bi-lingual sub-group exhibited a distribution different from either of the other two sub-groups on Scale I is in accord with the conception that this trait represents involvement in or identification with a deviant pattern of social relations. The bi-lingual sub-group exhibited a higher degree of universalistic-type orientation than either the English-speaking or Spanish-speaking groups. The notion that the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers might imply a state of transition from identification with the traditional Spanish-American sub-group to a state of identification with the Anglo-American group is not supported very clearly by this finding. Given the conception of this trait as representing a transition state, then a new

TABLE 20

SPANISH-AMERICANS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Language Spoken to Peers	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
English	12	12	13	7	44
Spanish	6	11	2	5	24
Both	17	8	13	16	54
N	35	31	28	28	122

Chi-square = 18.2 P less than .05, d.f. = 9

TABLE 21

SPANISH-AMERICANS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Language Spoken to Peers	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
English	10	11	7	15	43
Spanish	6	5	5	8	24
Both	4	9	19	22	54
N	20	25	31	45	121

Chi-square = 9.3 P less than .50, d.f. = 9

question is raised as to why this sub-group should rank even higher than the English-speaking group with respect to universalistic-type role-expectations. A possible explanation of the exceptionally high incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations among this sub-group might involve the further notion of "over generalization". Thus, if this group were in a state of transition, a tendency to over generalize the attitudes of the group into which it was trying to move or with which it was attempting to identify might explain its higher incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations. This is clearly a notion of the order of an ex post facto explanation. However, a tentative corroboration of this notion's appropriateness might be obtained by its systematic application to the subsequent findings.

With respect to the notion that the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers may represent involvement in an emergent pattern of social relations the above finding is somewhat more conclusive. First, the finding indicates that the bilingual sub-group does not fall in an intermediate position between the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups, but ranks higher than either of them. This indicates a distinctly different pattern of role-expectations for the bilingual sub-group. Second, this notion is favored over the "transitional" idea above in that no additional explanatory process need be invoked.

In the case of Scale II, a null hypothesis was posed that the distributions of the scale scores of the English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups do not differ significantly from one

another. This was submitted to a chi-square test of significance, and it was found that the chi-square value could not be considered significant. See Table 21. Hence, the null hypothesis may not be rejected. It was concluded, then, that language spoken to peers does not constitute an important differentiating factor with respect to the extent of universalistic-type role-expectations exhibited toward friends. Furthermore, it was concluded that these data do not support our expectations with respect to the distributions of the scale scores of the three sub-groups on Scale II.

In the case of Scale III, a null hypothesis also was posed that the distributions of the scale scores of the English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups would not differ significantly from one another. This was submitted to a chi-square test of significance, and it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .10 level. See Table 22. Although this is not a high degree of probability, it was considered high enough to warrant rejection of the null hypothesis. Hence, it was concluded that the factor of language spoken to peers is related to the extent of collectivity-orientation toward the family. A ranking procedure was applied to these scale score distributions, and it was found that the Spanish-speaking sub-group ranked highest on collectivity-orientation toward the family with a mean rank of 65.2. The sub-group speaking both Spanish and English to peers ranked second on this scale with a mean rank of 60.1, while the English-speaking sub-group ranked lowest with a mean rank of 49.4. It was concluded, then, that these findings support our expectations with respect to the distri-

TABLE 22

SPANISH-AMERICANS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATION INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Language Spoken to Peers	Scale Type			
	I & III	III	IV & V	N
English	8	27	8	43
Spanish	3	4	8	15
Both	7	28	20	55
N	18	59	36	113

Chi-square = 10.3 P less than .10, d.f. = 6

TABLE 23

SPANISH-AMERICANS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Language Spoken to Peers	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
English	4	7	9	10	13	43
Spanish	2	2	7	2	2	15
Both	9	17	14	10	5	55
N	15	26	30	22	20	113

Chi-square = 24.1 P less than .02, d.f. = 12

butions of the scale scores of the three sub-groups on Scale III. It also was concluded that these data support our expectations with respect to the rank positions of the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups.

The finding that the sub-group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers exhibits a distribution of scale scores different from either of the other two sub-groups on Scale III is in accord with the conception of this trait as representing involvement or identification with a deviant pattern of social relations within the ethnically subdivided community.

It is to be noted further that this finding is in accord with the notion that bilingualism may represent a state of transition from acceptance of traditional Spanish-American social patterns to an acceptance of the dominant Anglo-American patterns. But if consistency in the interpretation of these findings is to be maintained then the additional notion of over generalization ought to be applied here just as was done earlier in the case of Scale I. However, it is clearly inappropriate to apply the notion of over generalization to the interpretation of the rank position of the bilingual sub-group on Scale III. Hence, it must be concluded that the idea of over generalization introduces an unsystematic element into the analysis. It must either be invoked in all cases or in none. If it is invoked as an explanation of why the bilingual sub-group did not rank in an intermediate position on Scale I then it also must be invoked with respect to the position of this sub-group on Scale III. But the notion is clearly

superfluous as an explanation of the rank position of the bilingual sub-group on Scale III. Thus, it would appear best to abandon the notion of over generalization. It then must be observed that the findings with respect to the bilingual sub-group on Scale I are not consistent with the notion that bilingualism implies involvement in a transitional process.

The finding that the bilingual sub-group exhibits a different pattern of role-expectations from the other two Spanish-American sub-groups and that it ranks in an intermediate position between the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking sub-groups is congruent with the notion that bilingualism represents involvement in an emergent pattern of social relations.

A null hypothesis was posed with respect to Scale IV that the distributions of the English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups do not differ significantly from one another. See Table 23. This was submitted to a chi-square test of significance, and it was found that the chi-square value was significant at the .02 level. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it was inferred that the factor of language spoken to peers is associated with the extent of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group. The application of the ranking procedure showed that the English-speaking sub-group ranks highest on collectivity-orientation toward the peer group with a mean rank of 67.2, the Spanish-speaking sub-group ranks second with a mean rank of 55.6, and the bilingual sub-group ranks lowest with a mean rank of 48.1.

It may be concluded, then, that these findings also support our expectations with respect to the distributions of the scale scores of the three sub-groups on Scale IV. It also may be concluded that these data support our expectations with respect to the rank positions of the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups.

Again, in the case of Scale IV, the finding that the bilingual sub-group exhibited a distribution of scale scores different from either of the other two sub-groups is in accord with the conception of bilingualism as a trait representing involvement in or identification with a deviant pattern of social relations within the ethnically sub-divided community.

The finding that the bilingual sub-group ranked lower on Scale IV than either of the other two sub-groups clearly is not in accord with the notion that bilingualism may be a trait representing a transitional state between the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sectors of the Spanish-American ethnic group. On the other hand, this finding is congruent with the notion that bilingualism may be a trait representing involvement in an emergent pattern of social relations within the context of the ethnically differentiated community.

Prior to completing the analyses scheduled for this chapter some tentative conclusions drawn from the preceding findings will be presented. First, it may be concluded that the variable of language spoken to peers differentiates the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the Spanish-American students on three out of the four pattern variables scales. The role-expectations patterns of the Spanish-speaking, English-

speaking, and bilingual sub-groups were differentiated from one another on Scale I (universalistic-orientation toward brother), Scale III (collectivity-orientation toward family), and Scale IV (collectivity-orientation toward the peer group). Second, the findings were congruent with the notion that the variable of language spoken to peers may represent integration or identification with differentiated complexes of social relations in the ethnically heterogeneous border setting. The relative mean ranks of the language sub-groups on Scales I, III, and IV supported this notion. The mean ranks of the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups stood in relative positions to each other on these scales as the mean ranks of the total Spanish-American and Anglo-American groups stood to each other.

The findings also were congruent with the notion that bilingualism with peers may constitute an index of involvement in a deviant pattern of social relations. The role-expectations patterns exhibited by the bilingual sub-group were significantly different from those of the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking sub-groups on Scales I, III, and IV. Two alternative views were proposed with respect to the conception that bilingualism may represent involvement in a deviant pattern of social relations. The first of these conceived of the bilingual sub-group as involved in a transition from integration into traditional Spanish-American patterns of social relations to a state of integration into those of the dominant Anglo-Americans. This view, however, was not consistent with the findings and, hence, was rejected. The alternative view conceived of bilingualism as representing integration or identifi-

cation with an emergent pattern of social relations. The findings proved to be consistent with this view.

A Further Test of the Relationship between Role-expectations Patterns and Ethnic Status Differences among Spanish-Americans

Proceeding with the conception that the variable of language spoken to peers may represent integration or identification with differentiated patterns of social relations which are, in turn, reflected in the role-expectations patterns of the Spanish-American students a further means of testing this notion was suggested by the data. The trait of speaking Spanish to peers was posited as representing integration or identification with the social relational patterns of what was referred to as the traditional sector of the Spanish-American ethnic group. On the other hand, the trait of speaking English to peers was posited as representing integration into or identification with the social relational patterns of the dominant Anglo-American society. Consequently, this trait was thought of as reflecting an assimilated status. Finally, the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers was posited as representing integration into or identification with a deviant pattern of social relations; a pattern of social relations deviating from those of both the tradition Spanish-Americans and the dominant Anglo-Americans.

The findings of the preceding analysis proved consistent with these conceptions, but further proof of their appropriateness may be obtained by an additional series of analyses. The notion pertaining to the Spanish-American students who speak English to peers will be examined first.

If the English-speaking sub-group were assimilated into the dominant Anglo-American social patterns, then it would exhibit a range of role-expectations similar to that of the Anglo-American students. This may be confirmed by an analysis of the scale score distributions of these two groups on the pattern variables scales. If the English-speaking sub-group is integrated into the patterns of social relations of the Anglo-Americans, then the scale score distributions of the English-speaking sub-group and the Anglo-American group will not differ significantly from one another.

The distributions of the scale scores of the English-speaking sub-group and the Anglo-American group on Scales I, II, III, and IV are shown in Tables 24, 25, 26, and 27, respectively. Null hypotheses were posed with respect to each of these scales that the distributions of these two groups do not differ significantly from one another. These hypotheses were tested by a chi-square test of significance, and in each case it was found that the chi-square value was too low to warrant rejection of the hypothesis. On Scale I (Table 24) the chi-square value was significant at the .95 level, on Scale II (Table 25) at the .80 level, on Scale III (Table 26) at the .50 level, and on Scale IV (Table 27) the chi square value was significant at the .80 level. It was evident that these levels of significance did not warrant rejection of the null hypothesis. It was inferred, then, that the role-expectations patterns of the English-speaking sub-group do not differ from those of the Anglo-American group on the pattern variables scales.

The analysis may now turn to the Spanish-American sub-group which

TABLE 24

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING ENGLISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	34	28	31	11	104
Spanish-American speaking English to peers	12	12	13	7	44
N	46	40	44	18	148

Chi-square = 1.1 P less than .95, d.f. = 5

TABLE 25

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING ENGLISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	23	21	28	29	101
Spanish-American speaking English to peers	10	11	7	15	43
N	33	32	35	44	144

Chi-square = 2.7 P less than .80, d.f.=5

TABLE 26

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING ENGLISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type			
	I & II	III	IV & V	N
Anglo-American	22	54	31	107
Spanish-American speaking English to peers	8	27	8	43
N	30	81	39	150

Chi-square = 2.2 P less than .50, d.f. = 3

TABLE 27

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING ENGLISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	3	17	28	30	29	107
Spanish-American speaking English to peers	4	7	9	10	13	43
N	7	24	37	40	42	150

Chi-square = 3.6 P less than .80, d.f. = 7

speaks Spanish to peers. The conception that this sub-group is integrated or identified with a traditional Spanish-American pattern of social relations was assessed in similar manner to that above. It was reasoned that if this were true, then the Spanish-speaking sub-group's scale score distributions would not differ significantly from those of the Mexican group on the pattern variables scales.

Null hypotheses were posed with respect to each of the pattern variables scales that the scale score distributions of the Spanish-American sub-group which speaks Spanish to peers do not differ significantly from those of the Mexican group.[1] These were submitted to a chi-square test of significance. Upon setting up the problems for chi-square analysis, it was found that the theoretical frequencies in several cells on Scales I and III were too low to allow proper calculation of the chi-square values. Hence, no data is available on these two scales. However, a chi-square analysis was carried out on Scales II and IV. See Tables 28 and 29. In both of these latter scales the levels of significance were too high to warrant rejection of the null hypotheses. It was inferred, then, that the scale score distributions of the Spanish-speaking sub-group and the Mexican group do not differ significantly from one another on Scales II and IV. Thus, it was concluded that the

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[1] It should be noted that the questionnaires administered to all of the students in the El Paso Technical High School, except the English language trainees, were written in English. Public school regulations proscribe the use of anything other than an English language instrument. Moreover, it was considered that an optional Spanish language questionnaire for use with Spanish-American students would have been an inappropriate instrument because of the very low level of literacy in Spanish among even high school level Spanish-Americans.

TABLE 28

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING SPANISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	107	107	110	63	387
Spanish-American speaking Spanish to peers	6	5	5	8	24
N	113	112	115	71	411

Chi-square = 5.3 P less than .50, d.f. = 5

TABLE 29

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS SPEAKING SPANISH TO PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	59	100	112	78	37	386
Spanish-American speaking Spanish to peers	2	2	7	2	2	15
N	61	102	119	80	39	401

Chi-square = -.9

notion outlined above with respect to the Spanish-speaking sub-group is consistent with these findings.

Attention was then directed to the Spanish-American sub-group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers. The conception posited of this sub-group was that it is integrated or identified with an emergent pattern of social relations in the ethnically heterogeneous border setting. Since this sub-group was conceived of as involved in an emergent pattern of social relations, no attempt was made to predict directionality. The interest here was in determining with which other groups it might share similar patterns of role-expectations, and on which dimensions it might differ from the other groups.

First, the bilingual sub-group was compared with the Anglo-American group on each of the pattern variables scales. This was done in order to determine if the bilingual sub-group exhibits patterns of role-expectations similar to or different from those of the Anglo-American group. The analysis described earlier in this chapter implied that the role-expectations patterns of the bilingual sub-group would differ from those of the Anglo-American group, but that analysis was not definitive in that it did not involve a direct comparison with the Anglo-American group. Tables 30, 31, 32, and 33 show the distributions of the scale scores of the Spanish-American group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers compared with those of the Anglo-American group on Scales I, II, III, and IV, respectively. A null hypothesis was posed in each case that the scale score distributions of the two groups do not differ significantly from one another. These were submitted to a chi-square test of significance.

notion outlined above with respect to the Spanish-speaking sub-group is consistent with these findings.

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TABLE 30

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	34	28	31	11	104
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	17	8	13	16	54
N	51	36	44	27	158

Chi-square = 10.6 P less than .05, d.f. = 5

TABLE 31

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	23	21	28	29	101
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	4	9	19	22	54
N	27	30	47	51	155

Chi-square = 7.3 P less than .20, d.f. = 5

TABLE 32

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type			
	I & II	III	IV & V	N
Anglo-American	22	54	31	107
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	7	28	20	55
N	29	82	51	162

Chi-square = 2.0 P less than .50, d.f. = 3

TABLE 33

ANGLO-AMERICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	3	17	28	30	29	107
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	9	17	14	10	5	55
N	12	34	42	40	34	162

Chi-square = 20.1 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

In the case of Scale I (Table 30) the chi-square value was significant at the .05 level, in the case of Scale II (Table 31) at the .20 level, and in that of Scale IV (Table 33) at the .001 level. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected in all three of these cases. It was concluded that the bilingual sub-group and the Anglo-American group exhibit different patterns of role-expectations on Scales I, II, and IV. In the case of Scale III (Table 32) the chi-square value was significant at the .50 level, but this probability was too high to allow rejection of the null hypothesis. Hence, it was concluded that the bilingual sub-group does not exhibit a pattern of role-expectations on Scale III different from that of the Anglo-American group. It was inferred from these findings that the bilingual sub-group is not generally integrated into nor identified with the patterns of social relations of the Anglo-Americans.

Now, although it was inferred from the findings that the bilingual sub-group is not generally integrated nor identified with the social relations patterns of the Anglo-Americans, it remained to be determined if this sub-group were integrated into a set of traditional ethnic patterns. Hence, a comparison of the bilingual sub-group with the Mexican group was made. It was reasoned that if the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the bilingual sub-group also differed from those of the Mexicans, then it might be inferred that the former is integrated into neither the traditional ethnic group patterns nor the dominant Anglo-American patterns, but is involved in a deviant pattern of social relations.

An analysis, then, was carried out of the Spanish-American sub-group which speaks both English and Spanish to peers compared with the Mexican group on Scales I, II, and IV. See Tables 34, 35, and 37, respectively. Null hypotheses were posed that the distributions of each group do not differ significantly from one another, and these were submitted to a chi-square test of significance. The chi-square value on Scale I (Table 34) was significant at the .001 level and, hence, the null hypothesis was rejected. It was concluded, then that this finding is consistent with the notion that the bilingual sub-group is not integrated nor identified with the patterns of social relations of the traditional ethnic group.

In the case of Scale II (Table 35) the chi-square value was significant at the .001 level also and, hence, the null hypothesis was rejected. It was concluded that this finding is also consistent with the notion that the bilingual sub-group is not integrated nor identified with the patterns of social relations of the traditional ethnic group. An analysis was made of the bilingual and Mexican group on Scale III (Table 36). A null hypothesis was posed with respect to the scale score distributions of these two groups on this scale, and the hypothesis was tested by a chi-square test of significance. The chi-square value was significant at the .001 level, and the null hypothesis was rejected. It was concluded that this finding is consistent with the notion that the bilingual sub-group is not integrated into nor identified with the patterns of social relations of the traditional ethnic group. The chi-square value on Scale IV (Table 37) was significant at the .95 level. However, this was far too high a probability to warrant rejection of the null hypothesis.

TABLE 34

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	162	90	59	30	341
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	17	8	13	16	54
N	179	98	72	46	395

Chi-square = 24.1 P less than .001, d.f. = 5

TABLE 35

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	107	107	110	63	387
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	4	9	19	22	54
N	111	116	129	85	441

Chi-square = 26.8 P less than .001, d.f. = 5

TABLE 36

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type			
	I & II	III	IV & V	N
Mexican	11	121	209	341
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	7	28	20	55
N	18	149	229	396

Chi-square = 18.3 P less than .001, d.f. = 3

TABLE 37

MEXICANS AND SPANISH-AMERICANS WHO ARE BILINGUAL WITH PEERS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Ethnic Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Mexican	59	100	112	78	37	386
Spanish-American bilingual with peers	9	17	14	10	5	55
N	68	117	126	88	42	441

Chi-square = 2.2 P less than .95, d.f. = 7

Hence, it was concluded that this finding does not support the notion that the bilingual sub-group is not integrated nor identified with the patterns of social relations of the traditional ethnic group. On the contrary, this finding implies that the bilingual sub-group is integrated into this dimension of the social relations patterns of the traditional ethnic group.

In order to facilitate the comprehension of the preceding findings a table was constructed showing the relationship between the variable of language spoken to peers and the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the Spanish-American students. Table 38, then, may serve as the basis for a brief discussion of these findings. The analysis showed that the English-speaking sub-group exhibited a pattern of role-expectations similar to those of the Anglo-Americans on all four of the pattern variables scales. These findings, then, are thoroughly congruent with the notion that the English-speaking sub-group is integrated into or identified with the social relational patterns of the dominant Anglo-Americans and, hence, that it may be conceived of as an assimilated sector of the general Spanish-American ethnic class. The analysis also showed that the Spanish-speaking sub-group exhibited patterns of role-expectations similar to those of the Mexicans on Scales II and IV. It was not possible to determine whether the Spanish-speaking sub-group exhibited role-expectations similar to or different from those of the Mexicans on Scales I and III owing to technical difficulties in the computation of the chi-square value. However, these partial findings are consistent with the notion that the Spanish-speaking sub-group is

Table 38

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAIT OF LANGUAGE SPOKEN TO PEERS BY SPANISH-AMERICAN STUDENTS AND PATTERNS OF ROLE-EXPECTATIONS EXHIBITED ON THE FOUR PATTERN VARIABLE SCALES

Language Spoken to Peers	Scale I	Scale II	Scale III	Scale IV
English	Exhibit Anglo-American pattern of role-expectations	Exhibit Anglo-American pattern of role-expectations	Exhibit Anglo-American pattern of role-expectations	Exhibit Anglo-American pattern of role-expectations
Spanish	No data	Exhibit Mexican pattern of role-expectations	No data	Exhibit Mexican pattern of role expectations
Both English and Spanish	Exhibit neither Anglo-American nor Mexican patterns of role-expectations	Exhibit neither Anglo-American nor Mexican patterns of role-expectations	Exhibit Anglo-American pattern of role-expectations	Exhibit Mexican pattern of role-expectations

integrated into or identified with the social relational patterns of a traditional sector of the general Spanish-American ethnic class.

The analysis showed that the bilingual sub-group exhibited patterns of role-expectations different from both the Anglo-American and Mexican groups on Scales I and II. These partial findings are consistent with the notion that the bilingual sub-group is integrated or identified with an emergent pattern of social relations. However, on Scale II this sub-group exhibited a pattern of role-expectations similar to that of the Anglo-American group, and on Scale IV a pattern similar to that of the Mexican group. Thus, neither of these latter findings are consistent with the above notion.

The interpretation of these findings with respect to the social system theory and their significance as an addition to substantive knowledge of the United States-Mexican border area will be taken up in the summary to this chapter.

Summary

This chapter examined the relationship between the variable of language spoken to peers and patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the Spanish-American students. Several notions concerning this relationship were presented, and the findings were analyzed to determine if they were consistent with those conceptions. A summary of the findings along with an interpretation of their theoretical and substantive significance will be presented also.

A brief review of selected literature pertaining to ethnic status differences among Spanish-Americans was presented at the beginning of this chapter. The views cited implied that the Spanish-Americans may not be conceived as an ethnically homogeneous class but that they may be differentiated into at least three major sub-groups. Since the findings in the previous chapter indicated that the Spanish-American students could not be considered an ethnically homogeneous group standing in an intermediate acculturative position between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, it was deemed advisable to try to apply the notions suggested by the literature to the Spanish-American students in this study.

The trait of language spoken to peers was selected as a variable deemed likely to reflect the ethnic status differences cited in the literature. In accordance with those views, then, it was posited that the trait of speaking English to peers represents integration or identification with the patterns of social relations of the dominant Anglo-Americans. It was posited that the trait of speaking Spanish to peers represents integration or identification with the patterns of social

relations of a traditional sector of the Spanish-American ethnic class. Finally, it was posited that the trait of speaking both English and Spanish to peers represents integration or identification with emergent patterns of social relations in the ethnically heterogeneous border community.

An analysis of the scale score distributions of the Spanish-American students sub-divided according to language spoken to peers showed that this variable does differentiate their role-expectations patterns. The scale score distributions of the English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and bilingual sub-groups differed significantly from one another on Scales I, III, and IV. With the exception of Scale II, then, these findings were consistent with the notion that the variable of language spoken to peers reflects integration or identification with differentiated patterns of social relations. Moreover, the mean ranks of these three groups relative to one another on Scales I, III, and IV conformed to the pattern which would be expected if the language variable reflects integration into differentiated patterns of social relations.

The findings described above prompted a further series of analyses. The purpose of these was to secure further evidence bearing on the notion that the variable of language spoken to peers reflects integration into or identification with differentiated patterns of social relations. First, the scale score distributions of the English-speaking sub-group were compared with those of the Anglo-Americans. The analysis showed that the English-speaking sub-group's scale score distribution does not differ from that of the Anglo-Americans on any of the four scales. From this

additional evidence, then, it may be concluded that the English-speaking sub-group is integrated or identified with patterns of social relations similar to those of the Anglo-Americans.

The analysis also showed that the Spanish-speaking sub-group's scale score distributions do not differ from those of the Mexicans on Scales II and IV. Owing to technical difficulties it was not possible to calculate the chi-square value of the distributions of these two groups on Scales I and IV. From this additional partial evidence, however, it seems warranted to conclude that the Spanish-speaking sub-group is not integrated into patterns of social relations similar to those of the Anglo-Americans. Moreover, the evidence strongly suggests that the Spanish-speaking sub-group is integrated into the patterns of traditional Spanish-American social relations which do not differ significantly from those of the Mexicans.

Finally, the analysis showed that the scale score distributions of the bilingual sub-group differed from those of both the Anglo-American and Mexican groups on Scales I and II. The analysis also showed that the scale score distributions of the bilingual sub-group did not differ from that of the Anglo-Americans on Scale III, and did not differ from that of the Mexicans on Scale IV. Hence, it seems warranted to conclude that the bilingual sub-group is integrated into certain patterns of social relations differing from those of both the Anglo-American, Spanish-American and Mexican groups, i.e., emergent patterns of social relations. It is clear, however, that this sub-group may not be conceived of as completely involved in deviant patterns of social relations. On

the dimension of collectivity-orientation toward the family (Scale III) the bilingual sub-group appears to be integrated into or identified with a pattern of social relations similar to those of the Anglo-Americans. On the dimension of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group (Scale IV) this sub-group appears to be integrated into or identified with a pattern of social relations similar to those of the Mexicans and Spanish-speaking Americans.

If these findings are to be congruent with the general implications, of the social system theory examined in Chapter IV, then it would seem that the ethnic sub-division of a society must be viewed as a factor which limits the extension of given patterns of role-expectations throughout the population by restricting participation in common patterns of social relations. The findings of the present chapter were consistent with the notion that the Spanish-speaking sub-group is integrated or identified with traditional Spanish-American ethnic patterns but not with those of the dominant Anglo-Americans. Hence, integration or identification with traditional Spanish-American ethnic patterns must be viewed as limiting participation in the highly differentiated and segregated system of social relations posited as characterizing the dominant mode of social organization in the United States.

This view suggests, then, that the failure of the Spanish-speaking students to exhibit as high an incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations as the Anglo-Americans on Scales I and II need not be attributed to any unique features of the traditional Spanish-American ethnic

enclave, but rather that the patterns of social relations of this ethnic sub-group are less differentiated and segregated than those of the larger social system in which it persists. Likewise, with respect to the dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the family (Scale III), the failure of the Spanish-speaking students to exhibit as high an incidence of self-orientation as the Anglo-Americans may be attributed to their integration or identification with less differentiated and segregated patterns of social relations. The same interpretation is applicable to the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the Spanish-speaking students on the dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the peer group (Scale IV).

In contrast to the Spanish-speaking students, the English-speaking sub-group exhibited patterns of role-expectations which did not differ significantly from those of the Anglo-Americans on any of the pattern variables scales. Hence, this sub-group of Spanish-Americans quite clearly appears to be integrated or identified with the dominant patterns of social relations of the society. That is, the role-expectations patterns exhibited by this sub-group strongly imply that it is integrated or identified with a highly differentiated and segregated system of social relations.

The bilingual Spanish-American sub-group presents a case somewhat different from either of the other two sub-groups. The analyses showed that this sub-group exhibited patterns of role-expectations different from those of both the dominant Anglo-Americans and the traditional Spanish-American sub-group on Scale I (universalistic-orientation toward

brother) and Scale II (universalistic-orientation toward friend). Thus, with respect to these dimensions, the findings imply that the bilingual sub-group is integrated or identified with neither the dominant patterns of social relations of the society, nor with those of the traditional Spanish-American ethnic group. These findings are especially interesting because not only did the bilingual sub-group's role-expectations patterns differ from those of the dominant Anglo-Americans, but this sub-group ranked higher than the Anglo-Americans on both Scales I and II. If consistency is to be maintained in our interpretations, then these findings must be construed as implying that the bilingual sub-group is integrated or identified with an even more highly differentiated and segregated system of social relations than the Anglo-Americans and English-speaking Spanish- Americans.

On Scale III (collectivity-orientation toward the family) the bilingual sub-group exhibited a pattern of role-expectations which did not differ significantly from that of the Anglo-Americans. And on Scale IV (collectivity-orientation toward the peer group) the bilingual sub-group exhibited a pattern of role-expectations which did not differ significantly from that of the Mexicans or the traditional Spanish-American sub-group. Thus, considering the role-expectations of the bilingual sub-group on these two dimensions, it may not be concluded that this sub-group is integrated or identified with a completely emergent pattern of social relations. Nevertheless, these findings contribute to a rather interesting portrait of a group integrated or identified with a semi-emergent pattern of social relations within the context of an

ethnically differentiated social system. The chief features to be noted with respect to the bilingual sub-group are its more frequent rejection of particularistic-type demands deriving from both family and peers and its more frequent exhibition of self-orientation in family and peer group relationships. On the average, the members of the bilingual sub-group would appear to be more independent of particularistic ties than the members of any of the other groups studied. Like the Anglo-Americans, this sub-group exhibited a relatively low incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the family. But, while the Anglo-Americans exhibited a relatively high incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group, the bilingual sub-group ranked very low on this dimension also.

While in the case of the Anglo-Americans and English-speaking Spanish-Americans the breakdown of strong kinship ties appears to be compensated for by the development of strong ties to the peer group the bilingual sub-group appears to lack both strong kinship and peer group ties. It also should be noted here that of the Spanish-American students included in this study about forty-five percent indicated that they spoke both English and Spanish to peers. Thus, the bilingual sub-group constitutes a very sizeable portion of the Spanish-American students studied here and probably constitutes a large sector of the Spanish-American youth population throughout the border area.

One more item needs to be considered before completing this summary. That the variable of language spoken to peers should differentiate so well the patterns of role-expectations of the Spanish-American students is of significance in view of the fact that the previously discussed

typology did not do so. The typology discussed in Chapter V included the variable of language spoken to parents but not that of language spoken to peers. It also included the variable of place of mother's birth. It is to be noted, then, that the typology was constructed largely around items which tend to reflect the ethnic character of the student's home. On the other hand, the variable of language spoken to peers may not be conceived of as reflecting directly the ethnic character of the student's home but rather his extra-familial social relations. Hence, the inference is strongly suggested that the factors determining the types of social role-expectations studied here must largely lie in socialization processes occurring outside of the family complex.

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION ON MEXICAN STUDENTS' ROLE-EXPECTATIONS

This chapter will present an analysis of the effects of cross-cultural education on the role-expectations of a group of Mexican students. Included as respondents in the study was a group of Mexican students enrolled in special classes in English at the El Paso Technical High School. These students were residents of Mexico and crossed the international border on school days to attend the special English courses for foreign students. For sake of clarity in the following discussion, these students will be referred to as English Language Trainees. This group of students was excluded from all of the previous analyses. The principal reason for its exclusion was to maintain a high level of homogeniety among the regular Mexican student group with respect to amount of cross-cultural contact. The inclusion of the English Language Trainees among the other Mexican student group clearly would have reduced the homogeniety of the latter with respect to this variable.

The purpose of the analyses presented in this chapter was to determine which of several pertinent views more adequately accounts for the role-expectations exhibited by the English Language Trainees. First, several alternative views will be presented and the types of role-expectations which would be expected in each case will be discussed. Second, an analysis of the role-expectations of this group subdivided according to extent of education in the United States will be presented.

Third, the role-expectations of these students will be compared with those of the regular Mexican students and also with those of the Anglo-American students. Both of these analyses pertain to only two of the pattern variables scales: Scales I and III.[1] Finally, a summary of the findings will be presented at the end of the chapter.

The three views which will be considered here as possibly accounting for the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the English language Trainees are as follows: (1) that, while enrolled in special classes in English in an American high school, these students remain integrated or identified with Mexican patterns of social relations, (2) that these students may be in process of transition from integration into Mexican patterns to integration into United States patterns of social relations, and finally (3) that they may be integrated into deviant patterns of social relations, patterns different from those of both the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. Each of these views is consistent with the social system frame of reference.

The view which appeared most compelling to this study from its inception was that, while Mexican students may be enrolled in an American high school, so long as they reside in Mexico and continue their associations with Mexican peers they will remain integrated or identified with Mexican patterns of social relations. Hence, they would be expected to exhibit role-expectations patterns similar to the regular Mexican high school students.

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[1] Owing to the rather tight course schedule it was not possible to administer the complete questionnaire to the English Language Trainees. Hence, only those items which constitute Scales I and III were presented to these students.

A study of the effects of a cross-cultural exchange program which the present writer[2] conducted in Mexico suggested the pertinence of this view to the study. The various studies undertaken by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council likewise point to this notion. While the individual studies conducted under the auspices of the committee were concerned largely with several dimensions of attitudes toward the United States, this variable is not so different from that of role-expectations as to render their findings irrelevant to the present concern. In no case did those studies report that extent of educational training in the United States or amount of contact with United States society and culture constituted a factor which clearly differentiated "favorable" from "unfavorable" attitudes toward the United States. This was particularly so with respect to the Mexican student group.

While it is not specifically elaborated, Beals' and Humphrey's study[3] of Mexican students implies a structural-functional approach to the analysis of Mexican and other foreign students' attitudes toward the United States. It is implied, given that the Mexican student remains integrated into or identified with particular groups in Mexico and with the national ethos, that the place to seek the source and sustenance of

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[2] Frank Nall, A Study of the International Farm Youth Exchange Program in Mexico, Unpublished MA thesis, Michigan State College, 1954.

[3] Ralph L. Beals and Norman Humphrey, No Frontiers to Learning: The Mexican Student in the United States, unpublished manuscript.

his attitudes toward the United States is not primarily in the situation of contact with American society and culture. Rather, it is to be sought in the significance of his attitudes with respect to the social system or sub-systems into which he is integrated or with which he identifies in Mexico. The notion here is clearly consistent with that of Parsons, i.e., that attitudes have a functional significance with respect to the integration of a social system. Hence, so long as the individual remains integrated or identified with Mexico and particular groups within that country he will tend to formulate attitudes of an order which do not threaten his position in those sub-systems of social relations. The adoption of attitudes "too favorable" toward the United States could quite conceivably jeopardize a Mexican national's position in political, economic, and even social affairs. This view tends to minimize the significance attached to cross-cultural education as a situational context promoting modification of students' orientation patterns.

Such a structural-functional view was precisely the one taken here with respect to role-expectations, and it is consistent with the analytical framework adopted in the analyses presented in the preceding chapters. Thus, since the English Language Trainees resided in Mexico and must be presumed to be in continuous contact with Mexican peers, it was posited that they would exhibit patterns of role-expectations which do not differ from those of the regular Mexican high school students. Conversely, it would be expected that they would exhibit role-expectations patterns which do differ from those of the United States students.

The second view which was considered is that the English Language Trainees may be in process of transition from integration into Mexican patterns of social relations to integration or identification with United States patterns. A socialization or social learning view which focuses predominantly upon the cross-cultural contact situation would hold that this situation would tend to promote modification of the foreign students' orientations. It seems reasonably consistent with this view, then, to posit that the greater the extent of contact of the Mexican students with United States society and culture the more similar would be their role-expectations to those of the United States students. Such a view would seem to constitute the implicit assumption of many cross-cultural exchange programs. It is to be noted, however, that in fostering a methodological concentration on features of the cross-cultural interaction situation, this view tends to neglect the larger significance of foreign students' orientation patterns. It tends to overlook the significance which foreign students' orientation patterns (e.g., role-expectations, value standards, ideological beliefs) have for their integration and identification with social complexes in their home countries.

Since data was not available to present an analysis of the effects of general cross-cultural contact on the role-expectations patterns of the English Language Trainees, the study necessarily could consider only the effects of the formal education situation. Thus, it was reasoned that if the formal education situation promotes the integration or identification of the English Language Trainees with United States patterns of social relations, then the role-expectations of these students should

differ from those of the other Mexican students in the direction of greater similarity to those of the United States students. Furthermore, if the formal education situation promotes the integration of these students into United States patterns of social relations, then their role-expectations should differ from one another in the direction of greater similarity to those of the United States students according to the extent of education in this country.

Before discussing the third view, an alternative notion to the one above needs to be considered. It is possible that a selective factor or factors may be operative with respect to the English Language Trainees. Thus, if their role-expectations were to differ from those of the other Mexican students this might be accounted for by their having been integrated or identified with distinctive patterns of social relations in Mexico, prior to their arrival in the United States. If a selective factor of this nature were operative, then the English Language Trainees' role-expectations would be expected to differ from those of the regular Mexican students. Thus, this would pose a problem of differentiating between the effects of the cross-cultural education situation on the role-expectations of these students and the effects of the temporally antecedent factors. Which factor, then, might be attributed prime significance: partial or total integration into United States patterns of social relations as a result of the cross-cultural education, or integration into a sub-system of United States-like social patterns in Mexico prior to arrival in the United States?

Without recourse to additional data concerning the social backgrounds of the English Language Trainees this problem may be solved in the following manner. If the findings were to indicate that the English Language Trainees' role-expectations differed from those of the other Mexican students in the direction of greater similarity to those of the United States students, this would establish that either the cross-cultural education or factors antecedent to this situation were related to the types of role-expectations exhibited. However, if antecedent factors rather than the cross-cultural education were to account for the similarity of the Trainees' role-expectations of the members of this group would not be expected to differ significantly from one another according to the extent of their cross-cultural education. Hence, a basis for differentiating between the effects of cross-cultural education and antecedent factors is provided.

The third, and final, social system view which may be considered here as possibly accounting for the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the English Language Trainees is that they may be integrated or identified with deviant patterns of social relations, patterns different from those of both the other Mexican students and the United States students. Here, the notions elaborated in Chapter VI with respect to the bilingual Spanish-American students may be suggested again. Enrollment in the special classes in English at an American high school may imply, for Mexican students, integration or identification with deviant patterns of social relations and, hence, the manifestation of deviant

patterns of role-expectations. As in the previously discussed view, integration into deviant patterns of social relations may be the direct result of the cross-cultural education experience itself, or Mexican students involved in deviant patterns of social relations may possibly be more prone to seeking education in the United States. In either case, we should expect the role-expectations exhibited by the English Language Trainees to differ from those of both the regular Mexican students and the United States students if they were integrated into a deviant pattern of social relations.

Analysis of the Data

The first series of analyses consisted of comparisons of the role-expectations of the English Language Trainees with those of the other Mexican students and those of the Anglo-Americans. Table 39 shows the distributions of the scale scores of the English Language Trainees and the other Mexican students on Scale I (universalistic-orientation toward brother). A null hypothesis was posed that the scale score distributions of these groups do not differ significantly from one another. This was submitted to a chi-square test of significance, and the chi-square value was significant at the .10 level. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected. It was inferred, then, that the scale score distributions of the English Language Trainees and the other Mexican students do differ significantly from one another on Scale I.

The mean ranks of the two groups were calculated, and the English Language Trainees had a mean rank of 253, while the other Mexican students had a mean rank of 251. This rank difference, however, was so

TABLE 39

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES AND OTHER MEXICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Student Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Other Mexican	76	86	90	59	30	341
English Language Trainees	48	29	32	29	24	162
N	124	115	122	88	54	503

Chi-square = 12.9 P less than .10, d.f. = 7

TABLE 40

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES AND ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Student Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	9	25	28	31	11	104
English Language Trainees	48	29	32	29	24	162
N	57	54	60	60	35	266

Chi-square = 55.0 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

small that it seemed unwarranted to attach much significance to it. Thus, although it was inferred from the chi-square analysis that the scale score distributions of these groups differ significantly from one another, the exceedingly small rank difference between them suggests that they differ in only a very minor degree. Moreover, the English Language Trainees differ in the direction of a higher degree of particularism, and this was shown to be a Mexican rather than an Anglo-American norm.

A comparison of the scale score distributions of this group with those of the Anglo-Americans on Scale I only served to confirm the notion that the English Language Trainees are not integrated or identified with Anglo-American patterns of social relations. Table 40 shows the distributions of the English Language Trainees and the Anglo-Americans on Scale I. A null hypothesis was posed that these distributions do not differ significantly from one another, and this was submitted to a chi-square test of significance. The chi-square value was significant at the .001 level, and so the null hypothesis was rejected. The calculations of the mean ranks showed that the Anglo-Americans ranked considerably higher than the English Language Trainees. The Anglo-Americans had a mean rank of 146, while the English Language Trainees had a rank of 124. It was concluded, then, that the English Language Trainees are not integrated nor identified with an Anglo-American pattern of social relations.

These findings now may be considered with respect to their bearing on the three views advanced earlier in this chapter as possibly accounting for the role-expectation patterns of the English Language Trainees.

It is clearly evident that in this dimension they may not be viewed as in process of transition from Mexican patterns to United States patterns of social relations. Likewise, the findings do not imply that a selective factor is operative which draws Mexicans into the special English course who are already oriented to United States patterns of social relations. It also follows that the English Language Trainees may not be considered integrated or identified with a deviant pattern of social relations in this dimension. It may be concluded, then, that the findings indicate that in this dimension the English Language Trainees remain integrated or identified with Mexican patterns of social relations.

Next, the scale score distributions of the English Language Trainees were compared with those of the other Mexican students on Scale III. Table 41 shows these distributions on Scale III. A null hypothesis was posed that the distributions do not differ from one another, and this was submitted to a chi-square test. The chi-square value was significant at less than the .001 level and, hence, the null hypothesis was rejected. The English Language Trainees had a mean rank of 290, while the other Mexicans had a mean rank of 233. This was deemed a very large rank order difference, and indicated that the English Language Trainees exhibit a considerably stronger collectivity orientation toward the family than the other Mexican students. Thus, it was inferred that the English Language Trainees on this dimension are not integrated into a pattern of social relations similar to that of the other Mexican students.

A final confirmation of the absence of evidence implying that the English Language Trainees are integrated or identified with the United

TABLE 41

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES AND OTHER MEXICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Student Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Other Mexican	11	121	151	58	311
English Language Trainees	3	35	70	54	162
N	14	156	221	112	503

Chi-square = 22.8 P less than .001, d.f. = 5

TABLE 42

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES AND ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Student Group	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Anglo-American	22	54	24	7	107
English Language Trainees	3	35	70	54	162
N	25	89	94	61	269

Chi-square = 69.3 P less than .001, d.f. = 5

States students' patterns of social relations was provided by comparing their scale score distributions on Scale III. Table 42 shows the distributions of scale scores of these two groups on Scale III. A null hypothesis was posed and subjected to a chi-square test of significance. Since the chi-square value was significant at less than the .001 level, the null hypothesis was rejected. The English Language Trainees had a mean rank of 159, while the Anglo-Americans had a rank of only 83.

These findings clearly imply that the English Language Trainees may not be considered integrated or identified with this dimension of social relations of the Anglo-Americans. They also imply that the English Language Trainees are not in a process of transition from Mexican to United States patterns of social relations. Likewise, they imply that a selective factor is not operative which tends to draw into the special English course Mexicans who are already oriented to Anglo-American norms. But, finally, the findings do imply that in this dimension these students are integrated or identified with a deviant pattern of social relations. An examination of their role-expectations according to extent of education in the United States was carried out to determine whether the cross-cultural education situation or factors temporally antecedent to it may account for this pattern of role-expectations.

The second series of analyses concerns the role-expectation patterns of the English Language Trainees sub-divided according to class in the special English course. Null hypotheses were posed that the distributions of the English Language Trainees according to class in the special English course do not differ significantly on Scales I and III. These

were submitted to a chi-square test of significance. On Scale I it was found that the probability that the chi-square is significant is less than .90, hence the null hypothesis was not rejected. (See Table 43.) Thus, it was inferred that the English Language Trainees do not differ significantly on Scale I according to class in the special English course.

In the case of Scale III the probability that the chi-square value is significant was less than .50. (See Table 44.) Hence, the null hypothesis was not rejected in this case either. It was inferred, then, that the scale score distributions of the English Language Trainees according to class in the special English course do not differ significantly from one another on Scale III.

It may be concluded from these findings that the extent of education in the special English course in the El Paso high school does not differentiate the patterns of role-expectations of the English Language Trainees on either of these two dimensions. Furthermore, these findings support the earlier comparisons. They indicate that extent of education in the El Paso high school is not related to the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the English Language Trainees. Moreover, with respect to Scale III, they indicate that while these students may be integrated or identified with a deviant pattern of social relations in this dimension this may not be attributed to the cross-cultural education experience.

Summary

This chapter presented an analysis of the patterns of role-expectations of a group of Mexican students enrolled in special English courses in the Technical High School in El Paso. The purpose of the

TABLE 43

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES BY CLASS IN SPECIAL ENGLISH COURSE, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Class in Course	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Special English I	9	5	3	1	3	21
Special English II	23	10	17	10	9	69
Special English III	5	6	3	6	3	23
Special English IV	11	8	9	12	9	49
N	48	29	32	29	24	162

Chi-square = 11.8 P less than .90, d.f. = 17

TABLE 44

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINEES BY CLASS IN SPECIAL ENGLISH COURSE, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Class in Course	Scale Type			
	I, II, III	IV	V	N
Special English I	4	5	12	21
Special English II	15	31	23	69
Special English III	8	9	6	23
Special English IV	11	25	13	49
N	38	70	54	162

Chi-square = 9.1 P less than .50, d.f. = 9

analysis was to determine to what extent attendance at the school might have effected the role-expectations patterns of these Mexican students. Three views were suggested which might account for the role-expectations patterns of the English Language Trainees. The view which appeared most compelling to this study was that, while enrolled in special classes in English in an American high school, the English Language Trainees may remain integrated or identified with Mexican patterns of social relations and, hence, exhibit Mexican patterns of role-expectations. While this view was supported by the findings on Scale I, it was not clearly supported by the findings on Scale III. The English Language Trainees' role-expectations on Scale III differed significantly from those of the Anglo-Americans, and there was no question that they might be integrated or identified with Anglo-American patterns of social relations with respect to this dimension. However, the English Language Trainees' role-expectations also differed significantly from those of the other Mexican students on Scale III. But the direction of the difference was toward greater collectivity-orientation rather than greater self-orientation. Hence, the conclusion must be drawn that the English Language Trainees are partly integrated or identified with a deviant pattern of social relations, different from those of both the other Mexican students and the Anglo-American students.

The notion was also suggested that the English Language Trainees might be integrated or identified with deviant patterns of social relations and that such deviancy might be attributed to either the effects of the cross-cultural education situation or factors temporally antecedent

to the cross-cultural contact. It was reasoned that if it were the cross-
cultural contact. It was reasoned that if it were the cross-cultural
education situation which effected the role-expectation patterns of these students, then their role-expectations would differ according to the extent of their cross-cultural education experience. The findings, however, showed that extent of cross-cultural education did not differentiate the role-expectations patterns of these students. Hence, the difference between the role-expectations of the English Language Trainees and those of the other Mexican students on this dimension may be attributed to the integration or identification of the former with a deviant pattern of social relations in Mexico.

It may be concluded, then, that involvement in the formal educational complex of the special English courses does not appear to have effected the role-expectations patterns of the English Language Trainees. The findings do not imply that the English Language Trainees may be in process of transition from integration with Mexican patterns to integration with United States patterns.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE-EXPECTATIONS AND SOCIAL STATUS

This chapter will present various analyses of the relationship between role-expectations and social status. First, the relationship will be examined with respect to the United States students. Second, it will be examined with respect to the Mexican students. And, finally, both Mexican and United States students will be grouped together and the relationship between role-expectations and social status will be analyzed. Following this, a series of analyses in which the high status Mexicans are compared with the Anglo-Americans will be presented. Finally, the low status Mexicans, high status Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans will be compared. A summary of the findings will be presented at the end of the chapter.

This study adopted the variable of (student's) father's occupation as an index of social status. Occupation, as an index of status, warranted consideration because of its presumed significance as a major determinant of social status. Parsons holds that position in the economic structure of a social system is of high significance in determining social status, relational patterns and, by implication, patterns of role-expectations. As was pointed out earlier in this study, it is Parsons' conception that, as the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system, universalistic-type role-expectations will gradually emerge as the predominant type.

While not proving this proposition, the findings presented in previous chapters did strongly support.it. Parsons'[1] discussion of this topic is limited to generalizations concerning very broad features of society. He does not discuss the significance of involvement in the social system at different status levels as this may bear upon the types of role-expectations exhibited by actors. However, while not providing a clear implication of the relationship between social status and role-expectations patterns, the theory is suggestive of certain notions.

The social system theory would seem to suggest that type of role-expectations may be related to social status differences, much like the relationship between role-expectations and ethnic status differences discussed previously. Not all members of a highly urbanized society are involved equally or participate in the same capacity in the networks of economic exchange and other social relationships. In fact, the generic notion of an urban society would seem to be precisely that of a social system exhibiting high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations, i.e., one in which actors participate in different and complimentary capacities. Parsons' conceptions, it was noted, imply an association between universalistic-type role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. To the extent, then, that social status differences may reflect degrees of involvement in the highly differentiated and segregated

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[1] Talcott Parsons, The Social System. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 114-127.

complexes of social relations in an urban-type society, it would seem congruent with the theory to expect role-expectations to be related to this variable.

Since Parsons did not provide a clear implication as to the effects on role-expectations patterns of being differently involved in the economic structure of society, a number of empirical studies were reviewed to determine if they might imply some consistent relationship and indicate its direction. Reference to several of these studies will be made below in order to indicate what certain pertinent empirical researches imply with respect to the relationship between social status and patterns of role-expectations.

Davis and Havighurst[2] indicate that lower status group members exhibit a tendency to evaluate highly the tenor of close personal relationships on the one hand, and tend to place less value on the control of property than do middle status group members. From their findings it seems reasonable to infer that this may indicate that lower status persons exhibit a proclivity toward particularistic-type role-expectations on the one hand, and collectivity-orientation toward the peer group on the other hand.

Sharp and Axelrod[3] in their study of Mutual aid among relatives in an urban population report little difference in mutual aid patterns

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[2] A. Davis and R. Havighurst, Father of the Man. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

[3] Morris Axelrod, Urban Structure and Social Participation, American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1, February, 1956, pp. 13-18.

according to occupational position; about two-thirds of those in each occupational category engaged in mutual aid among relatives. Their findings may be interpreted as indicating that some degree of particularistic-type role-expectations as well as collectivity orientation toward the family is exhibited among the members of all major occupational categories, and that little difference with respect to role-expectations is to be anticipated according to social status.

Riesman[4] suggests the emergence of a high evaluation of the tenor of peer group relationships and a concomitant lowered evaluation of expressly family relationships among the middle and upper middle status groups in urban places. That is, as "other-directedness" supplants "inner-directedness" peer relationships become more highly valued. At the same time the sphere of family relationships appears to emerge as something resembling another peer group rather than as a complex of relationships segregated from those of the "outside" world and meriting a consideration predicated on different values from those appropriate to non-familial social relations. Riesman, likewise, suggests that a high degree of "tradition-directedness" is characteristic of lower status groups. It may be interpreted, then, that lower status group members are more likely to exhibit self-orientation types of role-expectations with respect to situations involving conflict between self interests and peer group interests than are middle status persons. With respect to situations involving conflict between self interest and family

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4 David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, passim. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

interests, it may be expected that the lower status group member (the "tradition-directed" man) would exhibit a greater tendency toward collectivity-orientation types of role-expectations.

Axelrod[5] reports that little difference was found between status groups with respect to the extent of informal visiting engaged in with relatives and friends; all status groups appeared to have a high proportion of members who exchange relatively frequent visits with relatives and friends. It also was found that there was some greater likelihood that a family member would belong to a formal organization if the head of the family were a white collar (middle status) worker. It might be concluded from these findings, then, that family and peer group (collectivity) orientations are not likely to vary with status.

Bell and Force[6] found that upper economic status was associated with higher participation in formal associations than was lower economic status. Komarovsky[7] reported lower status persons, while not involved so extensively in formal associational activities, exhibited a considerable amount of informal associational activity.

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5 Morris Axelrod, Urban Structure and Social Participation, American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1, February, 1956, pp. 13-18.

6 Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations, American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1, February, 1956, pp. 25-34.

7 Mirra Komarovsky, Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Dwellers, American Sociological Review, Vol. 11, December, 1946, pp. 686-698.

Dotson[8] found that high economic status was associated with relatively greater participation in voluntary associations than was low economic status among an urban population in Mexico. Dotson also found that women participated in voluntary associations much less frequently than men, and that religious affiliated associations were the major type in which women were participants in Mexico.

Foskett[9] found that high status was associated with greater formal social participation than was low status, but that sex and age were not highly related to amount of participation. Education, on the other hand, was found to be highly associated with formal social participation. This was a direct relationship in which the higher amount of formal education the higher the index of formal social participation.

Schatzman and Strauss,[10] in an interesting analysis of interviews with lower and middle status persons on the effects of a natural disaster, suggest that differences in conceptualizing, perceiving, and in modes or relating themselves to an interviewer are apparent between middle and lower status persons. Briefly, the middle status persons tended to generalize more about the effects of the disaster than did the lower status persons. The lower status persons tended to perceive the disaster

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8 Floyd Dotson, A Note on Participation in Voluntary Associations in a Mexican City, American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, No. 4, August, 1953, pp. 380-386.

9 John M. Foskett, Social Structure and Social Participation, American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 4, August, 1955, pp. 431-438.

10 Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, Social Class and Modes of Communication, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX, No. 4, January, 1955, pp. 329-338.

more narrowly in terms of its consequences for themselves. Also, the lower status persons tended to expect a particularistic-type response and interest toward themselves on the part of the interviewers, while the middle status persons took a more impersonal view of the relationship.

Schneider and Lysgaard,[11] in their article on the "deferred gratification pattern", likewise suggest status or class related variables as major differentiating factors with respect to the manifestation of this pattern in orientation to various situational contexts. It seems reasonable to conceive of the absence of this pattern as implying a particularistic emphasis in social orientations and presence of it as implying a universalistic emphasis (a proclivity to generalize beyond the immediacy of existence to a situation of future consequences.) Lower status was associated with an absence of or lower degree of crystallization of the pattern, and middle status was associated with the manifestation of the pattern.

The above citations serve to indicate the numerous interpretations which may be drawn from various empirical studies. Certain of these studies would imply that low status in the occupational structure of a highly differentiated society might be expected to produce a predominance of particularistic-type role-expectations and a strong collectivity-orientation toward the family. On the other hand, some would seem

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[11] Louis Schneider and S. Lysgaard, The Deferred Gratification Pattern, American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, No. 2, April, 1953, pp. 142-149.

to imply a strong balance in favor of self interests when these are in conflict with family interests. It also is implied that upper middle status seems to produce universalistic-type role-expectations, a strong proclivity to generalize beyond the "personal" meanings of a situation to their transcendent consequences. In view of the absence of any clear implication pertaining to the relationship between social status and patterns of role-expectations, no attempt was made to posit directionality. This analysis may be considered primarily exploratory.

Intranational Comparisons

The occupational categories of the United States census were adopted as a status index. The occupation of the person providing the chief support of the family in which the student respondent lived was taken as the basis of classification. It was, of course, not possible to classify the subjects themselves by occupation because only a very few held full time jobs in addition to attending high school. The presentation of the analysis will be divided into three parts. The United States student group will be examined first, then the Mexican student group, and finally both of the groups combined.

The distributions of scale scores of the United States students according to occupational categories on Scales I, II, III, and IV were arranged in tables for the purpose of chi-square analysis. However, it was found that this arrangement resulted in a considerable number of cells having frequencies too low to allow proper calculation of the chi-square values. The occupational categories were then collapsed into two groups on the basis of their presumed reflection of status

differences. The one collapsed category consisted of Professionals, Farmers, Proprietors, Managers, Officials, and Clerks. This collapsed category was deemed as representing an aggregate of the relatively high status occupations. The other collapsed category consisted of Skilled and Semi-skilled workers, farm laborers and other laborers, and servants. This collapsed category was deemed as representing an aggregate of the relatively low status occupations. All other occupational categories were excluded from the analyses.

The respondents were reclassified into high status and low status categories. The distributions of scale scores of the United States students according to status groups on Scales I, II, III, and IV were then arranged into tables and subjected to chi-square analysis. It was found that the chi-square values were not significant in any of these tables and, hence, the null hypotheses could not be rejected. It was inferred, then, that the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the United States students are not related to the social status of the students. The complete frequencies are presented in Appendix Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4.

The distributions of scale scores of the Mexican students according to status groups on Scales I, II, III, and IV were arranged into tables and subjected to chi-square analysis also. The chi-square values were not found to be significant in any of these tables and, hence, the null hypotheses were not rejected. It was inferred, then, that the role-expectations patterns exhibited by the Mexican students are not related to their social status background. The complete frequencies are presented in Appendix Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Finally, the distributions of scale scores of the combined group of United States and Mexican students sub-divided according to occupational categories on Scales I, II, III, and IV were arranged into tables and subjected to chi-square analysis. In this case there were sufficiently high frequencies in each of the cells to permit chi-square analysis without collapsing the occupational categories. In no case, however, were the chi-square values sufficient to warrant rejection of the null hypotheses. Hence, it was concluded that the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the total group of students are not related to the variable of social status. In view of the preceding findings, this, of course, was to be anticipated. The complete frequencies are presented in Appendix Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12.

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

In view of the above findings, it was decided that a series of cross-cultural comparisons of the relationship between role-expectations and social status merited consideration. The notion which suggested carrying out a further series of comparisons was that, while social status differences do not appear to differentiate the role-expectation patterns of the students on a national basis, United States and Mexican students of similar social status might exhibit similarities in role-expectations patterns. The central idea here was that socio-cultural convergence or interpenetration in the border area may occur selectively according to social status. Hence, were this so, it might be reflected by similarities in role-expectation patterns.

In considering the possibility that social status similarities may be related to similarities in role-expectations on a cross-cultural basis, the first comparison made was between high status Mexicans and the combined high and low status Anglo-American group. Since earlier findings showed that the Anglo-American group's role-expectation patterns differed significantly from those of the Mexicans on all four of the pattern variable scales, this comparison was deemed the strategically most crucial one to make.

First, the scale score distributions of the high status Mexicans and the combined Anglo-American group were compared on Scales III and IV. See Tables 45 and 46, respectively. The chi-square value on Scale III was significant at the .001 level, and on Scale IV at the .05 level. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected in both cases, and it was inferred that the role-expectation patterns of the high status Mexicans and those of the combined Anglo-American group do differ significantly from one another in these two dimensions. It may be concluded, then, that similarity in social status does not appear to show convergence of role-expectation patterns in these dimensions.

Next, the scale score distributions of the high status Mexicans and those of the combined Anglo-American group on Scales I and II were arranged into tables and subjected to chi-square analysis. In the case of Scale I, the chi-square value was significant at the .40 level, and this was not sufficient to reject the null hypothesis. See Table 47. Hence, it was inferred that the role-expectation patterns of the high status Mexicans and the total group of Anglo-Americans do not

TABLE 45

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	2	6	80	111	33	232
All Anglo-Americans	4	13	55	20	6	98
N	6	19	135	131	39	330

Chi-square = 36.6 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

TABLE 46

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	34	71	80	50	26	261
All Anglo-Americans	2	15	24	27	20	88
N	36	86	104	77	46	349

Chi-square = 17.5 P less than .01, d.f. = 7

TABLE 47

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	51	54	61	44	23	233
All Anglo-Americans	6	22	28	26	11	93
N	57	76	89	70	34	326

Chi-square = 7.4 P less than .40, d.f. = 7

TABLE 48

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	17	50	72	77	46	262
All Anglo-Americans	5	12	23	21	27	88
N	22	62	95	98	73	350

Chi-square = 2.2 P less than .95, d.f. = 7

differ significantly from one another. This was a particularly interesting finding since Mexican and United States students do differ significantly from one another when social status is not controlled. The significance of this finding will be discussed further below.

The scale score distributions of the high status Mexicans and the combined Anglo-American group then were compared on Scale II. See Table 48. In this case the chi-square value was significant at the .95 level, and this was not sufficient to reject the null hypothesis. Hence, it was concluded that the role-expectation patterns of the high status Mexicans and the total Anglo-American group do not differ significantly from one another on this dimension.

While the findings with respect to Scale I and II imply that the role-expectation patterns of high status Mexicans do not differ significantly from those of Anglo-Americans, the matter may not be dropped here. It will be recalled that social status did not appear to differentiate the role-expectation patterns of the Mexicans themselves. Hence, logically, the role-expectation patterns of the Anglo-Americans should not differ from those of the low status Mexicans. Further analyses showed, however, that the role-expectation patterns of the Anglo-Americans do differ significantly from those of the low status Mexicans on Scales I and II. See Tables 49, 50, and 51. It will be recalled, moreover, that Anglo-Americans' role-expectation patterns differed significantly from those of the total Mexican group on Scales I and II. See Tables 10 and 11.

In view of these logically inconsistent findings a further analysis

TABLE 49

LOW STATUS MEXICANS AND HIGH STATUS ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Anglo-Americans	2	6	36	9	2	55
Low Status Mexicans	21	24	21	14	6	86
N	23	30	57	23	8	141

Chi-square = 23.24 P less than .001, d.f. = 7

TABLE 50

LOW STATUS MEXICANS AND LOW STATUS ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group	Scale Type			
	I & II	III	IV & V	N
Low Status Anglo-Americans	18	16	25	59
Low Status Mexicans	45	20	19	84
N	63	36	44	143

Chi-square = 7.45 P less than .05, d.f. = 3

TABLE 51

LOW STATUS MEXICANS AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Low Status Mexicans	3	27	28	21	16	95
All Anglo-Americans	5	12	23	21	27	88
N	8	39	51	42	43	183

Chi-square = 9.4 P less than .20, d.f. = 7

TABLE 52

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS, LOW STATUS MEXICANS, AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	51	54	61	44	23	233
Low Status Mexicans	21	22	21	13	6	83
All Anglo-Americans	6	22	28	26	11	93
N	78	98	110	83	40	409

Chi-square = 15.9 P less than .20, d.f. = 12

was made. The scale score distributions of the high status Mexicans, low status Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans on Scale I were arranged in a table and submitted to a chi-square analysis. See Table 52. The level of significance of the chi-square value was .20. This level of significance is too high to reject summarily the null hypothesis but, nevertheless, may be taken as strong evidence that a difference does exist. On the assumption that a difference exists between these distributions, the mean rank of each group was calculated. The low status Mexicans were found to have a mean rank of 181.5, the high status Mexicans a mean rank of 198.8, and the Anglo-Americans a rank of 239.8 on Scale I.

It would appear from the relative mean ranks of these groups that the distribution of scale scores of high status Mexicans differs slightly from those of both low status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, lying as it were near a mid-point between these groups. Apparently this distribution of high status Mexicans is arranged in such a way that it is balanced at a point between the low status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans where it does not differ from either group sufficiently to allow the difference to appear in the chi-square tests.

The distribution of scale scores of the high status Mexicans on Scale I, then, may be interpreted in two different ways. It may be that high status Mexicans as a whole tend to fall in an intermediate position between the low status Mexicans and the Anglo-Americans. On the other hand, it may be that some high status Mexicans resemble Anglo-Americans and other resemble low status Mexicans. Thus, these two patterns "average out" at a point between low status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans.

TABLE 53

HIGH STATUS MEXICANS, LOW STATUS MEXICANS, AND ALL ANGLO-AMERICANS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexicans	17	50	72	77	46	262
Low Status Mexicans	3	27	28	21	16	95
All Anglo-Americans	5	12	23	21	27	88
N	25	89	123	119	89	445

Chi-square = 29.9 P less than .01, d.f. = 12

Next, the scale score distributions of the high status Mexicans, low status Mexicans, and combined Anglo-American group on Scale II were arranged in a table and submitted to a chi-square analysis. See Table 53. The level of significance of the chi-square value was .01. Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected and it was inferred that the role-expectation patterns of these three groups do differ significantly from one another on Scale II. The mean ranks of each group were calculated, and the low status Mexicans had a mean rank of 205.6, the high status Mexicans a rank of 220.3, and the combined Anglo-American group a rank of 250.2. The interpretation of these findings was similar to that in the case of Scale I discussed immediately above.

Substantively, these findings are especially interesting. On the one hand they may be interpreted as indicating that high status Mexicans are in process of transition from integration or identification with Anglo-American patterns of social relations. On the other hand, it may indicate that the social relational patterns of high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans are converging toward a common or like patterns. Presumably, the change would be principally in the direction of high status Mexicans moving toward integration into social relational patterns similar to those of the Anglo-Americans, however, the data of this study do not permit specification of this notion. In any event, the findings with respect to Scales I and II clearly imply a convergence of the role-expectation patterns of the high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans.

Summary

This chapter presented several analyses of the relationship between role-expectation patterns and the variable of social status. The index of status adopted by the study was that of father's occupation. The occupation of the respondent's father was then classified according to the United States census categories. It was noted that the social system theory, while it does not provide a clear implication as to the relationship between role-expectation patterns and social status differences in an urban-type society, would appear to suggest that some relationship may exist. With this general notion in mind, the findings of a number of empirical studies dealing with the relationship between social status and social participation were examined to determine if they might imply some clear indication of relationship between these variables. It was decided that they did not imply any clear indication of a consistent relationship.

Next, a series of analyses were made of the role-expectation patterns of the students included in this study. The role-expectation patterns of the United States students sub-divided according to high and low social status were arranged in tables and submitted to chi-square analysis. On none of the pattern variables scales could it be inferred that the role-expectation patterns of the United States students were differentiated according to social status differences. Another series of analyses was made of the role-expectation patterns of the Mexican students sub-divided according to social status. In this case, too, it was found that role-expectation patterns were not differentiated

according to social status. Finally, all of the students were combined into a single group sub-divided according to occupational categories, but in the case of none of the pattern variables scales could it be inferred that their role-expectation patterns were related to social status differences.

Next, a series of analyses were made comparing the high status Mexicans with the Anglo-Americans. The notion here was that socio-cultural convergence or interpenetration in the border area may occur selectively according to social status, and that if this were so it would be expected to be reflected in role-expectation patterns. It was found that the high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans differed significantly from one another on Scales III and IV and, hence, it could not be inferred that socio-cultural convergence or interpenetration had occurred in the two dimensions represented by these scales.

In the case of Scales I and II, however, it was found that the high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans did not differ significantly from one another. Moreover, further analyses showed that high status Mexicans ranked near a mid-point between low status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. It was concluded, then, that high status Mexicans exhibited patterns of role-expectations implying that they may be in process of transition from integration or identification with traditional Mexican patterns of social relations to integration into American-type patterns of social relations. An alternative interpretation suggested was that the high status Mexicans and Anglo-Americans may be converging toward common or like social relational patterns.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined a facet of the problem of moral integration in the United States-Mexican border setting by analyzing a range of data drawn from high school students living, principally, within the metropolitan communities of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. The frame of reference adopted for viewing the problem was that of the social system schema. The study had two principal purposes: the exploration of the applicability of the social system schema to a limited problem in empirical analysis, and the furtherance of general sociological knowledge of the structure of social relations in the United States-Mexican border area.

Methodology and Instruments

The methodology of this study involved four principal assumptions pertaining to cultural value standards and the structure of social relations in Mexico and the United States. Central to the methodology was the assumption that universalistic-type value standards predominate in the dominant national culture of Mexico. It was noted that universalistic-type value standards may be discerned in the institutions of organized labor movements, formal mass education, government, commerce and industry. Equally central to the methodology of the study was the assumption that universalistic-type value standards predominate in the dominant cultural institutions of the United States.

Two other assumptions of considerable importance to the methodological framework also were made. It was assumed that the social system of the United States is characterized by very high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations. As a corollary of this, it was assumed that relatively high degrees of differentiation and segregation of social relations obtain in Mexican society also. But it was contended that Mexican society exhibits a lower degree of differentiation and segregation of social relations, on the average, than does the United States.

The selection of the data gathering techniques and instruments was integral to the methodological framework of the study also. The data were gathered by means of a printed questionnaire on which respondents wrote responses. It is important to note that the data were not gathered by means of direct observation of interaction situations. The questionnaire, in addition to serving as a means of gathering social background data on the students, delimited a number of incidents or episodes involving dilemmas of role-orientations. The respondents were instructed to choose among several possible responses one which they felt to constitute a resolution to the dilemma. One result of adopting this methodological approach is that generalization to situation of actual social interaction becomes a highly tenuous undertaking, if it may be permitted at all. What may have been gained by this methodological approach in the way of isolating systematic features of role-expectations results in a sacrifice of knowledge concerning numerous factors which may effect persons' decisions in real interaction situations.

The Guttman scale technique was adopted as the means of classifying and differentiating the responses of the students. This technique was adopted for two principal reasons. First, it was deemed that the development of Guttman scales of universalism versus particularism and self versus collectivity-orientation would in itself constitute a form of evidence bearing upon the implications of the theory which were to be tested. Second, it was considered that this type of instrument might be especially useful in providing the empirical basis for differentiating patterns of role-expectations among the students. Incidental to these considerations, the development of a set of Guttman scales differentiating role-expectations patterns on a bi-cultural population constituted a challenging sociological endeavor which heretofore had not been undertaken. It was hoped that the successful adaptation of the Guttman scaling technique in this study might demonstrate its wide utility in the analysis of numerous cross-cultural problems, especially problems of acculturation or assimilation.

The study succeeded in developing four Guttman scales. The construction of these scales constituted a major instrumentation problem which had to be surmounted prior to the testing of the theoretical implications of the social system schema. Hence, construction of the scales consumed the greater amount of time during the field work phase of the study. Two Guttman scales based on the distinctions between universalism and particularism, and two scales based on self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation were constructed on a bi-cultural population consisting of students drawn from public high schools in El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

The scale items consisted of a series of short stories or episodes. Each episode portrayed a hypothetical yet realistic situation involving conflicting demands placed upon a social actor. The conflicting demands derived from the actor's simultaneous involvement in two socially differentiated role relationships. This stage of pre-testing was conducted with students in both the El Paso and Juarez high schools.

The final forms of the scales consisted of four items each. Scale I consisted of four short stories involving a dilemma of universalism versus particularism. The stories were focused on conflicting demands deriving from a familial role (brother) and a role in an instrumental exchange complex. Scale II also involved items based on the dilemma of universalism versus particularism. However, these stories focused on conflicting demands deriving from a friendship role and several other highly generalized social roles. Scale III involved a dilemma of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the family. The stories in this scale focused on demands deriving from a familial role conflicting with specified self-interests. Scale IV was based on the dilemma of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the peer group. Here the stories centered upon demands deriving from a peer group role conflicting with specified self-interests.

Empirical Findings

The empirical findings gathered by the study were in the first instance intended to bear upon four principal implications of the social system schema. These implications were formulated as propositions and,

then, hypotheses predicated upon them and bearing upon the empirical data were formulated and tested. These propositions are set down again below in order to facilitate the reader's comprehension of this summary of empirical findings.

Proposition I

Social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards.

Proposition II

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of particularistic to a predominance of universalistic types.

Proposition III

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the family to a predominance of self-orientation.

Proposition IV

As the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations increases in a social system role-expectations will change from a predominance of self-orientation to a predominance of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group.

It was found that the data failed to support Proposition I (that social role-expectations represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards.) Given the assumptions that both Mexican and United States cultures exhibit salient and pervasive configurations of universalistic-type value standards, the proposition could not be considered supported by the data of this study for two reasons. First, neither the group of United States students nor the group of Mexican students exhibited anything approximating consensus with respect to their role-expectation patterns. The role-expectation patterns of each group ranged from all particularistic-type responses

to all universalistic-type responses. Were role expectations to represent a relatively unmodified transposition of cultural value standards such an empirical finding could not have occurred. Second, while both United States and Mexican culture exhibit salient universalistic-type value standards, the role-expectation patterns of the Mexican students differed from those of the United States students in the direction of a higher incidence of particularistic-type responses. This finding, then, also contradicted Proposition I. Certain suggestions will be offered below with respect to how this sector of the social system theory might be fruitfully modified.

The findings pertaining to Proposition II, i.e., the relationship between universalistic-type role-expectations and the extent of differentiation of social relations in a social system, were found to support it. It was hypothesized that the United States students would exhibit a higher incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations than the Mexican students, and this hypothesis was confirmed by the data on Scales I and II. It was concluded, then, that these findings lend empirical support to this general notion of the social system theory.

The findings pertaining to Proposition III, i.e., the relationship between self-orientation and the extent of differentiation of social relations, were found to support it also. In this case it was hypothesized that the United States students would exhibit a higher incidence of self-orientation than the Mexican students, and this hypothesis was confirmed by the data on Scale III. It was concluded that these findings also lend a measure of empirical support to Parsons' theoretical conceptions.

Finally, the findings pertaining to Proposition IV, i.e., the relationship between collectivity-orientation toward the peer group and the extent of differentiation in a social system, supported it also. It was hypothesized that the United States students would exhibit a higher incidence of peer group orientation than the Mexicans, and this hypothesis was confirmed by the data on Scale IV.

These empirical findings lend support to three of the theoretical implications of the social system schema and contradict one of them. They may be considered to constitute a first approximation to an empirical verification of these sectors of the social system schema. Except in the case of Proposition I, the findings constitute only tentative verification of the schema because it is entirely possible that new materials may contradict them. In the case of Proposition I, however, the negative findings may be considered to deny the truth of the proposition and invalidate the theoretical conception of the relationship. The significance of the invalidation of this theoretical relationship requires further comment, and this will be taken up below.

Types of Role-Expectations and Ethnic Status Differences

While the general notions comprehended by Propositions II, III, and IV were supported by the findings, further analyses showed that ethnic status differences within the United States student group differentiated the role-expectation patterns of these students. It was positied that the Anglo-American, English-speaking, Spanish-speaking and bilingual Spanish-Americans may be integrated or identified

with distinctive social relational patterns. The form of differentiation of the role-expectation patterns of these sub-groups strongly supported this view. It was posited that the Anglo-American and English-speaking Spanish-Americans were integrated or identified with similar social relational patterns, and the findings supported this view. Moreover, it was posited that these two ethnic sub-groups were integrated with the dominant patterns of social relations in the United States, i.e., integrated with highly differentiated and segregated patterns of social relations. The role-expectations exhibited by these two sub-groups on each of the pattern variables scales supported this notion. They exhibited relatively high incidences of universalism on Scales I and II, a high incidence of self-orientation on Scale III, and a very high incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group on Scale IV.

It was posited that the Spanish-speaking sub-group was integrated or identified with traditional Spanish-American patterns of social relations, i.e., less differentiated and segretated than those dominant in United States society. The role-expectations exhibited by this sub-group on the pattern variables scales were viewed as supporting this contention.

Finally, it was posited that the bilingual Spanish-American sub-group was integrated or identified with deviant patterns of social relations, different from those of both the dominant Anglo-Americans and traditional Spanish-Americans. The findings strongly supported this view also. With respect to the universalistic-particularistic dimension of role-expectations this sub-group differed from both the

traditional Spanish-American group and the dominant Anglo-American group. The bilingual Spanish-Americans exhibited a considerably higher incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations than even the Anglo-Americans. It was inferred, then, that in these dimensions the bilingual Spanish-Americans may be integrated or identified with an even more highly differentiated and segregated pattern of social relations than the Anglo-Americans.

With respect to self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the family, the bilingual Spanish-Americans exhibited a high incidence of self-orientation. Their role-expectation patterns, indeed, did not differ from those of the Anglo-Americans on this dimension. On the other hand, with respect to self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the peer group, the bilingual Spanish-Americans exhibited a high incidence of self-orientation. This was in sharp contrast with the Anglo-Americans who exhibited a very high incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group.

Clearly, the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the bilingual Spanish-Americans imply that they may be integrated or identified with a deviant pattern of social relations. The notion that they might be in process of transition from integration or identification with traditional Spanish-American patterns of social relations to those of the dominant Anglo-Americans was examined, but the findings did not support such a view. On the other hand, the notion which more adequately accounts for the role-expectations exhibited by the bilingual Spanish-Americans is that they may be integrated or identified with an emergent pattern of social relations within the context of the ethnically

differentiated social system of the border area. This notion stands up well against the findings and is the conclusion favored by the study.

The interesting feature which the bilingual Spanish-American group exhibited is the more frequent rejection of particularistic-type demands deriving from both family and peer groups. The obverse of this is the more frequent exhibition of self-orientation in family and peer group relationships. The bilingual Spanish-Americans tend to exhibit more frequently an independence of particularistic ties than the members of any of the other groups studied. While the findings would imply that in the case of the Anglo-Americans and English-speaking Spanish-Americans the rejection of strong kinship ties may be compensated for by the development of strong ties to the peer group, the bilingual students would appear to lack strong attachments to both the kinship and peer groups.

It was observed that the Spanish-Americans who speak both English and Spanish to peers constituted approximately forty-five percent of the total Spanish-Americans studied. While the methodology of the study did not require stratified sampling involving the factor of language, there is no particular reason to believe that such a large portion of bilingual students may be a biased representation of their numbers in the population of the community. It seems very likely, in fact, that this ethnic sub-group may constitute a large sector of the Spanish-American youth population throughout the border area.

Types of Role-Expectations and Social Status Differences

An attempt was made to determine if social status differences appeared to be related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by the United States and Mexican students. The subjects were subdivided into high and low status groups and their scale scores on each of the pattern variable scales were subjected to chi-square analysis. The findings did not show any significant differences between the role-expectations of high status and low status groups among the United States students or among the Mexican students. It was concluded that, in general, social status differences were not related to the patterns of role-expectations exhibited by either the American or Mexican students included in this study.

The study did turn up a particularly interesting finding pertaining to the cross cultural significance of status similarities. It was found that the role-expectations of the high status Mexicans on the dimension of universalism versus particularism did not differ significantly from those of the Anglo-Americans. This comparison was made because it was posited that socio-cultural convergence between Mexico and the United States might occur selectively according to social status in the border area. These findings were particularly interesting in that they rather clearly imply that high status Mexican students may be either in process of transition toward integration or identification with American-type patterns of role-expectations or that high status Mexican students and Anglo-Americans may be converging toward common or like social relational patterns. From the data available

to this study, of course, it is not possible to offer a definitive statement as to whether these findings reflect the diffusion of social relational patterns, the emergence of a socio-cultural linkage, or independent convergence toward similar relational patterns. The theoretical propositions of the social system schema, however, would strongly suggest the notion of independent convergence. If the theory is correct in this respect, and previous findings presented here do support it, then it would be expected that as the extent of differentiation and segregation of role relationships increases in Mexican society Mexicans' role-expectations will gradually assume a greater likeness to those of the Anglo-Americans. That is, they will gradually move toward a higher incidence of universalism.

While the high status Mexican students would appear to exhibit role-expectation patterns similar to those of the Anglo-Americans with respect to the dimension of universalism versus particularism, they clearly did not do so with respect to the other two dimensions of role-expectations studied. With respect to the dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the family, they differed from the Anglo-Americans in the direction of a considerably higher incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the family. And with respect to the dimension of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation toward the peer group, they differed from the Anglo-Americans in the direction of a higher incidence of self-orientation.

Effects of Cross-Cultural Education on Mexican Students' Role-Expectations

The study also examined the effects of cross-cultural educational experience on the role-expectations patterns of a group of Mexican students. This group of students was enrolled in special English courses at a public high school in El Paso, Texas. However, they were not integrated into the regular courses of study at the high school. Since general information concerning their out-of-school activities and associations was not available to the study, it was not possible to assess the effects of contact with the United States socio-cultural milieu outside of the school. Hence, the study limited its inquiry to the relationship between types of role-expectations exhibited and extent of education in the United States. The findings indicated that the students' educational experience in the special English courses was not related to the patterns of role-expectations which they exhibited. The notion was considered that these students might be in process of transition toward integration or identification with United States patterns of social relations, but this was not supported by the findings. On the other hand, the findings did imply that these students may be integrated or identified with a deviant Mexican pattern of social relations. They exhibited higher incidences of particularism than the other Mexican students, as well as a higher incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the family. But, again, the effects of the educational experience did not appear to be related to these role-expectation patterns.

The Problem of Moral Integration and the Social System Schema

In undertaking this summary it would be well briefly to review certain basic theoretical positions which Parsons takes in order to indicate the focus of criticism which this study suggests as well as the basis of our departure from his views. Our central concern is with Parsons' conception of the maintenance of stability and order in a socio-cultural system. As was indicated previously, the problem of moral integration as it is viewed here involves the relationship between normative and existential standards, and it is precisely with this relationship that Parsons deals in his basic paradigm of the maintenance of stability and order in social action.

The focus of this study's criticism of Parsons' paradigm for the theoretical resolution of the problem of the maintenance of stability and order in social action concerns his positing too unaltered a transposition of value standards into role-expectations. Moreover, it is not merely that we take issue with Parsons' position on this point in isolation from the rest of his schema. It is rather that, his position on this point has ramifications for large sectors of the schema, for empirical analysis, and for further theoretical conceptualization. In his exposition of the distinctions between the pattern variables at the cultural and social system levels he focuses upon a special or limiting case wherein perfect integration of role-expectations with value standards obtains. Thus, in his paradigm of social action each actor expects others to react to him in conformance with value standards prescribing how they ought to react. The notion here is that each will

act in accordance with the shared value standard owing to its internalization as a need-disposition in their respective personalities. The "guarantee" that each actor will orient his action so as to conform with the internalized value standard is supposed to reside in a basic motivational principle. Parsons says that, "By and large we are on psychological grounds justified in saying ego's orientation will on balance tend to be oriented to stimulating the favorable, gratification-producing reactions and avoiding provocations for the unfavorable, deprivation-producing reactions."[1] This is precisely the point, of course, on which others have criticized Parsons for invoking a hedonistic principle of motivation, a principle which is by no means established on psychological grounds and one which is definitely subject to dispute.

It is from this basic paradigm of the maintenance of stability and order in social action that Parsons derives the concept of value-orientation. Given that a shared value standard is internalized by the actors as need-dispositions in their personalities, it follows that in a socio-culturally relevant context these needs may be conceived as value-orientations. Now, while we take issue with Parsons' basic model, we do not find any fundamental objections to the derivation from the model of the concept of value-orientations. Our objections to Parsons' notions center upon the form of the resolution of the problem of order in the model. Parsons would have it that order in

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1 Talcott Parsons, The Social System. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, p. 37.

a system of role relationships is to be explained in the "basic" case by the internalization of value standards in the first instance, and subsequently by the operation of a hedonistic motivational principle which compels persons to orient their actions in terms of the given value standards. Role-expectations in this model are largely the transposition of cultural value standards. What Parsons has filed to do in the construction of his model, then, is to maintain the distinctions between the normative and existential orders.

At the level of substantive social experience, normative propositions may be distinguished from existential propositions on the basis of the former constituting conceptions of what ought to be, while the latter are conceptions of what is or what is possible. Normative propositions involving a moral element are generally viewed as conceptions of the desirable or the ideal, while existential propositions are conceptions of what is given in reality or what is believed to be given. Hence, it may be seen that the concept of value standard refers to the normative aspect of the cultural tradition and value-orientation refers to the individual's orientation to some given sector of the normative standards of the culture. The concept of role-expectations, on the other hand, refers to the existential order of substantive social experience. The distinctions between the normative and existential, which are recognized elsewhere in the schema, are ignored in the function assigned to the concept of value-orientation. In his paradigm and in his endeavours at illustration of the empirical applicability of the schema Parsons lumps together both the normative and existential modes of orientation of actors under the category of

value-orientations.

Parsons, thus, achieves the construction of a model describing the generic basis for the maintenance of stability and order in a system of social action at the expense of ignoring the distinctions between the normative and existential orders. Role-expectations, the existential propositions of substantive social experience, become the socially relevant expression of need-dispositions of the personality in his model. It was the argument of this thesis that such a model implies too unaltered a transposition of cultural value standards into social role-expectations, and the study contends to have shown the inapplicability of this model to the analysis of a range of relevant sociological data.

It was pointed out that salient universalistic-type value standards obtain in both the dominant Mexican culture and that of the United States. Given the saliency of universalistic-type value standards in both cultures, it should have followed that both the United States and Mexican students would exhibit predominantly universalistic-type role-expectations. Empirically, however, it was found that this was not the case. A range of role-expectations, varying from predominantly universalistic to predominantly particularistic, was exhibited among each group of students. Accepting Parsons' model of the maintenance of order, the data clearly show that universalistic-type value standards have not been thoroughly internalized by either the Mexican or United States students. The data do indicate, however, that in terms of a statistical norm the United States student group taken as a whole exhibits a greater tendency toward universalistic-type role-expectations

than the Mexican group.

Now, it is possible to argue that the exhibition among the Mexican students of a range of role-expectations varying from predominantly particularistic to predominantly universalistic merely provides us with an index of mal-institutionalization in Parsons' terms. Given a knowledge of social and political revolution in recent Mexican history, it might not be expected that the dominant universalistic-type value standards be thoroughly internalized throughout the population as yet. Hence, if they have not been so internalized and become need-dispositions in the students' personalities it would not be expected that they be exhibited in the role-expectations patterns of the whole group of Mexican students. Thus, under this view the data pertaining to the role-expectations exhibited by the Mexican students could be interpreted as conforming to Parsons' model.

But, upon turning to the role-expectation patterns exhibited by the United States students we are faced with a somewhat more difficult task of fitting the data to the model. The United States students also exhibited a range of role-expectations varying from predominantly universalistic to predominantly particularistic. Here, however, we are not faced with a society which has experienced recent disruption and radical change in its dominant cultural value standards.[2] How, then, do we explain the considerable variation in role-expectation patterns exhibited among the United States student group? Is this wide variation

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[2] Which is not to say that the United States has not experienced vast changes in social structure over the past fifty years.

also to be taken as an index of mal-institutionalization in Parsons' terms? If so, then what does this imply with respect to the appropriateness of his model for the description of the maintenance of stability and order in social action? It would seem to imply that the maintenance of stability and order in social action via the internalization of value standards as need-dispositions in actors' personalities lacks universal empirical applicability. This, of course, is precisely the view which this study takes of Parsons' model and constitutes one of the chief criticisms leveled against it. Thus, both for reasons of obfuscation of the distinctions between the normative and existential orders and limited empirical applicability we question the appropriateness of Parsons' model. Such a basis for the maintenance of stability and order in social action would appear to be empirically atypical and probably obtainable only in the extreme. It is suggested that even an approximation to Parsons' model may be obtainable empirically only in very small scale social systems in a state of unusual stability.

This basic paradigm of Parsons has further ramifications for his theory and for empirical analysis. One important feature of the social system schema which follows from this model is the relegation to a problem of deviancy of the case of incongruence between the normative and existential modes of an actor's orientations. While incongruence or divergence between these two modes of orientation is not considered in his model, Parsons does give attention to this matter in the treatment of deviancy. But even here the model, grounded so thoroughly as it is on the notion of the internalization of value-standards as need-dispositions in the personality, would appear to structure his

ideas in such a fashion as to lead away from the specifically sociological relevance of deviancy. In his discussion of deviancy he is led to the consideration of social personality types which may result as deviant reactions to the demands of the "predominant" cultural patterns. Thus, he recognizes and elaborates Merton's notions pertaining to social personality types. He fails, however, to consider the effects upon the maintenance of stability and order in social action of different degrees of divergency between persons' existential and normative orientations and the different ramifications which such divergency may have depending upon its extensiveness and location in the social structure.

Another important feature of Parsons' schema which follows from his basic paradigm is the notion of "predominant" value-orientation patterns in societies. The theoretical function of such a view is quite clear, and such a notion would seem to be necessary to the explanation of the maintenance of order, given his basic model. This concept appears to lead in empirical analysis to the description of a cultural ethos. This is particularly evident in Parsons' attempt at the illustrative analysis of Latin American patterns. We suggest that the notion of predominant value-orientation patterns in a socio-cultural system leads to the imputation of a considerably greater degree of unity in the empirical case than actually may exist. That is, the assumption of a predominant value-orientation pattern implies its distribution generally throughout the members of a society, regardless of their location in the social structure. This feature of the schema, then, directs further conceptualization and empirical analysis

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away from the consideration of the strategic importance of given roles, collectivities, and social aggregates in the maintenance of stability and order in modern Western societies, e.g., the strategic function of the "middle class." It also directs our thinking away from the consideration of the possibility of a plurality of value standards differentially institutionalized throughout the population according to a person's place in the social structure. Furthermore, the model and the derived notion of predominant value-orientations in a society, leads completely away from the consideration of the possibility of an absence of normative standards among persons occupying certain sectors of the social structure except as this may constitute a form of deviancy, i.e., anomie. It would seem to us that a possible alternative conception to the notion of the predominance of a set of value-orientation patterns in a society might be that of a conception of a plurality of value standards or a dominant and one or more subordinant value patterns.

The raising of these alternative conceptions has ramifications, of course, for various aspects of the conception of society. In the first place it suggests an overall view of societies as considerably less tightly knit systems than we feel Parsons' views would imply. Parsons' views seem to imply an essentially monolithic structure with variations from a predominant value system relegated to an analytical problem of deviancy in personality structure. While this would seem to be the implication of his basic model of the maintenance of order in society there are sectors of Parsons' schema which suggest a contradiction of the model and which lead toward a more sociological view

of society.

Moral Integration and Social Structure

In addition to the question of the relationship between role-expectations and cultural value standards the study also examined certain other implications of the social system schema pertaining to the problem of moral integration. These implications concerned the relationship between types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. The findings of the study were discussed earlier, but their significance with respect to the problem of moral integration needs to be elaborated here.

The study of the relationship between the incidence of certain types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system was focused upon as an aspect of the problem of moral integration because it is concerned with the maintenance of stability and order in society. It was pointed out that the specifically sociological features of the problem are dealt with in Parsons' discussion of the relationship between role-expectation types and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Here, the empirical referent of the theoretical problem of order is recognized as residing in a functional relationship between features of the social structure and the existential orientations which people exhibit with respect to substantive problems of integration.

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The study of the relationship between the incidence of certain types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system was focused upon as an aspect of the problem of moral integration because it is concerned with the maintenance of stability and order in society. It was pointed out that the specifically sociological features of the problem are dealt with in Parsons' discussion of the relationship between role-expectation types and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations. Here, the empirical referent of the theoretical problem of order is recognized as residing in a functional relationship between features of the social structure and the existential orientations which people exhibit with respect to substantive problems of integration.

It is important to note that the empirical findings of the study

were interpreted as supporting the implications of the social system schema with respect to the relationship between several types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. Specifically, Parsons' notions imply that we should find a progressively higher incidence of universalistic-type role-expectations among persons accordingly as the extent of differentiation and segregation of role-relations increases. On the other hand, we should expect that as differentiation and segregation of social relations increases the incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the family will decrease. Finally, Parsons' views imply that as differentiation and segregation increase we should expect a progressively higher incidence of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group. Now, while from the statistical analysis of the data we were led to infer that these implications of the social system schema are supported, it must again be noted that a wide range of variations in role-expectation types was exhibited among both the United States students and the Mexican students. While, in accordance with the theory, the Mexican group exhibited higher incidences of particularism and of collectivity-orientation toward the peer group, these were merely statistical averages. Not all Mexicans exhibited higher incidences than Americans of particularism and of collectivity-orientation toward the family. Some Mexicans ranked higher than many Americans. The point is that while Mexicans and Americans as groups exhibited significantly different role-expectation types in directions which conform with the implications of the social system theory this was not the case on an individual basis of comparison.

If, then, Parsons' model were to be accepted we should have to conclude that large segments of both the Mexican and United States student groups had not internalized the value standards of their cultures and, hence, constitute problems of deviancy. This circumstance in turn implies a threat to stability and order in the social system. As was noted earlier, the interpretation of this wide variation in role-expectation types as representing a high incidence of deviancy was rejected. Conceptions were advanced by the study which in some measure account for the wide variation in role-expectation types exhibited by the United States students. Ethnic status differences among the United States students were shown to differentiate their role-expectation patterns. Thus, the wide variation was accounted for in part by viewing it as a function of the location of students in different positions in a highly differentiated social structure. Rather than viewing out of hand the differences in role-expectation patterns between the Anglo-Americans and Spanish-speaking Spanish-Americans as a problem of deviancy of the latter from the predominant patterns of American society and, hence, a threat to order in the social system, the notion was proposed that the types of role-expectations exhibited by this Spanish-American group may reflect a lower incidence of involvement in the dominant relational patterns of the social system. Thus, the idea of dominant and subordinate patterns of social relations was introduced into the thesis.

Here it is crucial to note that, if Parsons' views be accepted, what we have termed a subordinate pattern must be interpreted as a case of deviancy, thus a threat to the stability and order of the

social system. However, the matter would appear to be somewhat more complex than this. First, this study suggested that, rather than indicating a problem of deviancy, the role-expectation pattern differences between the Anglos and Spanish-speaking Spanish-Americans may reflect a tendency toward functional adaptation of the latter to the exigencies of existence in a social milieu dominated by Anglos. In a like fashion, the role-expectation pattern differences between the bilingual Spanish-Americans and the Anglos may reflect a tendency toward the functional adaptation of the latter, given its ethnic status in American or, at least, "border" society. On the one hand, then, it seems fairly clear that the Spanish-speaking Spanish-American group constitutes a case wherein the incidence of divergence of persons' role-expectations from the dominant value standards of the society is relatively high. On the other hand, we suggest that this may very likely represent a functional adaptation to the milieu in which this economically disadvantaged ethnic group lives. If we are correct in this, then what in Parsons' view would constitute a problem in deviancy and, hence, a threat to the maintenance of stability and order in the social system, constitutes in our view a functional adaptation promoting stability and order based on an intricate system of dominant-subordinate relationships. The data do imply, of course, the absence of complete integration of the Spanish-Americans into the social relational patterns of the Anglo-Americans, but this is a question quite apart from that of whether the given role-expectation patterns of the Spanish-Americans represent a threat to stability and order in the social system.

We have completed the examination of the problem of moral integration as it pertains to the maintenance of stability and order in a complex system of social relations. To proceed further on the basis of the limited range of data which this study has presented would be to place excessive demands upon it and invite an exaggeration of its importance. The problem of moral integration was discussed with respect to the transposition of cultural value standards into social role-expectations, and it was found that a high incidence of divergence between the dominant value standards and persons' role-expectations was exhibited among all of the sub-groups analyzed. The problem of moral integration also was discussed with respect to the relationship between types of role-expectations and the extent of differentiation and segregation of social relations in a social system. At a general level Parsons' notion pertaining to this relationship were supported by the analyses presented by the study. In conclusion, then, it would seem clear that the data imply either (1) that the systems of social relations in which both the Mexican and United States students are involved lack a high level of order, or (2) that a high degree of moral integration may not constitute so vital a feature of the maintenance of stability and order as Parsons and others would suggest. This study favors the latter view.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX TABLE 54

ALL UNITED STATES STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group		Scale Type					
		I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status U.S. Students		5	17	19	11	12	64
Low Status U.S. Students		7	19	30	34	19	109
	N	12	36	49	45	31	173

Chi-square = .1 P less than .99, d.f. = 5

APPENDIX TABLE 55

ALL UNITED STATES STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Status Group		Scale Type					
		I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status U.S. Students		3	6	18	15	18	60
Low Status U.S. Students		6	13	26	24	39	108
	N	9	19	44	39	57	168

Chi-square = -3.7

APPENDIX TABLE 56

ALL UNITED STATES STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status U.S. Students	2	8	38	10	3	61
Low Status U.S. Students	3	18	52	33	6	112
N	5	26	90	43	9	173

Chi-square = .5

APPENDIX TABLE 57

ALL UNITED STATES STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status U.S. Students	5	9	14	16	16	60
Low Status U.S. Students	8	24	31	27	22	112
N	13	33	45	43	38	172

Chi-square = -3

APPENDIX TABLE 58

ALL MEXICAN STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexican Students	51	54	61	44	23	233
Low Status Mexican Students	21	22	21	13	6	83
N	72	76	82	57	29	316

Chi-square = 1.8 P less than .98, d.f. = 7

APPENDIX TABLE 59

ALL MEXICAN STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexican Student	17	50	72	77	46	262
Low Status Mexican Student	3	27	28	21	16	95
N	20	77	100	98	62	357

Chi-square = .7

APPENDIX TABLE 60

ALL MEXICAN STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexican Students	2	6	80	111	33	232
Low Status Mexican Students	-	3	32	32	19	86
N	2	9	112	143	52	318

Chi-square = .1

APPENDIX TABLE 61

ALL MEXICAN STUDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW STATUS, DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Status Group	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
High Status Mexican Students	34	71	80	50	26	261
Low Status Mexican Students	18	26	28	15	8	95
N	52	97	108	65	34	356

Chi-square = -2.9

APPENDIX TABLE 62

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC ROLE VERSUS A FAMILIAL ROLE (SCALE I)

Occupational Category of Father	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Professionals	13	14	19	18	7	71
Farmers	4	9	5	2	2	22
Proprietors, Managers and Officials	43	45	47	44	27	206
Clerks	18	18	18	11	13	78
Skilled Workers	12	17	23	14	5	71
Semi-skilled Workers	14	20	25	25	15	99
Laborers and Servant Classes	15	15	19	19	11	79
N	119	138	156	133	80	626

Chi-square = 21.3 P less than .90, d.f. = 32

APPENDIX TABLE 63

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE VERSUS A FRIENDSHIP ROLE (SCALE II)

Occupational Category of Father	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Professional	3	10	18	18	16	65
Farmers	4	5	7	4	2	22
Proprietors, Managers	15	32	49	48	39	183
Clerks	2	9	17	22	8	58
Skilled Workers	2	16	14	12	10	54
Semi-skilled Workers	2	17	17	19	30	85
Laborers and Servant Classes	5	7	23	14	16	65
N	33	96	145	137	121	532

Chi-square = 38.7 P less than .20, d.f. = 32

APPENDIX TABLE 64

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FAMILY (SCALE III)

Occupational Category of Father	Scale Type				
	I & II	III	IV	V	N
Professionals	2	22	33	11	68
Farmers	1	7	11	4	23
Proprietors, Managers & Officials	9	77	79	31	196
Clerks	10	30	39	9	88
Skilled Workers	9	33	24	9	75
Semi-skilled Workers	12	34	38	14	98
Laborers and Servant Classes	4	25	26	20	75
N	47	228	250	98	623

Chi-square = 24.7 P less than .30, d.f. = 25

APPENDIX TABLE 65

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE TYPES DERIVED FROM RESPONSES TO ROLE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS INVOLVING SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION TOWARD THE PEER GROUP (SCALE IV)

Occupational Category of Father	Scale Type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	N
Professional	2	9	24	15	12	62
Farmers	1	5	7	4	2	19
Proprietors, Managers & Officials	25	49	49	30	19	172
Clerks	11	17	13	17	10	68
Skilled Workers	10	14	16	11	8	59
Semi-skilled Workers	10	22	23	18	11	84
Laborers and Servant Classes	6	14	20	13	11	64
N	65	130	152	108	73	528

Chi-square = 22.9 P less than .90, d.f. = 32

APPENDIX B

Form No. 6

YOUR NAME_____

NAME OF THE SCHOOL_____

CLASS_____

THIS STUDY IS SPONSORED BY

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MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

1. Please PRINT your name. _____

2. Your age. _____

3. Your sex. _____Male _____ Female

4. What grade are you in at this school? _____

5. What course are you taking at this school?_____

6. Where do you live? (City)_____ (State)_____

7. Where were you born? (City)_____ (State)_____

8. Where have you lived most of your life?

_____El Paso

_____Juarez

_____Other city (Name of city)_____(State)_____

_____Small town (Name of town)_____(State)_____

_____On a Ranch or Farm (Name of closest town)_____(State)____

9. In what country was your father born?_____

10. In what country was your mother born?_____

11. Who provides the chief support in your family?_____

***Please explain what kind of work this person does, and what kind of company or organization he (or she) works for.

_____

_____

_____

12. How far in school did your father go?_____

13. How long have you lived in the United States?

_____I have always lived in the United States

_____I have never lived in the United States

_____I have lived in the United States _____and_____.
(Years) (Months)

14. How long have you lived in Mexico?

_____I have always lived in Mexico.

_____I have never lived in Mexico.

_____I have lived in Mexico _____years and_____months.

15. When you speak to your parents, what language so you usually use?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both English and Spanish about equally

_____Another language (What one?_____)

16. After school, when you are with friends of about your same age, what language do you usually speak?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both English and Spanish about equally

_____Another language (What one?_____)

17. What language do you feel you speak best?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both about the same.

18. What is your religion?

___Catholic

___Protestant (What denomination?_____)

___Jewish

___Other (What one?_____)

19. How many brothers do you have? _____

20. How many sisters do you have? _____

14. How long have you lived in Mexico?

_____I have always lived in Mexico.

_____I have never lived in Mexico.

_____I have lived in Mexico _____years and_____months.

15. When you speak to your parents, what language so you usually use?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both English and Spanish about equally

_____Another language (What one?_____)

16. After school, when you are with friends of about your same age, what language do you usually speak?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both English and Spanish about equally

_____Another language (What one?_____)

17. What language do you feel you speak best?

_____English

_____Spanish

_____Both about the same.

18. What is your religion?

___Catholic

___Protestant (What denomination?_____)

___Jewish

___Other (What one?_____)

19. How many brothers do you have? _____

20. How many sisters do you have? _____

21. Do your parents own a car? Yes._____ No._____

If your parents do own a car,

What make is it?_____.

What year?_____.

22. Do you own a car? Yes_____ No_____

What make is it?_____.

What year?_____.

23. Does your family own the house where they live, or do they rent it?

Own_____.

Rent_____.

24. What is your marital status?

_____Single.

_____Married.

_____Divorced.

25. Write in the names of the three boys or girls you go around with most here at school.

First name	Last name	Age	Grade	Is he or she related?
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				

STORY 1 You are a department manager in a large store. One day it is decided that there will be a special sale of certain articles in your department within about ten days. It was also decided, however, that it would be best for business reasons not to announce the sale just yet. That evening you have dinner with your brother who is in business for himself. Your brother tells you that he is going to buy a large quantity of these articles tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. If he goes ahead and buys these articles tomorrow he will, of course, pay the regular price, but if he waits and buys them during the sale he will save a considerable amount of money.

(a) What right does your brother have to expect you to tip him off about the coming sale?

_____My brother would have a definite right to expect me to tip him off about the coming sale.

_____My brother would have some right to expect me to tip him off about the coming sale.

_____My brother would have no right to expect me to tip him off about the coming sale.

(b) In view of your obligations towards your brother and your obligations to the store, what do you think you would do?

_____I would tip off my brother about the coming sale, and thus save him a considerable amount of money.

_____I would not tip off my brother, and I would let him go ahead and pay the higher price.

****

STORY 2 You are the head of a large office. One of the supervisors leaves the company, and so you have to select a new one. Your brother also works in the office. He is a good worker, but there might be some other employees in the office who are harder workers than he is. Your brother wants the job.

(a) In view of the circumstances, what right does your brother have to expect you to select him for the job?

_____He has a definite right to expect me to select him for the job.

_____He has some right to expect me to select him for the job.

_____He has no right to expect me to select him for the job.

(b) In view of your obligations to a brother and your obligations to the other employees and to the company, what do you think you would do?

_____I would select my brother for the job.

_____I would select the hardest worker for the job, even if this meant leaving my brother in his old job.

STORY 3 Your brother is looking for a job. You work in an office. In fact, you are the head of the office, and among your other duties your are also in charge of hiring new employees. Beginning next week the office will need several new employees. It seems likely that your brother could handle one of the jobs which will become available next week, but you are not absolutely sure that he could. You have some doubts about his ability to do some of the minor things connected with the job.

(a) What right would your brother have to expect you to hire him for the job?
_____He would have a definite right to expect me to hire him for the job.
_____He would have some right to expect me to hire him for the job.
_____He would have no right to expect me to hire him for the job.

(b) In view of your obligations to him as your brother, what do you think you would do?
_____I think that I would hire him, even if I did have some doubts about his abilities to do some of the minor things connected with the job.
_____I think that I would not hire him, and I would look for someone who appeared to be capable of doing even those few minor things connected with the job.

****

STORY 4 You are in charge of an office which provides a service to the public. Anyone who wishes to receive this service must make application through your office. It generally takes your office about a week to look over a person's application, check it, and give the final approval on it. But it is possible to push through an application in two days time if you give the order to do so. This morning your brother comes to your office and tells you that he needs your help. He needs to have his application checked and approved within two or three days. If he waits a full week as is usual it will make things very inconvenient for him.

(a) How much right does your brother have to expect you to push through his application intwo days instead of makinghim wait a full week?
_____My brother would have a definite right to expect me to push through his application in two days instead of making him wait a full week.
_____My brother would have some right to expect me to push through his application in two days instead of making him wait a full week.
_____My brother would have no right to expect me to push through his application in two days instead of making him wait a full week.

(b) Considering your obligations to a brother what do you think you would do in a situation like this?
_____I think I would give the order to have my brother's application processed.
_____I think that I would make my brother wait a full week.

STORY 5 You are riding in a car driven by a close friend. Your friend turns a corner rather fast and the rear fender scrapes against a pole and is slightly damaged. Your friend decides to tell his father that the accident was unavoidable and was not his fault. If his father thinks that the fender was damaged because of carelessness then your friend probably will not be allowed to use the car anymore. Actually, it is hard for you to decide whether the damage was or was not your friend's fault.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does your friend have to expect you to support his story?

_____My friend has a definite right to expect me to support his story.
_____My friend has some right to expect me to support his story.
_____My friend has no right to expect me to support his story.

(b) Considering your obligation to your friend what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would support my friend's story in a situation like this.
_____I think that I would not support my friend's story in a situation like this.

****

STORY 6 You and a close friend sit near each other in class. Your friend has done very poorly on his examinations this term. One day an important examination is to be given. If your friend doesn't pass this examination he will probably have to take the course over again next erm. Your friend asks you to help him on the examination by turning your paper so that he can see it during the exam. This way there is very little chance that either of you will be caught.

(a) What right does your friend have to expect you to let him copy off your paper?

_____My friend would have a definite right to expect me to let him see my paper.
_____My friend would have some right to expect me to let him see my paper.
_____My friend would have no right to expect me to let him see my paper.

(b) Considering your obligations to a friend in a situation like this, what do you think you would do?

_____I would probably tell my friend that I would help him out.
_____I would probably tell my friend that I was sorry, but I couldn't help him out.

STORY 7 One day a close friend of yours stops to talk to you and ask your help. He says that last night he was out riding around in a car with some boys. It turned out that the boy driving the car had stolen it earlier that same evening. Anyway, the police had picked them up and all of the boys were accused of taking part in stealing the car. Your friend wants you to testify that he was with you at the time the car was stolen. Although he wasn't really with you at that time you are absolutely sure that he didn't help steal the car. If you will testify at court that your friend was with you at the time the car was stolen, then your friend may avoid very serious trouble with the police.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does your friend have to expect you to testify in court in his favor?

_____He would have a definite right to expect me to testify in his favor.
_____He would have some right to expect me to testify in his favor.
_____He would have no right to expect me to testify in his favor.

(b) Considering your obligations to him as a close friend, what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would testify in court that he was with me at the time the car was stolen so that he wouldn't get into serious trouble with the police.
_____I think that I would not help him out in a situation like this, even if it meant that he would get into serious trouble with the police.

****

STORY 8 Suppose that an important person, like the governor of the state, were to visit this school, and this class were asked to send three of its members to greet him. In a situation like this what three students in this class would you pick to do this?

(1)_____

(2)_____

(3)_____

STORY 9 You are standing in line to eat lunch at the school cafeteria. There is a long line of students, but you are up near the head of the line. A good friend of yours comes up to you and asks you if he can get in line with you. He says that he has to get to a meeting shortly and if he waits at the end of the line he will be late for the meeting. You are pretty sure that he doesn't have any such meeting, but you tell him that it's O.K. with you if he gets in line ahead of you. Then the other students begin to complain and tell him that he hasn't any right to get in line ahead of the rest. If you don't back up your friend's story by telling the other students that he has an important meeting, then they will make your friend go to the end of the line.

(a) In a circumstance like this, what right does your friend have to expect you to support him?

_____My friend has a definite right to expect me to support him.
_____My friend has some right to expect me to support him.
_____My friend has no right to expect me to support him.

(b) Considering your obligations to a close friend, what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would support my friend so that he wouldn't have to go to the end of the line.
_____I think that I would not support my friend, even if it meant that he would have to go to the end of the line.

****

STORY 10 Most of your friends have joined a club. They have a good time together, and you want to join the club, too. You feel left out and lonely because you are not a member and all of your friends are members. Your parents have heard that a couple of the members of the club have bad reputations; they have heard that some of them have been in trouble with the police. Because of this your parents don't want you to join the club. If you don't join the club you won't be able to take part in most of the activities of your friends.

(a) In a situation like this how much right do your parents have to expect you not to join the club?

_____They would have a definite right to expect me not to join the club.
_____They would have some right to expect me not to join the club.
_____They would have no right to expect me not to join the club.

(b) Considering your own interests and your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were left up to you?

_____I think that I would join the club so that I could continue to be with my friends, even if my parents weren't very happy about it.
_____I think that I would give up the idea of joining the club, and follow the wishes of my parents.

STORY 11 You go around with a small group of friends. You like them very much and they like you. Usually you have a good time when with them. So far as you are concerned they are a good bunch of kids. Then one evening your parents begin asking you a lot of questions about this group of friends of your. They have heard that some of them have been in trouble with the police at various times, and they are worried about your going around with them. Finally they tell you that they would prefer that you stop going around with these friends, and they ask you not to see them anymore.

(a) In circumstances such as these, how much right do you think your parents would have to expect you to stop seeing your friends anymore?

_____They would have a definite right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.
_____They would have some right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.
_____They would have no right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.

(b) Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you to make?

_____I think that I would continue to go around with my friends, even if this didn't entirely please my parents.
_____I think that I would stop seeing my friends and stop going around with them if my parents wanted me to do so.

****

STORY 12 You go around with a group of friends about your own age. One afternoon you and your friends are standing around talking and trying to decide what to do this evening. After standing and arguing for half an hour or so most of them decide they want to go over and watch television at one of the kid's home. The program they want to see begins in 15 minutes so you'll have to hurry. But you don't want to watch television tonight and you start arguing with the rest of them that there's a good movie downtown. They tell you to quit arguing and come along now or they will miss the beginning of the program. But you know that if you can talk a couple of them into coming to the movie with you, then the rest of them will probably come, too.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does the group have to expect you to quit arguing and come along to watch television with them?

_____The group has a definite right to expect me to come watch television with them.
_____The group has some right to expect me to come watch television with them.
_____The group has no right to expect me to come watch television with them.

(b) Considering your own interests and the interests of the group what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would continue to argue and try to get some of them to go to the movie with me.
_____I think that I would stop arguing and go watch television with the rest of the group.

STORY 11 You go around with a small group of friends. You like them very much and they like you. Usually you have a good time when with them. So far as you are concerned they are a good bunch of kids. Then one evening your parents begin asking you a lot of questions about this group of friends of your. They have heard that some of them have been in trouble with the police at various times, and they are worried about your going around with them. Finally they tell you that they would prefer that you stop going around with these friends, and they ask you not to see them anymore.

(a) In circumstances such as these, how much right do you think your parents would have to expect you to stop seeing your friends anymore?

_____They would have a definite right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.
_____They would have some right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.
_____They would have no right to expect me to stop seeing my friends.

(b) Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you to make?

_____I think that I would continue to go around with my friends, even if this didn't entirely please my parents.
_____I think that I would stop seeing my friends and stop going around with them if my parents wanted me to do so.

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STORY 12 You go around with a group of friends about your own age. One afternoon you and your friends are standing around talking and trying to decide what to do this evening. After standing and arguing for half an hour or so most of them decide they want to go over and watch television at one of the kid's home. The program they want to see begins in 15 minutes so you'll have to hurry. But you don't want to watch television tonight and you start arguing with the rest of them that there's a good movie downtown. They tell you to quit arguing and come along now or they will miss the beginning of the program. But you know that if you can talk a couple of them into coming to the movie with you, then the rest of them will probably come, too.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does the group have to expect you to quit arguing and come along to watch television with them?

_____The group has a definite right to expect me to come watch television with them.
_____The group has some right to expect me to come watch television with them.
_____The group has no right to expect me to come watch television with them.

(b) Considering your own interests and the interests of the group what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would continue to argue and try to get some of them to go to the movie with me.
_____I think that I would stop arguing and go watch television with the rest of the group.

STORY 13 You belong to a club. One day at a meeting of all the group an argument develops between you and another member. The argument gets pretty hot because both of you feel strongly about the subject. In the midst of the argument the other member tells you that you don't know what you are talking about, that you are stupid, and he thoroughly insults you. This, of course, makes you mad, but if the argument goes on or a quarrel starts it probably will break up the meeting of the group.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does the rest of the group have to expect you to sit down and quit arguing?

_____The rest of the group has a definite right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

_____The rest of the group has some right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

_____The rest of the group has no right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

(b) Considering your own interest as well as the interest of the group, what do you think you would do in a situation like this?

_____I think that I would not let the other member get away with insulting me, even if it did break up the meeting of the group.

_____I think that I would not break up the meeting of the group just because this other member insulted me.

STORY 14 You and some of your close friends are standing around talking one evening. You have been thinking about going to a movie downtown which you believe will be a particularly good one. Tonight is the last night it will be showing in town. You try to interest your friends in going to see this movie, but they tell you it's no good. They want to go see a different movie, and they want you to come along with them. Your friends start telling you that you never seem to want to do what they do anymore.

(a) In a circumstance like this, what right do your friends have to expect you to go along with them to see the movie they are interested in?

_____My friends would have a definite right to expect me to go along with them.
_____My friends would have some right to expect me to go along with them.
_____My friends would have no right to expect me to go along with them.

(b) Considering your interest in seeing the other movie, and your obligations to your friends, what do you think you would do?

_____Go with my friends to see the movie they were interested in, and maybe see the movie I was most interested in at some later date.
_____Go to the movie in which I was most interested, even if my friends did get mad about it.

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TORY 15 You own a car. You and some of your friends have been planning to take a short trip over the week-end. You have promised them that they can go in your car, and so they have based all their plans on the fact that they will go in your car. Then, the day before you are supposed to leave with them on the trip a good friend of yours who lives in California comes to town. This friend will be in El Paso just for the week-end, and you would like to spend as much time with this friend as possible. If you stay in El Paso to visit with your friend from California as you would like to do then the trip you and your friends had planned on taking will be ruined.

(a) In a situation like this, what right do your friends with whom you plan to take the trip have to expect you to go on the trip as planned?

_____My friends would have a definite right to expect me to go on the trip as planned.
_____My friends would have some right to expect me to go on the trip as planned.
_____My friends would have no right to expect me to go on the trip as planned.

(b) Considering your own interests in seeing your friend from California and your obligations to your other friends to take them on the trip, what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would stay in El Paso and see my friend from California, even if my friends whom I planned to take on the trip did get mad about it.
_____I think that I would go ahead with the trip even if I would prefer to visit with my friend from California.

STORY 13 You belong to a club. One day at a meeting of all the group an argument develops between you and another member. The argument gets pretty hot because both of you feel strongly about the subject. In the midst of the argument the other member tells you that you don't know what you are talking about, that you are stupid, and he thoroughly insults you. This, of course, makes you mad, but if the argument goes on or a quarrel starts it probably will break up the meeting of the group.

(a) In a situation like this, what right does the rest of the group have to expect you to sit down and quit arguing?

_____The rest of the group has a definite right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

_____The rest of the group has some right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

_____The rest of the group has no right to expect me to sit down and quit arguing.

(b) Considering your own interest as well as the interest of the group, what do you think you would do in a situation like this?

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(a) In a circumstance like this, what right do your friends have to expect you to go along with them to see the movie they are interested in?

_____My friends would have a definite right to expect me to go along with them.
_____My friends would have some right to expect me to go along with them.
_____My friends would have no right to expect me to go along with them.

(b) Considering your interest in seeing the other movie, and your obligations to your friends, what do you think you would do?

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(a) In a situation like this, what right do your friends with whom you plan to take the trip have to expect you to go on the trip as planned?

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_____I think that I would go ahead with the trip even if I would prefer to visit with my friend from California.

STORY 17 FOR BOYS Your father owns a store. Your parents want you to go to work in the store after finishing high school. They hope that you will eventually take over the store when your father retires. Your own interests, however, THIS don't lie along these lines. You have worked in the store and you know that you don't like that kind of work very much. On the other hand, you have a real STORY interest in becoming a skilled mechanic. You do know that you have a considerable amount of talent for mechanics, and you are sure of getting a good job.

FOR

(a) In a circumstance like this, what right do your parents have to expect BOYS you to give up mechanics and go to work in your father's store?

_____My parents would have a definite right to expect me to give up mechanics and go to work in their store.
_____My parents would have some right to expect me to give up mechanics and go to work in their store.
_____My parents would have no right to expect me to give up mechanics and go to work in their store.

(b) Considering your own interests and your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you?

_____I would probably go ahead and follow my own interest and try to become a mechanic.
_____I would probably go to work for my father in his store and give up the idea of becoming a mechanic.

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TORY 17 FOR GIRLS Some close friends of your parents have a son who is just about your age. Ever since you were born, your parents have planned that you would marry this boy. You and this boy like each other, but you are not in love with HIS each other. Besides that, you want to be a nurse. After finishing high school, you want to enter nurse's training.

TORY

(a) In a circumstance like this, what right do your parents have to expect OR you to marry this boy as soon as you graduate from high school?

IRLS

_____My parents would have a definite right to expect me to marry the boy.
_____My parents would have some right to expect me to marry this boy.
_____My parents would have no right to expect me to marry this boy.

(b) Considering your own interests and your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you?

_____I think that I would probably go ahead and follow my own interest and enter nurse's training when I finished high school.
_____I think I would probably go ahead and marry the boy when I finished high school and give up the idea of becoming a nurse.

STORY 17 FOR BOYS Your father owns a store. Your parents want you to go to work in the store after finishing high school. They hope that you will eventually take over the store when your father retires. Your own interests, however, THIS don't lie along these lines. You have worked in the store and you know that you don't like that kind of work very much. On the other hand, you have a real STORY interest in becoming a skilled mechanic. You do know that you have a considerable amount of talent for mechanics, and you are sure of getting a good job.

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_____My parents would have some right to expect me to give up mechanics and go to work in their store.
_____My parents would have no right to expect me to give up mechanics and go to work in their store.

(b) Considering your own interests and your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you?

_____I would probably go ahead and follow my own interest and try to become a mechanic.
_____I would probably go to work for my father in his store and give up the idea of becoming a mechanic.

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_____My parents would have no right to expect me to marry this boy.

(b) Considering your own interests and your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do if the decision were up to you?

_____I think that I would probably go ahead and follow my own interest and enter nurse's training when I finished high school.
_____I think I would probably go ahead and marry the boy when I finished high school and give up the idea of becoming a nurse.

STORY 18 FOR BOYS There is a girl at school whom you know and whom you like quite well. One day you ask her to go out on a date to a dance, and she accepts. When you get home from school you tell your mother that you have asked this girl to a dance and your mother gets all upset. She says that she doesn't like this girl and doesn't want you to date her. Your mother doesn't say why she doesn't like this girl, but she makes it clear that she doesn't want you to date her. On the other hand, you have been looking forward to dating this girl, and if you don't take her to the dance after having asked her, then she probably won't ever accept another invitation.

THIS STORY FOR BOYS

(a) In a circumstance like this, what right does your mother have to expect you to break your date with this girl?

_____My mother has a definite right to expect me to break my date with this girl.
_____My mother has some right to expect me to break my date with this girl.
_____My mother has no right to expect me to break my date with this girl.

(b) Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your mother, what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would go ahead and take the girl to the dance like I had planned.
_____I think that I would call her and tell her that I wouldn't be able to take her to the dance.

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STORY 18 FOR GIRLS There is a boy at school whom you know and whom you like quite well. One day he asks you to go out on a date to a dance, and you accept. When you get home from school you tell your mother that this boy has asked you to go to a dance with him and that you accepted his invitation. Then your mother gets upset and says that she doesn't like this boy and she doesn't want you to have a date with him. Your mother doesn't say why she doesn't like the boy, but she makes it clear that she doesn't want you to date him. On the other hand, you have been looking forward to having a date with this boy, and if you don't go out with him after having promised him that you would, then he probably won't ever ask you again.

IS ORY OR IRLS

(a) In a circumstance like this what right does your mother have to expect you to call off the date with this boy?

_____My mother would have a definite right to expect me to call off the date.
_____My mother would have some right to expect me to call off the date.
_____My mother would have no right to expect me to call off the date.

(b) Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your mother, what do you think you would do?

_____I think that I would go ahead and go to the dance with the boy like I had planned.
_____I think that I would call the boy and tell him that I wouldn't be able to go to the dance with him.

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